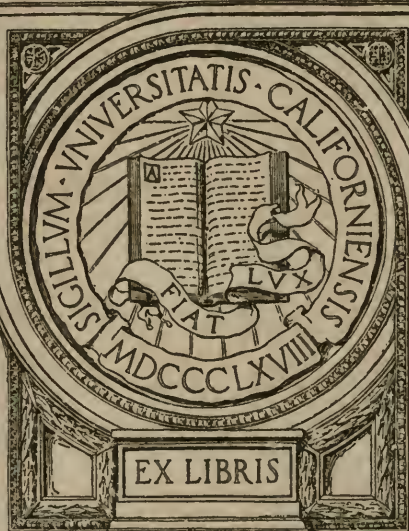
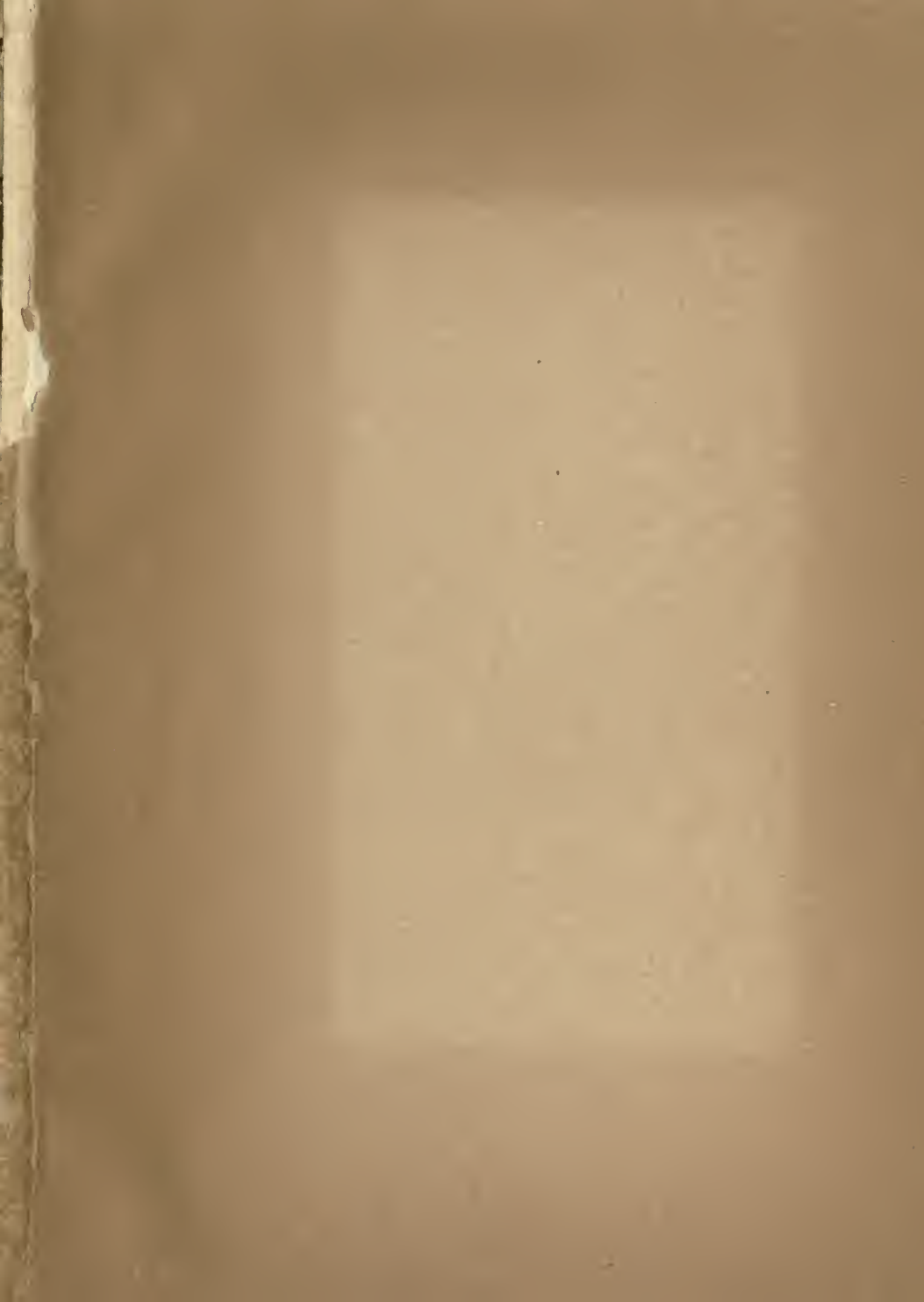


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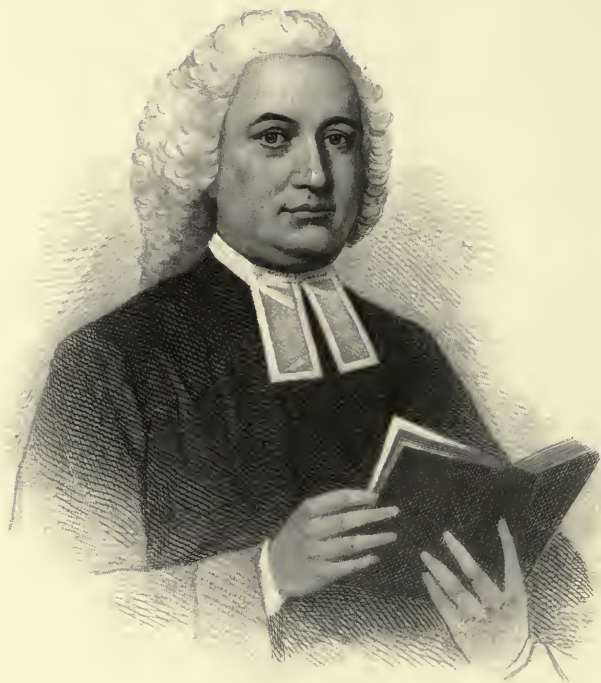
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James Manning

First President of Brown University – From a Portrait painted in 1770

EARLY HISTORY
OF
BROWN UNIVERSITY,
INCLUDING THE
Life, Times, and Correspondence of
President Manning.

1756 - 1791.

BY REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD, A. M., LL. D.
LIBRARIAN EMERITUS.

HIC LOCUS AETATIS NOSTRAE PRIMORDIA NOVIT,
ANNOS FELICES, LAETITIAEQVE DIES.
HIC LOCUS INGENUIS PUERILES IMBUIT ANNOS
ARTIBUS, ET NOSTRAE LAUDIS ORIGO FUIT.
HIC LOCUS INSIGNES MAGNOSQUE CREAVIT ALUMNOS.

—Nckhcm.

Providence, 1897.

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THE NEW
AMERICAN

Printed by

SNOW & FARNHAM.

TO
THE ALUMNI
OF
Brown University

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY
THE AUTHOR.

329930

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PREFACE.

AT the annual meeting of the Corporation of Brown University, held in September, 1844, a resolution was unanimously passed requesting Professor Gammell to prepare "an adequate history of the origin and progress of the University." Want of sufficient material was without doubt the reason why the facile pen of the Professor of Rhetoric and History was not employed on this important and much needed work. Three years later the author, immediately on graduating, entered upon his long professional career in connection with the Library. At first he was an assistant under the late Professor Charles C. Jewett. In March, 1848, he succeeded him in the Librarianship of the University. One of his earliest efforts as Librarian was to complete a file of the annual catalogues. Afterwards, by means of circulars and otherwise, he made a collection of pamphlets, manuscripts and documents illustrative of the history of the College. As a result he published, in 1864, a large duodecimo volume of five hundred and twenty-three pages, entitled, "Life, Times and Correspondence of James Manning and the Early History of Brown University"; and three years later a handsome quarto volume entitled, "History of Brown University, with Illustrative Documents." These works have long been out of print, the number of copies of the latter having been limited to three hundred and ten, and the stereotype plates of the former having been destroyed in the breaking up of the long established house of Gould and Lincoln, of Boston.

At the Commencement in 1893, the author resigned his position as Librarian, after a continuous and uninterrupted service of forty-six

years. Since that time he has been employed upon the present work. It was his original intention, in accordance with the circulars sent out, to include in this first volume a history of the Library, an account of the Revivals in College, and an account of the Portraits in Sayles Memorial Hall. These will appear in the second volume. In their stead he has revised and rewritten his Life of Manning, enlarging upon the early history of the College, and devoting entire chapters to subjects of special interest, among which may be mentioned the origin of the College, the Charter, the First Commencement, the Contest for the final location, the early College Laws, the history of the First Baptist Church, and the building of the present spacious and beautiful meeting-house "for the public worship of Almighty God, and also for holding Commencement in." The Correspondence of Manning, who was a leading man in Providence during all the trying scenes of the War of the Revolution, and undoubtedly stood at the head of the denomination to which he was attached, are republished in full, together with additional letters which have come to light during the past thirty years. They furnish an admirable illustration of the efforts put forth by our fathers under the auspices of the College, and the Warren Association, in behalf of civil and religious freedom. Interspersed throughout the book are sketches of Manning's associates and pupils, and of his correspondents, some of whom were among the leading Dissenters in England, and were specially friendly to the American cause during the war. This first volume, which is complete in itself, is now given to the public, among whom are two thousand graduates, with the author's best wishes for the prosperity and continued growth of his beloved ALMA MATER.

R. A. G.

FIRST PREFACE.

1864.

A CENTURY has elapsed since BROWN UNIVERSITY was founded, and nearly three quarters of a century have passed away since the death of DR. MANNING; yet no extended history of the one or life of the other has been published. This neglect to record the honors, the struggles, and triumphs of the founder, so to speak, of the venerable seat of learning, with the early history of which his own history is so closely identified, must be ascribed, in part, to the almost habitual indifference which Baptists have thus far manifested to the characters and the fame of their fathers and departed worthies.

“It is mortifying,” says a writer¹ in one of the earlier numbers of the *Christian Review*, “that we have allowed men like Clarke and Callender, Backus and Manning—each of them an honored and true-hearted advocate of the faith which we profess, at a time when this faith was despised and derided over the greater part of New England,—to pass away so nearly from the memory of men. They were all scholars, who compared well with the foremost of their time. Some of them, also, have linked their names with the history of the country, by the services they rendered in the days of her early settlements, and her subsequent struggles for national independence. But no one of them has found among their own brethren a biographer to set forth their labors and sacrifices, and to delineate their characters in connection with the peculiar faith which they professed. Their lives, in some instances, at least, were filled with important events, which illustrated the civil and religious character of the age to which they belong. They were made beautiful, too, by their simple manners, their all-enduring faith, their deep devotion to truth. It is sad to think that their memory has so nearly perished, and it is humiliating to think that this would have been permitted in no other denomination than our own.”

In 1815, twenty-four years after Dr. Manning's death, a brief sketch of his character and life by the late John Howland, Esq., was published in the *Rhode Island Literary Repository*. It comprises sixteen pages, and consists chiefly of personal recollections. Mr. Howland, although his calling was humble, possessed original and vigorous powers

¹ Prof. Wm. Gammell.

The undertaking was entered upon with great diffidence. It has been continued from year to year, under all the disadvantages of accumulated public and professional duties, and amidst frequent interruptions. Historical accuracy, and not literary excellence, is all, therefore, to which the author has been able to aspire. Sincerely wishing that he had possessed greater skill and more ample leisure for the performance of the task to which his position as Librarian seems naturally to have assigned him, the work, with all its imperfections, is herewith submitted to the public, in the hope that it may prove acceptable to the general reader, and especially useful to the College, and to the religious denomination under whose auspices the College was founded.

R. A. G.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, September 1, 1864.



Reuben A. Guild.

BROWN UNIVERSITY AND MANNING.

CHAPTER I.

1756-1763.

Origin of the College — Baptists a century and a half ago — Principles at variance with those of the standing orders — Six colleges in existence at this time — Hopewell Academy and the Philadelphia Association — Isaac Eaton — Distinguished graduates of the Academy — Success of the Academy inspired the friends of learning in the denomination to found a college — Morgan Edwards the prime mover in the matter — Sketch of his character and life — Inclined to Toryism during the War of the Revolution — Two sons William and Joshua — Extracts from the funeral sermon of the latter preached in 1854, giving particulars relating to his father — Recantation of Toryism in 1775 — Extracts from the funeral sermon of Morgan Edwards, preached by the Rev. Dr. William Rogers, in 1795 — Peculiarities — Meeting of the Philadelphia Association, Oct. 12, 1762, when the moderator, Morgan Edwards, made the motion to found a college — Difficulties in the way of such an undertaking — Urgent need of an educated Baptist ministry — Colleges in existence generally unfriendly to Baptists — Extract from Backus's history — James Manning esteemed a suitable leader in the new enterprise — Beginnings in the history of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, found in connection with the Philadelphia Association — Extracts from the records showing a continued interest in the Institution — Manning's birth and parentage — First pupil of Isaac Eaton at the Hopewell Academy — Conversion and baptism — Benjamin Miller his pastor — At the age of twenty admitted a member of the Freshman class in the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University — Extract from Maclane's history relative to the founding of the College — Samuel Davies and Samuel Finlay Presidents — Letter from Oliver Hart on death of Davies — Laws and Customs of the College — Manning's Classmates — Diploma — Licensed to preach — Marriage to Margaret Stites — Account of the Stites family — Ordained and set apart as an Evangelist — Letter from Oliver Hart inviting him to settle in South Carolina — Sketch of his brother-in-law, Rev. John Gano.

BROWN UNIVERSITY owes its origin to a desire on the part of members of the Philadelphia Association,¹ to secure for the Baptist churches an educated ministry, without the restrictions of denominational influence or sectarian tests. The distinguishing sentiments of the Baptists, it

¹ The oldest Baptist Association in America, founded in 1707.

may be observed, were at variance with the religious opinions that prevailed throughout the American colonies. They advocated the supremacy of the Bible as the only authoritative rule of faith and practice in religious concerns, freedom of worship, liberty of conscience, the entire separation of church and state, believers' baptism by immersion, and a converted church membership;—principles for which they had earnestly contended from the days of Roger Williams. The student of history will readily perceive how they thus came into conflict with the ruling powers. The pages of Backus¹ and Semple² abound in instances of individual oppression and of relentless persecution. In Massachusetts and Connecticut they were taxed for the support of churches of the standing order, and upon a refusal of the payment of rates, their lands, homes, and goods were seized and sold, and they themselves were imprisoned. In Virginia the laws against Dissenters bore heavily and mainly against the Baptists, who suffered imprisonment, accompanied by fines, whippings, and other penalties. Throughout the land they appear to have been subjected to contumely and reproach. In the words of Manning they were “poor, despised and oppressed.” This prejudice and opposition against the Baptists, or Anabaptists as they were termed in derision, was very naturally shared by the colleges and academies then in existence.³

In the year 1756, there was founded at Hopewell, New Jersey, under the auspices of the Philadelphia Association, an academy “for the education of youth for the ministry.” Among the early records of the Association appears the following, under date of October 5th, this being the time of the annual meeting:—“Concluded to raise a sum of money toward the encouragement of a Latin Grammar School, for the promotion of learning among us, under the care of the Rev. Isaac

¹ History of New England with particular reference to the denomination of Christians called Baptists. Vol. 1, 1777; Vol. 2, 1784; Vol. 3, 1796. Reprinted by the Backus Historical Society, 2 vols. 8vo. Newton, Mass., 1871.

² History of the Baptists in Virginia. 12mo. 1810. Recently reprinted by the Southern Baptist Publication Society.

³ There were six colleges in the Colonies when the charter for Rhode Island College was granted, viz.: Harvard, founded in 1638; William and Mary, 1692; Yale, 1701; College of New Jersey, or Princeton, 1746; University of Pennsylvania, 1753; and Columbia, 1754.

Eaton, and the inspection of our brethren, Abel Morgan, Isaac Stelle, Abel Griffith, and Peter B. Van Horne." Mr. Eaton was the son of the Rev. Joseph Eaton, of Montgomery, Pennsylvania. At an early age he began to preach, and when twenty-four years old took charge of the church in Hopewell. This was in November, 1748. Rich blessings were the result of his pastorate, which ended only with his life, twenty-six years after his ordination.¹ He at once became prominent in the Association, and thus the way was opened for what proved to be the great work of his life. To him, therefore, says a distinguished writer,² belongs the honor of being the first American Baptist to establish a seminary for the literary and theological training of young men. For this work his natural endowments of mind, his rare personality, his varied attainments in knowledge, and his genuine piety, happily qualified him. Under his wise management and able instruction, the academy had a prosperous existence for eleven years. During this period many, who afterwards became eminent in the ministry, received from him their education. Among them may be mentioned his first pupil, James Manning; Hezekiah Smith, "the great man of Haverhill," and the distinguished Chaplain of the Revolution; Samuel Stillman, the eloquent preacher of Boston; Samuel Jones, who was informally invited to succeed Manning in the Presidency of Rhode Island College; John Gano, Manning's brother-in-law, the fearless Chaplain, and "a Prince among the Baptist hosts of Israel"; Oliver Hart, the beloved pastor and patriot of Charleston, South Carolina; Charles Thompson, the Valedictorian of the first graduating class under Manning; William Williams, also of this class, the founder of an academy in Wrentham; Isaac Skillman, of Boston, a member of the famous "Committee on Grievances"; John Davis, of Boston, the first agent of the churches of the Warren Association; David Jones, the eminent pastor, patriot

¹ The tablet erected to his memory, first in the meeting-house, and now in the cemetery of the Hopewell Church, has this inscription:— "To the front of this are deposited the remains of Rev. Isaac Eaton, A. M., who for upwards of twenty-six years was pastor of this church, from the care of which he was removed by death, on the 4th of July, 1772, in the forty-seventh year of his age."

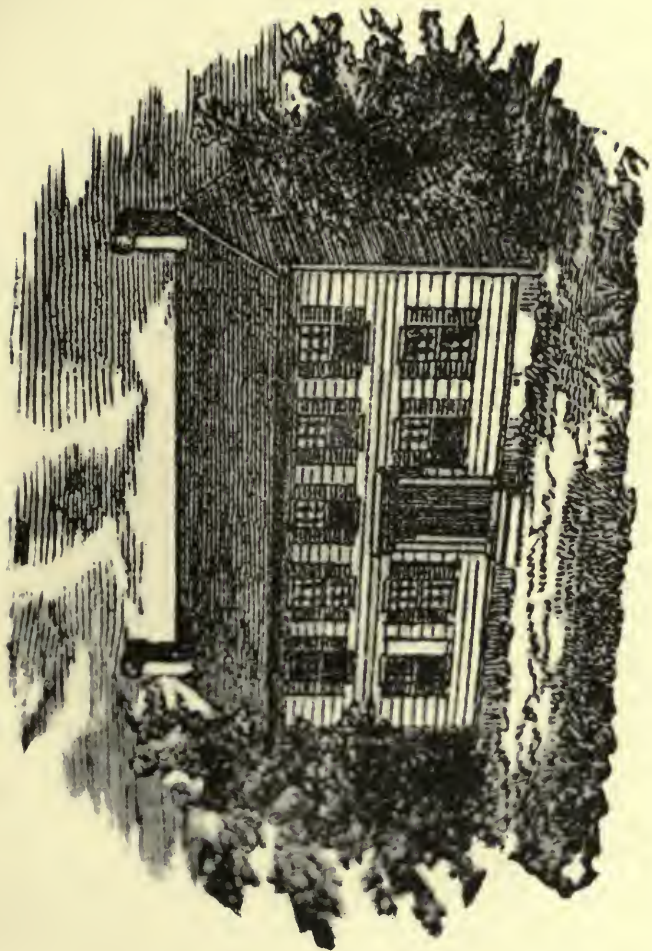
"In him with grace and eminence did shine
The man, the Christian, scholar, and divine."

² Prof. William Goddard, LL. D. See memoir of President Manning.

and chaplain; and John Sutton who accompanied Manning on his first visit to Rhode Island in behalf of the College. Not a few of the Hopewell Academy pupils distinguished themselves in the professions of medicine and law. Of this latter class was the Honorable Judge Howell, a name familiar to the students of Rhode Island College, and to the statesmen and jurists of his day. Benjamin Stelle, who was graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1766, and afterwards established a Latin School in Providence, was also a pupil of Mr. Eaton. His daughter Mary, it may be added, was the second wife of the Honorable Nicholas Brown, the well-known benefactor from whom Brown University derives its name. Dr. Stites who educated his nephew Stephen Gano, and John and Richard Stites, all brothers-in-law of Manning, are included in the list of Hopewell graduates. The house in which the sessions of the academy were held is still standing, and is regarded as an object of interest to the historian and antiquary. It is on the Bound Brook Railroad, near the Calvary Church, and not far from the "Old School Baptist Church" edifice, in which the descendants of the people to whom Mr. Eaton ministered, are accustomed to meet for worship. The structure is a plain substantial building in good condition. The accompanying engraving is taken from a cut in Cook's "Story of the Baptists."¹

The success of the Hopewell Academy inspired the friends of learning in the denomination with renewed confidence, and incited them to establish a college. "Many of the churches," says a contemporary, "being supplied with able pastors from Mr. Eaton's academy, and being thus convinced, from experience, of the great usefulness of human literature to more thoroughly furnish the man of God for the most important work of the Gospel ministry, the hands of the Philadelphia Association were strengthened, and their hearts were encouraged to extend their designs of promoting literature in the Society (denomination), by erecting, on some suitable part of this continent, a college or

¹The Story of the Baptists in all Ages and Countries. By Rev. Richard B. Cook, D. D. 12mo. Baltimore, 1834. The thirty-third thousand of this popular and instructive history was published in Springfield, Mass., in 1889.



HOPEWELL ACADEMY.

university, which should be principally under the direction and government of the Baptists. At first some of the Southern colonies seemed to bid fairest to answer their purpose, there not being so many colleges in those colonies as in the Northern; but the Northern colonies having been visited by some of the Association, who informed them of the great increase of the Baptist societies (churches) of late in those parts, and that the Rhode Island Government had no public school or college in it, and was originally settled by persons of the Baptist persuasion, and a greater part of the Government remained so still, there was no longer any doubt but that this was the most suitable place in which to carry the design into execution.”

The foregoing extract, which appears in an appendix to President Sears's Centennial Discourse,¹ is taken from a rough sketch on file among some papers belonging to the Hon. Judge Howell, which were placed in the author's hands many years ago by a descendant, the late Gamaliel Lyman Dwight. Dr. Sears attributes the paper to the Rev. Morgan Edwards. Whether from his pen, or that of Judge Howell, which latter seems quite probable, the writer was evidently familiar with all the facts pertaining to the origin and early history of the College. Mr. Edwards, whose name in this connection is henceforth prominent, was the pastor of the Baptist Church in Philadelphia, now called the First Church, to which he had been recommended by the Rev. Dr. Gill and others of London. He was a native of Wales, and was born on the 9th of May, 1722. His early education was obtained at the schools of Monmouthshire, and at a suitable age he was placed at the celebrated Bristol Academy, under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Bernard Foskett.² Upon leaving the academy he preached for seven years to a small congregation in Boston, Lincolnshire, pursuing meanwhile his theological studies. He became a proficient in Hebrew and Greek, and made the Old and New Testaments in their original tongues his constant companions, deeming them to be, using his own

¹ Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Brown University, September 6th, 1864. 8vo. Providence, 1865. See pp. 62-64.

² For a biographical sketch of Dr. Foskett, see Rippon's Baptist Register for the years 1794-7, Vol. 2. 8vo. Lond., pp. 422-31.

words, the "two eyes of a minister." On the first day of June, 1757, he was ordained pastor of a Baptist church in Cork, Ireland. Here he remained nine years; and here he married his first wife, whose maiden name was Mary Nunn. He arrived in Philadelphia on the 23d of May, 1761, and at once entered upon the duties of his American pastorate. Being now in the prime of life, and possessed of superior learning and abilities united with uncommon perseverance and zeal, he became an acknowledged leader in various literary and benevolent undertakings, devoting to them freely his talents and his time, and thereby rendering essential service to the denomination to which he was attached. He was the moving cause of having the minutes of the Philadelphia Association printed, publishing first, at his own expense, tables exhibiting the original and annual state of the associating churches. He journeyed from New Hampshire to Georgia, gathering facts for a history of the Baptists; and these "Materials," as he termed them, penned or printed, are the most valuable records of the kind extant. "In his day," says Cathcart, "no Baptist minister equalled him, and since his day no one has excelled him." This may be a somewhat exaggerated statement, having special reference doubtless to his historical labors. It shows the estimation in which he is held by a former Philadelphia pastor, and the author of the "Baptist Encyclopædia." The great enterprise in which Mr. Edwards engaged, and the one with which his name will be forever associated, was the founding of Rhode Island College. In this he appears to have been the prime mover. His activity in procuring from the State Legislature a charter, and his exertions in procuring in England and Ireland the first funds for the endowment of the "Infant Institution," he deemed to his latest days to be the greatest service he had ever rendered for the Baptist cause. This statement is made by the Rev. Dr. William Rogers, in a funeral discourse which he preached on the 22d of February, 1795.¹ Dr. Rogers was a member of the first graduating class of the College, and Mr.

¹This discourse was first published in Rippon's Baptist Register for the years 1794-97, Vol 2. 8vo. Lond., pp. 308-14. A portion of it is given in "Documentary History of the University," pp. 167-171.

Edwards's successor in the pastorate at Philadelphia. In his "Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania," published in 1770, Mr. Edwards speaks of himself, quoting his own words, as having "labored hard to settle a Baptist College in the Rhode Island Government, and to raise money to endow it; which he deems the greatest service he has done or hopes to do for the Baptist interest." In the same work, after speaking of his endeavors to make the combination of Baptist Churches universal upon this continent, he adds: — "And should God give me success herein, as in the affair of the Baptist College, I shall deem myself the happiest man on earth."

During the Revolutionary struggle Mr. Edwards sympathized with the mother country, where nearly forty years of his life had been spent; and where he had secured substantial aid for the College. Hence his influence was greatly impaired, and his affections were for a time alienated from his brethren in the ministry, who, to a man, were ardent patriots. According to Cathcart, who has published a volume entitled, "The Baptists and the American Revolution," he was the only Tory in the ministry of the American Baptist Churches. His Toryism, however, was rather a matter of principle than of action, yet it served to bring him into disrepute. Having a Welsh temperament he could hardly restrain his speech, and in the beginning of the war he made use of expressions which gave great offence. His family, too, was identified with His Majesty's service, one of his sons being an officer in the English army. He married for his second wife, according to Dr. Rogers's statement, a Mrs. Singleton of Delaware, in which state he resided many years, upon a plantation which he had purchased. At a meeting of the Committee of White Clay Creek, held at Mr. Henry Darby's house, in New York, Aug. 7, 1775, Mr. Edwards was present and signed a recantation of his Tory principles, which was voted satisfactory. After the war he occasionally read lectures in Divinity in Philadelphia and other cities, but he could never be prevailed upon to resume the work of a Christian minister. He died at Pencader, Newcastle County, Delaware, on the 28th of January, 1795, in the seventy-third year of his age. The universal testimony of those with whom he was

associated, and who knew him intimately was, that he was "a great and a good man."¹

Mr. Edwards left two sons, William and Joshua. The former was a pupil in Manning's Latin School at Warren, removing with the School to Providence in 1770. At the second Commencement of the College, the account states, "the business of the day being concluded, and before the assembly broke up, a piece from Homer was pronounced by Master Billy Edwards, not nine years old." He was graduated from the College in 1776. Sympathizing with his father in his attachment to the land of his birth, he espoused the cause of George III. in the great Revolutionary struggle. Eventually he became a British officer with the rank of colonel. After the war he resided in London. On his way to Cork from Bristol to see about the settlement of his mother's estate, he in some way perished, as nothing was ever heard from him afterwards. Joshua was born in Philadelphia, Dec. 29, 1769. On arriving at manhood he spent some time in England, being in the possession of an ample estate. Returning to this country he married and settled in New Jersey, where he died in 1854, at the advanced age of eighty-five. A son of his, Rev. Morgan Edwards, an eccentric Baptist preacher and evangelist, was living some years ago in Burlington, Iowa. In a correspondence with him the writer received an account of his life, and copious extracts from a sermon preached at his father's funeral in 1854. These extracts give new and interesting particulars respecting his grandfather, Morgan Edwards. No apology need be offered for publishing in this connection some of these extracts:—

Morgan Edwards was a native of Wales. In early life he embraced Baptist principles (his parents were of the Church of England), and having studied in the academy of the pious Dr. Foskett, he completed his theological course under the three great Baptist divines and scholars, Dr. Stennett, Dr. Llewelyn, and Dr. Gill. The Baptist congregation in Philadelphia, having lost its first minister, the Rev. Jenkin Jones,² and

¹ See letters from Rev. Francis Pelot and Rev. Oliver Hart, addressed to Hezekiah Smith.

² Mr. Jones was born about 1690, in Wales, and came to this country in 1710. He took charge of the First Church of Philadelphia, May 15, 1746, at the time the church was reconstituted. Previous to that time the Philadelphia body was only a branch of the Lower Dublin Church, of which Mr. Jones had been pastor for twenty-one years. He died July 16, 1761. See Cathcart's Encyclopædia.

being composed mostly of Welsh people, he was importuned to come to America. . . . He was a man of learning and enterprise and public spirit. He projected the establishment of a college for the Baptists, and went to England and Ireland to solicit funds for the erection of Brown University, at Providence, Rhode Island. In this he was largely successful, and so that Institution owes its existence in a measure to him.

He lost his wife (daughter of Joshua Nunn, of Cork, Ireland), soon after the birth of her eighth child, suddenly, but not unexpectedly to her, for she had lived for years under the impression that at that time she would die. The effect upon him was distressing. He was seized with the impression that he now understood a dream he had fifteen years before, and that it intimated to him the year, and perhaps the day of his own death. He preached and printed a sermon expressing his expectation that his end was nigh, but he lived after this twenty-five years.¹ A distinguished Quaker minister, Pemberton, came to him and said:—"Thy dream will come true—this year is the death of thy ministry." It was so;—he resigned the pastoral office and never preached regularly afterwards, though occasionally he lectured, as he called the reading of sermons. When the Revolution commenced, being a man of note and very sarcastic, and having declared himself bound by his oath of allegiance to maintain the king's cause, he became very unpopular. The Committee of Safety ordered him to be secured as a dangerous person. Colonel Miles, the Chairman of the Committee, took Mr. Edwards privately to his house and hid him, and then expedited the officers with the warrant for his apprehension. Orders went at once to Philadelphia, to examine his son Joshua as to the place of his father's concealment. He knew nothing of it.

This must have been some time after Morgan Edwards's recantation, as Joshua was at that date only five years and nine months old. The following extract from President Manning's diary, is of interest, showing Mr. Edwards's relations to Manning, Samuel Jones and Colonel Miles:—"Philadelphia, Tuesday, Aug. 10th, 1779. Mr. Edwards, in company with Jones and myself, set out for Colonel Miles. Distance

¹ Dr. Rogers gives the title of this remarkable discourse as follows:—"A New Year's Gift; a sermon preached in this house, January 1, 1770, from these words, *This year thou shalt die.*" It passed through four editions and naturally attracted much attention. The excellent Geo. Whitefield, Dr. Rogers adds in a note, had a similar delusion in respect to a child whom he named John, before its birth, who, he believed and predicted was to be a preacher of the everlasting gospel, but who instead died in infancy. The full title of this discourse, which I give from a copy in the College Library, reads as follows:—"A New Year's Gift. Being a sermon delivered at Philadelphia, on January 1, 1770; and published for rectifying some wrong reports, and presenting others of the same sort; but chiefly for the sake of giving it another chance of doing good to them who heard it. By Rev. Morgan Edwards, A. M., Fellow of Rhode Island College, and minister of the Baptist Church in Philadelphia. Printed by Joseph Crukshank, in Second Street."

thirteen miles. Arrived in the evening, and he and lady next morning from town. He has a most elegant seat, gardens, meadows, etc., and a most remarkable spring, which turns three wheels in one fourth of a mile from its source. Spent three days very agreeably, and on the 13th set out for town, Mr. Edwards returning with Mr. Jones."

The following is Mr. Edwards's recantation, which we take from Dr. Armitage's history:—

At a meeting of the Committee of White Clay Creek, at Mr. Henry Darby's, in New York, Aug. 7, 1775, William Patterson, Esq., being in the chair, Rev. Morgan Edwards attended and signed the following recantation, which was voted satisfactory, namely:—

"Whereas, I have some time since frequently made use of rash and imprudent expressions with respect to the conduct of my fellow-countrymen, who are now engaged in a noble and patriotic struggle for the liberties of America, against the arbitrary measures of the British ministry; which conduct has justly raised their resentment against me, I now confess that I have spoken wrong, for which I am sorry and ask forgiveness of the public. And I do promise that for the future I will conduct myself in such a manner as to avoid giving offense, and at the same time, in justice to myself, declare that I am a friend of the present measures pursued by the friends of American liberty, and do approve of them, and, so far as is in my power, will endeavor to promote them."

The extracts from the funeral sermon of Joshua Edwards, further state, that when he was about ten years old his father married the widow of Washington Nathaniel Evans, a wealthy proprietor of the Welsh Tract in Delaware, and that he went to reside on her property in Newark. This was in the year 1780. Previous to this, according to Dr. Rogers, he had married for his second wife a Mrs. Singleton, of Delaware. The remains of Morgan Edwards, Dr. Armitage states, were at first buried in the Baptist meeting-house, La Grange Place, between Market and Arch Streets, Philadelphia. They now rest in Mount Moriah Cemetery.

Dr. Rogers, who in 1772 succeeded Mr. Edwards as pastor of the church in Philadelphia, preached the funeral sermon to which we have referred, from the text selected by the deceased, in 2 Cor., vi. 8:—
"By honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report; as deceivers

and yet true." The following extracts may fitly close our account of the first "mover" in the enterprise of founding a college:—

Honor Mr. Edwards certainly had, both in Europe and America. The College and Academy of Philadelphia, at a very early period, honored him as a man of learning and a popular preacher, with a diploma, constituting him a Master of Arts; this was followed by a degree *ad eundem*, in the year 1769, from the College of Rhode Island, being the first Commencement in that Institution. In this Seminary he held a Fellowship, and filled it with reputation, till he voluntarily resigned it in 1789; age and distance having rendered him incapable of attending the meetings of the Corporation any longer.

He also met with *dishonor*; but he complained not much of this, as it was occasioned by his strong attachment to the Royal Family of Great Britain, in the beginning of the American war, which fixed on him the name of a Tory; this I should have omitted mentioning, had not the deceased expressly enjoined it upon me. For any person to have been so marked out in those days was enough to bring on political opposition and destruction of property; all of which took place with respect to Mr. Edwards, though he never harbored the thought of doing the least injury to the United States by abetting, the cause of our enemies.

He had the oversight of this church for many years; voluntarily resigned his office when he found the cause, which was so near and dear to his heart, sinking under his hands, but continued preaching to the people till they obtained another minister, the person who now addresses you, in the procuring of whom he was not inactive.

After this, Mr. Edwards purchased a plantation in Newark, New Castle County, State of Delaware, and moved thither with his family in the year 1772; he continued preaching the Word of Life and salvation in a number of vacant churches till the commencement of the American war. He then desisted, and remained silent till after the termination of our Revolutionary troubles, and a consequent reconciliation with this church; he then occasionally read lectures in divinity in this city, and other parts of Pennsylvania; also in New Jersey, Delaware, and in New England; but for very particular and affecting reasons could never be prevailed upon to resume the sacred character of a minister.

Dr. Rogers speaks of Mr. Edwards as a "peculiar but worthy man." His leaving the ministry after preaching the remarkable sermon to which we have referred, his sympathy with the English in the Revolutionary struggle, and his impulsive methods of speech and action, doubtless created distrust in the minds of his brethren, and impaired for

the time his usefulness. Dr. Rippon, of London, in a letter to President Manning, asks, in reference to the apostasy of Winchester, a former Baptist minister of Philadelphia, — “Is it true that Morgan Edwards has printed a book in vindication of him?” To this Manning, under date of Aug 3, 1784, replies: — “Mr. Morgan Edwards has not printed in vindication of his principles, but he read me a manuscript, more than a year since on that subject, which he did not own though charged with being the author. He did not deny it, whereby he was entreated not to add the printing of this to the long list of imprudent things which had so greatly grieved his friends and injured his reputation.”

On the 12th of October, 1762, the annual meeting of the Philadelphia Association was held in the meeting-house of the Lutheran church, on Fifth Street. Here, in the quaint language of the record, “the sound of the organ was heard in the Baptist worship.” The Rev. Morgan Edwards presided as Moderator, and the Rev. Abel Morgan served as Clerk. Of the twenty-nine Churches belonging to the Association, eighteen were represented by delegates, including not a few prominent and influential pastors and laymen, whose praises have been recorded by the pen of a master¹ in his “Annals of the American Pulpit,” and more recently in the “Baptist Encyclopædia.” The seats of the spacious house were filled with devout men and women, who engaged with delight in the exercises of the prolonged sessions. A spirit of calmness and deliberation breathed in their consultations, and peaceful unanimity characterized all their determinations. Such is the tenor of the customary “Pastoral Address,” or, as it is now called, the “Circular Letter.”²

It was at this memorable meeting of the Association that a motion was made by the Moderator for the establishment of a Baptist college. No formal action was taken, so far as the records show, but the matter was without doubt thoroughly discussed, and the co-operation and

¹ Rev. Dr. William B. Sprague. Vol. 6. Baptists.

² A copy of the minutes of the Philadelphia Association from 1707 to 1807, edited by the Rev. Dr. A. D. Gillette, and published by the American Baptist Publication Society, 8vo, Phila., 1851, is in the Library of the University. Also a set of the original minutes in several quarto volumes. These minutes contain the Pastoral Addresses.

assistance of prominent brethren were pledged, notwithstanding the difficulties and obstacles in the way of an enterprise of such magnitude and importance. "The first mover for it in 1762," says Edwards,¹ "was laughed at as the projector of a thing impracticable. Nay, many of the Baptists themselves discouraged the design, prophesying evil to the churches in case it should take place, from an unhappy prejudice against learning." Well might the Baptists as a body have hesitated to engage in so difficult and responsible an undertaking. The country at large was still, so to speak, in its infancy, with a population of less than three millions. Only one hundred and forty-two years had elapsed since the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock, and but little more than a century and a half since Smith and his adventurers landed at Jamestown. In the time intervening there had been exhausting wars with the Indians, and an incessant struggle for the bare necessities of living. In the Northern colonies shelter had to be sought from the storms and frosts of a rigorous climate. Food had to be gained mainly by the sweat of the brow, out of a soil in many parts not overfruitful, and everywhere needing labor and care. Farms had to be enclosed, roads to be built, and the nameless wants incident to a new settlement, in a country separated from civilized Europe by the broad Atlantic, to be supplied. All these things pressed heavily and sorely upon a people, but few of whom were blessed with wealth, leaving them little time and still less means for books and schools and colleges. The Baptists, especially, were poor. In the New England colonies they numbered at this time, according to Backus, but thirty-nine churches, including both General and Particular Baptists. The twenty-nine churches connected with the Philadelphia Association represented the colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia. There were also churches in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, which afterwards formed the Charleston Association. It is within bounds to state, that in all the thirteen colonies there were at this time less than seventy regularly constituted churches, with a total

¹ "Materials for a History of the Baptists of Rhode Island." See Staples's *Annals of Providence*, page 519; *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, Vol. VI., page 348.

membership of perhaps five thousand. What could such a people do towards the establishment of a higher seat of learning?—without wealth, and without social or political influence; in many places, as we have already stated, fined, scourged, and imprisoned for their religious opinions, and everywhere, save in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Rhode Island, “scorned,” and like their Divine Master, “rejected of men.”

On the other hand, churches of the Baptist faith were rapidly multiplying. The good sense and better judgment of the people, notwithstanding the perversion of schools and learning by the “Standing Order,” demanded ministers who, in addition to the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, possessed the aids of literary and scientific culture. The Academy at Hopewell, although eminently prosperous and successful, was yet but a preparatory school. The two colleges of New England, Harvard and Yale, were controlled exclusively by the Congregationalists, and were especially unfriendly at this period to Anabaptists and “New Lights,” or revivalists. The College of New Jersey, at Princeton, had been established by Presbyterians, while Columbia of New York, William and Mary of Virginia, and the University of Pennsylvania were under Episcopal control. These were the only American colleges in existence at the time of which we speak. Notwithstanding the indifference of some and the opposition of others, there were pastors of strong faith and determined will, like Morgan Edwards, Samuel Jones, Isaac Sutton, Abel Morgan, John Gano and Isaac Eaton, and influential laymen like Mayor Stites, of Elizabethtown, and John Hart, of Hopewell, the signer of the immortal Declaration, who were ready to embark in the proposed enterprise. “And hereby,” says Backus, referring especially to the “travels and labors of our Southern fathers and brethren,” in New England, “the Philadelphia Association obtained such an acquaintance with our affairs, as to bring them to an apprehension that it was practicable and expedient to erect a college in the colony of Rhode Island, under the chief direction of the Baptists, wherein education might be promoted, and superior learning obtained,

free of any sectarian religious tests. Mr. James Manning, who took his first degree in New Jersey College in September, 1762, was esteemed a suitable leader in this important work."¹

From the foregoing accounts we see clearly, that the "beginnings" in the history of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, are found in connection with the Philadelphia Association. Pausing in our narrative, we may introduce here the following extracts from the records of the Association, showing a continued interest in the Institution which it had been instrumental in bringing into being:—

1764. Agreed, To inform the churches to which we respectively belong, that, inasmuch as a charter is obtained in Rhode Island Government toward erecting a Baptist College, the churches should be liberal in contributing toward carrying the same into execution. 1766. Agreed, To recommend warmly to our churches the interest of the College, for which a subscription is opened all over the continent. This College hath been set on foot upwards of a year, and has now in it three promising youths under the tuition of President Manning. 1767. Agreed, That the Rev. Isaac Eaton, and John Hart, Esq., executors of Mrs. Hobbs's² will, be allowed to pay fourteen pounds toward the education of Charles Thompson, student in Rhode Island College, out of the interest of the legacy left by said Mrs. Hobbs for the use of the Association in Philadelphia. Agreed, That the churches be requested to forward the subscription for Rhode Island College. 1769. We received pleasing accounts from Rhode Island College. Seven commenced this Fall. The colony has raised twelve hundred pounds toward the building, which will be begun early in the Spring. About one thousand pounds, lawful currency of New England, have been sent us from home (Great Britain) toward making up a salary for the President; and all the ministers of the Association have implicitly engaged to exert themselves in endeavoring to raise money for the same purpose. Resolved, That the moneys which may be raised in the Provinces of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, shall be put to interest in those Provinces, and not taken out of either, except the interest, which shall be subject to the order of the College to pay the President's salary, and for no other use. The persons appointed for receiving the donations are: in New York, the Rev. John Gano; in the Jerseys, John Stites, Esq.; in Pennsylvania, the Rev. Morgan Edwards. They are to see that the securities be

¹ History of the Baptists. Edition of 1871. Vol. 2, pp. 137 and 347.

² Mrs. Elizabeth Hobbs, widow of John Hobbs, who died March 26, 1767, aged upwards of eighty years. She left a legacy of £350 for the education of pious youths for the ministry, and also a handsome bequest to the Hopewell Church of which she was a member. See article by Dr. S. S. Cutting, in the Examiner for Dec. 1, 1864.

sufficient, and that the bonds, mortgages, etc., be deposited with the Treasurer of the College. Voted, That fourteen pounds, Jersey currency, be given to Mr. Thomas Ustick, towards defraying his expenses at the College.

Entries like these continue to appear in the records. In 1774, the Charleston Association proposed a plan for raising funds, which was adopted by the Philadelphia Association, and also by the Warren. This plan was, in the language of the records, "recommending to every member to pay sixpence sterling, annually, for three years successively, to their Elder, or some suitable person; this money to be paid to the Treasurer of the College." At the same time, says Benedict, the Rev. Messrs. John Gano, of New York, and Oliver Hart and Francis Pelot, of South Carolina, were appointed to address the Baptist Associations throughout America, and urge their co-operation in these efforts to raise funds for the College. The war which soon afterwards broke out, arrested of course these efforts. We may be amused, as we read such records, at the gravity with which an organized body of men could recommend the payment of so small a sum as sixpence, toward endowing an institution of learning, especially when we contrast it with the princely benefactions of later days. They illustrate what has already been stated respecting the poverty of the country at large, and especially of the Baptists.

Mr. James Manning, who, according to Backus "was esteemed a suitable leader in the important work of erecting a college in the Colony of Rhode Island," was born on the 22d of October, 1738, in Piscataway, Middlesex County, New Jersey. This was originally a part of the "Elizabethtown Grant," so-called, and hence his birthplace is sometimes called Elizabethtown. The story of his life is the history of the College. Concerning his parentage and ancestors we have had until recently but little authentic information. Of late years Mr. Oliver B. Leonard, City Clerk of Plainfield, New Jersey, whose wife is a descendant of the Mannings and the Stelles, has made a careful study of the colonial history of his state, and of the beginnings of Baptist history in America. Through his researches in probate courts, town

records, deeds, conveyances, church registers and family Bibles, he has been enabled to ascertain the genealogy and history of the families to which he is related, the results of which he has kindly placed at the writer's disposal and for which grateful acknowledgments are hereby tendered.

James, the father of the subject of our sketch, was a prosperous and intelligent farmer, who owned a plantation between Plainfield and New Brunswick, his farm being watered by the little stream known as Cedar Brook. His residence was not far from the little village of Brooklin and Samptown, adjoining the lands of Nathaniel Drake and Benjamin Laing. He was the son of James and Christiana (Laing) Manning, and the grandson of Jeffrey, one of the earliest settlers in the Piscataway township. His will, which is on record in the Prerogative Court at Trenton, is dated Dec. 26, 1766. It names as executors his sons Jeremiah and Joseph, and his son-in-law Joseph Tingley, and mentions his children in the disposition of his real estate, all of whom were living excepting a daughter, Mrs. Woodruff.

Grace, the mother, daughter of Joseph and Rebecca (Drake) Fitz Randolph, was one of thirteen children, most of whom married and reared large families. Judging from the character of him whose life we are considering, and from the fact that most of her children became members of the church before they had attained their majority, she was a woman of superior moral and mental endowments; one who exemplified in her daily life the happy and sanctifying influences of the Christian religion. James thus enjoyed all those advantages which are derived from the watchful care of sensible, well-to-do, and religious parents. To their counsel and example he was indebted for those principles of right conduct, and those cultivated moral sensibilities, which saved his youth from frivolity and vice, and to which, ere he had attained to manhood, God was pleased to add the regenerating influences of his Holy Spirit. His maternal grandparents, it may be added, lived in Piscataway township, and belonged to the Baptist church. His grandfather died in 1750, leaving by will fifty pounds to each of his surviving daughters, Grace, Prudence and Rebecca, and

giving his land to his sons Ephraim, Jeremiah, Paul, Thomas, and Joseph.

Seven children constituted the family of James and Grace Manning, viz.: Christiana, who married Joseph Tingley, and lived in Samptown; Jeremiah, who was thrice married, and lived in Bonham and afterwards in Bordentown; Enoch, who married Janet Edgar and died in February, 1791; Joseph, who in 1777 was elected a ruling Elder in the Scotch Plains Baptist Church, and was thrice married; John, who married Sarah van Pelt and settled on a farm in Somerset County; a younger sister, who married a Woodruff and died previous to 1766; and James, the President of Rhode Island College. These are all mentioned by him in his diaries and correspondence. Concerning young Manning's school-boy days, but little can now be ascertained. He probably enjoyed better advantages than most lads of that early colonial period. Elizabethtown, then the chief city of New Jersey, and the centre of comparative wealth and refinement, was but ten miles from his home. Here Dickinson resided, the first president of the College of New Jersey, and here were the beginnings of that now celebrated school of learning. Five miles to the south of him was New Brunswick, the present capital of Middlesex County, and the seat of Rutgers College. Whatever schools he attended, it is certain that he was thoroughly taught the elementary branches of knowledge. He was an accomplished reader, an excellent penman and a good speller. His manuscript writings furnish abundant evidence of his proficiency in this latter useful, though too often neglected, "rudiment." These may be regarded as matters of trivial importance, yet they show that he did not neglect his early opportunities for instruction.

At the age of eighteen he left the parental roof to prepare for college at the Hopewell Academy, under the instruction of Mr. Eaton, being, it is said, his first pupil. Here under the guidance of his faithful and beloved teacher, he became the subject of renewing grace. How much the prayers of pious loved ones at home contributed towards his conversion, and how great an influence was thus exerted upon the destiny of multitudes in his after career, eternity alone will reveal. A striking

instance of the importance of prayer in behalf of colleges and academies is here presented. Little did the principal of the infant academy realize how greatly the interests of learning and religion were to be affected by the conversion to God of this promising youth. In the subsequent relations of Manning to the Latin School, the College and the Church, both at Warren and at Providence, the results of his academic training at Hopewell are clearly recognized.

Having finished his preparatory studies, he returned to his home where he made a public profession of religion. He was baptized by the Rev. Benjamin Miller, who had been for many years pastor of the Scotch Plains Baptist Church. Mr. Miller was a native of Scotch Plains, who had been converted under the preaching of the celebrated Gilbert Tennent, and by him encouraged to enter the ministry. He was ordained on the 13th of February, 1748. Here he continued until his death in 1780, a good, laborious and successful minister. "Never," said the Rev. John Gano, who preached his funeral sermon, "did I esteem a ministering brother so much as I did Mr. Miller, nor feel so sensibly a like bereavement as that which I sustained by his death." This is high praise, coming from one who was an acknowledged leader in the Baptist denomination. It is pleasant to note thus the religious influences that surrounded the future President.

Soon after his baptism, Manning, being now twenty years of age, was admitted into the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, as a member of the Freshman Class. This flourishing institution of learning had been founded in 1746, under the auspices of the Synod of New York,¹ representing, it is well known, that branch of the Presby-

¹Ex-President Maclean, the learned historian of the college (2 vols., 8vo, Phila., 1877), thus writes:—"The first efforts for the erection of a college in New Jersey have an intimate connection with the first schism in the Presbyterian church. This schism began in 1741, with the separation of the Presbytery of New Brunswick from the Synod of Philadelphia. It was consummated in 1745, by the withdrawal of the Presbytery of New York, from the same Synod, *then the only one*; and by the organization of a new Synod, under the title of THE SYNOD OF NEW YORK, in the autumn of that year." Jonathan Dickinson, of Elizabethtown, the first president of the college, had been the acknowledged leader of the old Synod of Philadelphia, and he became no less the leader of the new Synod now formed. He was the intimate friend of Whitefield, who, on one occasion, visited him and preached in his parish. "He," says Sprague in his 'Annals,' "had more to do with originating the College of New Jersey than any other man."

terian church, which sympathized, as did in general the Baptists, with Whitefield and Tennent, and aided in the promotion of revivals.¹ The first location was Elizabethtown, whence it was removed to Newark, where it remained eight years. In 1756 it was removed to Princeton, its present location, where Nassau Hall, one of the largest and finest structures of the kind in the colonies, had been erected for its use. This afterwards served as a model for our present "University Hall."

At the time of Manning's entrance to college, the institution had no presiding officer. President Burr had died on the 24th of September, 1757. His successor, Jonathan Edwards, lived only five weeks after taking the oath of office. The Rev. Samuel Davies, who was the fourth president, was a man distinguished for his wisdom, piety and eloquence. Indeed, he has been regarded, and justly perhaps, as the prince of American preachers. His patriotic sermons, when a pastor in Virginia, are said to have produced effects as powerful as those ascribed to the orations of Demosthenes.² It was to him, doubtless, that Manning, and his classmate, the celebrated Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, were largely indebted for the model and inspiration of that popular and effective style of preaching, which make them pre-eminent among the Baptist divines of their day. Mr. Davies, after a most successful career of eighteen months, as president of the college, died in February,

¹ It has been stated, says Maclean, that the College owes its origin to the expulsion of David Brainard and John Cleaveland from Yale College in consequence of their attending meetings of the "New Lights," as revivalists were then called. It is a significant fact that three of the men who were most conspicuous in their sympathy with and efforts for Brainard, and in labors to promote revivals, were Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr and Jonathan Edwards, the first three presidents of the College.

² His "Sermons," to which are prefixed a sermon on his death, by his successor, Samuel Finley, and another discourse on the same occasion, together with an Elegiac Poem to his memory, by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Gibbons, were published in London, in five octavo volumes. A fine copy, second and third editions, is in the Library of Brown University. Mr. Davies spent the early part of his professional life in Virginia, preaching to destitute churches in Hanover County, maintaining the cause of the Dissenters, and laboring persistently to secure the religious liberties of his people against the bigotry and tyranny of their oppressors. He was thus a warm friend of the Baptists. The distinguished Patrick Henry, who was born in Hanover County, was one of his hearers, and an enthusiastic admirer of him and his opinions. In 1753 Mr. Davies had been chosen by the Synod of New York, at the instance of the Trustees of the College, to accompany the Rev. Gilbert Tennent to Great Britain to solicit benefactions for the young institution. This service he performed with singular spirit and success.

1761. The following letter from the Rev. Oliver Hart, whose acquaintance Manning had formed while a student at the Hopewell Academy, may fitly be introduced in this connection. Mr. Hart was a leading Baptist at the South, the founder of the "Charleston Baptist Association," and also of "The Religious Society" to aid pious young men in their studies for the ministry, one of whose beneficiaries was the famous Dr. Stillman, who afterwards labored so efficiently with Manning and Smith, in efforts to advance the interests of Rhode Island College:—

CHARLESTON, April 17, 1761.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—

I received your kind letter of the 1st of March, ult., together with President Davies's sermon on the death of his late Majesty,—for which favors I return my most unfeigned thanks. You intimate that you have written me several letters heretofore. I received only one of them as near as I can remember, about two years ago, and to which I returned an answer by the first opportunity. I lament with you (and surely all the friends of Zion must mourn) the loss of the justly celebrated President Davies. Oh, what floods of sorrow must have overwhelmed the minds of many, when it was echoed from house to house and from village to village, as in the dismal sound of hoarse thunder, *President Davies is no more!* Oh, sad and melancholy dispensation! Arise, all ye sons of pity, and mourn with those that mourn. And thou, my soul, let drop the flowing tear while commiserating the bereaved and distressed. Alas for the dear woman, whose beloved is taken away with a stroke! May Jesus be her husband, her strength, and her stay. Alas for the bereaved children! May their father's God be their God in covenant. Alas for the church of Christ! Deprived of one of the principal pillars, how grievous the stroke to thee! But Jesus, thy head and foundation, ever lives.

And thou, Nassau Hall, lately so flourishing, so promising, under the auspicious management of so worthy a president—what might we not have expected from thee! But alas! How is the mighty fallen in thee! How doth the large and beautiful house appear as a widow in sable weeds! And thy sons, lately so gay and pleasant, as well as promising and contented—how do they retire into their apartments, and there with bitter sighs, heavy groans, and broken accents, languish out, My Father, My Father!—the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof! But I can write no more.

Yours affectionately,

OLIVER HART.

President Davies was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley, who entered upon the duties of his office in July, 1761. By him Manning was taught in his senior year, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He was a man of extensive learning, and remarkable for sweetness of disposition and politeness of behavior. In the early years of his ministry he had labored with Whitefield and Tennent, in promoting the great revival of religion which was at that period so remarkable throughout the country. While a pastor at Nottingham, in Maryland, he had established an academy which acquired a great reputation. Under his instruction many youths received the rudiments of learning and correct moral sentiments. In his religious opinions he was called a Calvinist. Other instructors of Manning were Tutors Halsey, Treat, Ker, and Blair, all of whom afterwards became eminent clergymen. The last named, Dr. Samuel Blair, was in 1767 elected to the presidency of the college. He, however, declined the appointment. Such were the men to whom the future President was indebted for his academic and collegiate training. That they exerted a most important influence in developing his character, and in determining his subsequent career, no one will deny.

Among the requirements for admission to the College of New Jersey was one obliging every student to transcribe the laws and customs thereof, which copy, being signed by the president, was to be in testimony of his admission, and to be kept by him while in college, as a rule of his good behavior. Among the Smith papers is a copy of these laws, which are published in full in the life¹ of Smith, as an illustration of the colonial times. "Laws," says Montesquieu, "in their most extensive sense, are the necessary relations arising from the nature of things. In this sense, all beings have their laws, the Deity his laws, the material world its laws, the intelligences superior to man their laws, man his laws, the beasts their laws." No apology need be required for introducing at this point extracts from these laws, espec-

¹"Chaplain Smith and the Baptists; or, Life, Journal, Letters and Addresses of the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D. D., of Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1737-1805." By Reuben A. Guild. 12mo. Phila., Amer. Bap. Pub. Soc., 1885.

ially as they formed the basis for the government and discipline of Rhode Island College : —

LAWS OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.

None may expect to be admitted into the College but such as having been examined by the President and Tutors, shall be found able to render Virgil and Tully's Orations into English ; to turn English into true and grammatical Latin ; and so well acquainted with the Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in that language into Latin or English, and give the grammatical construction of the words.

Such as are candidates for the degree of Bachelors, shall at some convenient time, before the public Commencement, submit to a strict and critical examination, before the President and as many of the Trustees as can conveniently attend, and any other gentleman of liberal education as shall see cause to be present ; and upon their approbation, may expect to be admitted to the honors of the College.

Those who have prosecuted their studies for three years, after obtaining their first degree, if they have not been scandalous in their lives and conversation, shall be admitted to the degree of Master of Arts.

The President, or in his absence one of the Tutors, shall, morning and evening, read a portion of the Holy Scriptures, and pray with the students.

Every student shall be obliged to give his attendance at all such religious exercises, and those that absent themselves, for every offense shall be punished in a fine of two pence, proc.,¹ and those who do not timely attend, one penny, unless detained by sickness, or some other excuse as shall be deemed sufficient.

The students on every Lord's Day shall attend Divine Service in some place of public worship ; which, if they without sufficient excuse omit, shall be punished in a fine of four pence, proc. ;¹ and shall pay a religious regard to the Lord's Day by keeping in their rooms and not visiting, or admitting others into their company. And it is judged expedient and hereby ordered, that no student be out of his room on the evening next after Saturday, or next after Lord's Day, except for religious purposes, or some necessary occasion, under penalty of four pence for every offense.

None of the students shall frequent taverns, or places of public entertainment, or keep company with persons of known scandalous lives, who will be likely to vitiate their morals. Those that practise contrary to this law, shall first be admonished, and if they still persist in such dangerous company, shall be expelled the College.

None of the students shall play at cards, or dice, or any other unlawful game, upon the penalty of a fine not exceeding five shillings proc. for the first offense ; for the second public admonition ; for the third expulsion.

¹ Proclamation money, six shillings to the dollar.

None of the students shall be absent from their chambers without leave first obtained from the President or one of the Tutors, unless half an hour after morning prayer and recitations, an hour and a half after dinners, and from evening prayer until seven o'clock, on the penalty of four pence proc. for each offense.

If any scholar shall persist in the careless neglect of his studies, and shall not make suitable preparation for the stated recitations and other scholastic exercises appointed for his instruction, after due admonition he shall be expelled.

Every student shall be obliged to pay for his tuition in the College the sum of fifteen shillings proc. every quarter.¹

Every one that is admitted to the honor of a degree shall pay thirty shillings proc. to the President of the College.

The Tutors shall frequently visit their pupils in their chambers, to direct and encourage them in their studies, and see that they are diligently employed about their proper business.

No scholar shall be allowed to make any treat or entertainment in his chamber on any account, or have any private meals, without having first obtained leave of the President or Tutors.

No jumping or hallooing or boisterous noise shall be suffered in the College at any time, or walking in the gallery in the time of study.

No scholar shall spread abroad anything transacted in this house, which being publicly known may tend to injure the credit of this Institution or disturb the peace of the members.

Every student shall pay four pence per quarter for study, rent, sweeping their room, and making their beds. And such as smoke or chew tobacco, five pence; and one shilling for incidental charges.

CUSTOMS.

Every member of the College shall treat the authority of the same, and all superiors, in a becoming manner, paying that respect that is due to every one considered in his proper place.

Every scholar shall keep his hat off about ten rods to the President and five to the Tutors.

Every Freshman sent on an errand shall go and do it faithfully and make quick return.

Every scholar shall rise up and make obeisance when the President goes in or out of the hall, or enters the pulpit on days of religious worship.

When he first comes into the company of a superior, or in speaking to him, he shall show him respect by pulling off his hat.

¹ The yearly dues for tuition at Brown are now one hundred and five dollars, which is more than ten times the amount required at Princeton in the days of Manning.

If called or spoken to by a superior, if within hearing, he shall give a direct and pertinent answer, with the word, SIR, at the end thereof.

If overtaking a superior, or met by him going up or down a pair of stairs, he shall stop, giving him the banister side.

No Freshman shall ever wear a gown.

No member of College may appear abroad dressed in an indecent or slovenly manner, but must be entire and complete.

No member of the College shall wear his hat in the College at any time, or appear in the dining room at meal time, in the hall at any public exercises, or knowingly in the presence of any of the authorities of the College, without an upper garment, and having shoes and stockings tight.

The reader of these Laws and Customs will not fail to observe that college students in colonial days were accustomed to habits of obedience, and of strict subjection to authority. While at Princeton, Manning occasionally returned to Hopewell and assisted Mr. Eaton in the instruction of the pupils under his care. Concerning his student life our information is very limited. He was remarkable for diligence and attention to his studies, — habits which gained for him a reputation for superior scholarship. In Rhetoric, Eloquence, Moral Philosophy, and the Classics, he especially excelled. He was fond of athletic exercise, and devoted many of his hours for recreation to manly and invigorating sports.¹ “*Sana mens in sano corpore,*” may have been his motto. In his conduct we may well believe that he was uniformly regular, thus maintaining a good standing with the officers of the college, and securing the friendship and esteem of his fellow students.

He was graduated on the 29th of September, 1762, with the second honors of his class. This class consisted of twenty-one, and included some excellent scholars, who afterwards distinguished themselves in

¹ In his youth, says Judge Howell, who knew him well, he was remarkable for his dexterity in athletic exercises, for the symmetry of his body, and gracefulness of his person. Had he lived in our day he could easily have been captain of a base-ball nine or of a foot-ball club. In his maturer years he weighed upwards of three hundred pounds. Concerning his bulk the Hon. Wm. Hunter, one of his pupils, thus writes: — “His motions and gestures were so easy and graceful, that ordinary observers thought not of his immense volume of flesh, and those who criticised, admired the manner in which it was spontaneously wielded. I do not know that he had ever read Hogarth’s Analysis of Beauty, but he moved in his line of grace.”

their several professions and walks of life. Among them may be mentioned the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, his life-long intimate friend, known as "the great man of Haverhill," and a distinguished chaplain in the War of the Revolution; Ebenezer Hazard, who was the first Postmaster-General of the United States, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and published in two large quarto volumes a valuable collection of documents relating to American history; Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, a member of the Continental Congress, and the first Attorney-General of Pennsylvania; Rev. Joseph Periam, for several years a Tutor in the college, distinguished for his attainments in Mathematics and Metaphysics; Hugh Alison, a Presbyterian minister; and Hon. Isaac Allen who was the Valedictorian. An account of the Commencement is given in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and published in full in Maclean's History. The exercises were introduced by "an elegant salutatory oration," in Latin, by Manning. A copy of this oration, in the well known hand-writing of the author, is in our possession. But for its length it would have been published, not as light or interesting reading, but as an illustration of the scholarship of the man, and the customs of the college. The parchment for his Bachelor's degree reads as follows:—

Praeses et Curatores Collegii Neo-Cæsariensis omnibus et singulis has literas lecturis Salutem in Domino. Notum sit quod nobis placet auctoritate Regio Diplomate commissa Jacobum Manning candidatum primum in Artibus gradum constitutum examine sufficiente prævio approbatum titulo graduque artium liberalium Baccalaurei adonare cujus sigillum comminus Collegii Neo-Cæsariensis huic membranæ affixum nominaque nostra subscripta testimonium sint.

Datum Aulae Nassonicæ in Nova Cæsaria
 tertio Calendas Octobris Anno Æræ
 Christi Millesimo Septingentesimo
 Sexagessimo secundo.

SAMUEL FINLEY, *Præses.*

RICHARD TREAT,

ISRAEL READ,

CALEB SMITH,

SAMUEL WOODRUFF,

WILLIAM C. SMITH,

R. HARRIS,

} *Curatores.*

Reference has already been made to Manning's conversion at the Hopewell Academy, the special object of which institution was "the education of youth for the ministry." The influence of principal Eaton, and the example of such preachers as presidents Davies and Finley, combined with his own natural talents and inclinations, could hardly fail to turn his thoughts towards the ministry as his own profession and calling. Soon after graduation he was regularly "licensed" by the church of which he was a member. The following documents, mostly found among the Gano papers in the possession of the late Mrs. Eliza B. Rogers, will repay careful perusal:—

The Church of Jesus Christ, meeting together at the Scotch Plains, in the County of Essex, and Province of New Jersey, professing Believer's Baptism, Laying on of Hands, Eternal Election, Final Perseverance, etc.

And being met this first day of December, Anno Domini, 1762, have unanimously agreed to call James Manning, A. B., a member in full communion with us, to the trial of his ministerial gifts in this church, at our next meeting of business, or on the first convenient opportunity next following.

Signed by us at our meeting of business,
December 1, 1762.

BENJAMIN MILLER, *Pastor.*
RECOMPENSE STANBURG, *Elder.*
SAMUEL DRAKE, *Elder.*
SAMUEL DOTY, *Elder.*
WILLIAM DARBY, *Deacon.*

The "trial" was satisfactory, and a license to preach was cordially voted him two months later, as appears from the following carefully prepared document:—

The Church of Jesus Christ at the Scotch Plains, maintaining the doctrine of Believer's Baptism, Laying on of Hands, Eternal Election, Special Vocation, and Final Perseverance, having called our loving brother, James Manning, A. B., to the trial of his ministerial gifts; and finding upon his improvement in preaching full satisfaction;—we do hereby call and license him to preach publicly amongst us as often as opportunity shall present;— And also we recommend him as one sound, regular, and qualified to preach the Gospel wherever he may have a legal call, either in our sister

churches or associations, praying that the Divine blessing may be with him, and accompany his labors, to the glory of God, and the spiritual good of immortal souls.

Signed at our meeting of business,
February 6, 1763.

BENJAMIN MILLER, *Pastor.*
RECOMPENSE STANBURG, *Elder.*
SAMUEL DRAKE, *Elder.*
SAMUEL DOTY, *Elder.*
WILLIAM DARBY, *Deacon.*

On the 23d of March following, he was united in marriage to Miss Margaret Stites, daughter of John Stites, Esq., of Elizabethtown. He had corresponded with her while a student in college. Under date of Aug. 23, 1759, he writes, urging upon her attention the subject of personal religion. This letter, which has recently come to light, we here present in part, as an illustration of the author's fervent piety and zeal, and as a part of his early life: —

AFFECTIONATE FRIEND.

Amongst the various pursuits of mankind, religion is the most noble, the most exalted, and the most worthy of our highest regard in efforts to obtain; notwithstanding all the scoffs and jeers of an ungodly world. Seeing then, my dear Friend, that there is no greater happiness in this world, and no other way to arrive at happiness in the world to come, than by believing the record which God gave of his Son, and giving up ourselves to God wholly and unreservedly through a glorious Mediator, how watchful should we be, how earnestly should we cry day and night, that God would pardon all our sins, and receive us as righteous in his sight, through the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ.

The writer goes on to describe the nature of conversion, and the danger of those who neglect salvation, closing with an urgent, personal appeal. Whether his friend responded to this appeal is nowhere stated; she certainly did not make a profession of religion until some twelve years after her marriage.

The father of Miss Stites was a prominent and wealthy lay member of the Baptist Church, and for several years Mayor or Chief Magistrate of Elizabethtown. His place of residence was Connecticut Farms, a

delightful agricultural village four miles from Elizabethtown, and in his day a part of that borough. Some time previous to 1749, a number of families from Connecticut had purchased a large tract of land and divided it into farms of a convenient size, giving this village its present name. Washington, it is said, when passing through this section, pronounced it the "garden of New Jersey," on account of its beauty and fertility. Here was the Stites home, which, before the disasters of the war, and while the owner was in affluent circumstances, was the centre of an abundant hospitality. Here Manning and his wife were always welcome guests.

Concerning the ancestry of the Stites family but little can be ascertained. William, the father of John, moved from Hampstead, Long Island, to Springfield, a small village in Essex County, six miles from Elizabethtown. This was in 1727, as appears from a date on his tombstone in the old burying ground. He had a son named William who resided in Elizabethtown, to whom Manning refers as his "uncle" under date of 1779.¹ John was the oldest son. From the few facts at hand concerning him, it is evident that he was a man of ability and of widely extended influence. In the minutes of the Philadelphia Association, under date of 1769, it is recorded that he was appointed by that body to receive donations in the Jerseys for Rhode Island College. His three sons were all educated at the Hopewell Academy. Furthermore he was the father-in-law of two of the most prominent men in the Baptist denomination. He died in 1782, as appears from a letter to Judge Howell, dated November 19th, in which Manning speaks of Dr. Dayton as "the acting Executor of his father-in-law's estate."² The mother's maiden name does not appear. She died in 1784, two years after her husband's decease. In a letter to Dr. Smith, dated July 3d, Manning speaks of his wife as having sailed on the 27th ultimo, "to enjoy the last interview with her dear Mamma, just about to leave us by a consumption."³

¹ Manning and Brown University, page 280.

² *Ibid*, page 292.

³ *Ibid*, page 336.

Seven children constituted the Stites household, viz., Mary; Hezekiah, a physician who resided at Cranberry, and died in 1797; Sarah, who married the Rev. John Gano; Margaret, who married Manning; John, a physician, and afterwards a merchant, to whom Manning in his correspondence refers as a resident of New York;¹ and Richard, the youngest, who was one of the first graduates of Rhode Island College; he was killed in battle at Long Island, being captain of a company under Gen. Nathanael Greene.

Manning's marriage proved a source of great domestic felicity. The wife possessed those elegant accomplishments and superior qualities which well accorded with her husband's character, and happily fitted her for the discharge of duties inseparable from public positions of honor and usefulness. She was also lovely and attractive in person, if one may judge from her portrait, which hangs beside that of her husband in Sayles Memorial Hall.² The blessings of offspring were, however, denied them. She survived her beloved companion many years, and after a long and retired widowhood, died in Providence, Nov. 9, 1815, at the advanced age of seventy-five. At the time of their marriage she was not, as has already been stated, a professor of religion. During a powerful revival under her husband's preaching, in 1775, she became a hopeful convert, and was received into the fellowship of the Baptist Church. The joys and consolations of a well-grounded hope in Christ thus comforted her in her bereavement, soothed her declining years, and cheered her dying hours.

On the 19th of April, a few weeks after his marriage, Manning was publicly ordained and set apart for his chosen work, as a preacher and an evangelist. The sermon on the occasion was preached by his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Gano, who had but recently been settled over the newly-constituted Baptist Church in New York. His teacher and spiritual guide at the Academy, the Rev. Isaac Eaton, gave the

¹ Manning and Brown University, page 355.

² This portrait was bequeathed to Brown University by Miss Maria Benedict, a daughter of Rev. Dr. David Benedict, and a niece of Mrs. Eliza B. Rogers, whose property she inherited. Dr. Manning's portrait was bequeathed by Mrs. Manning, in her will, recorded November, 1815.

charge, and his beloved friend, the Rev. Isaac Stelle,¹ of Piscataway, made the ordaining prayer.

By the following letter from the Rev. Oliver Hart, it appears that he was invited about this time to settle in Charleston, South Carolina, as assistant pastor of the Baptist Church. This invitation, fortunately for the interests of learning and religion in New England, he felt obliged to decline, having already entered upon the great educational work, to which his future was to be consecrated:—

CHARLESTON, June 20, 1763.

DEAR MR. MANNING:

A few days ago I had the pleasure to forward a call to you, from this church, to come over and assist me in breaking the bread of life to the dear people of my charge. I hope enough has been said to induce you to come over to this "delightful region," if I may use your own words. Since I wrote you last, I have received letters from Mr. Gano, who informs me that you are married, ordained, and not settled; and that you intend a journey to the eastward before you settle anywhere. I assure you that this gives me hope that you will settle to the southward, seeing you are not yet engaged.

I congratulate you on your having entered into a new state of life, and hope you will enjoy all the comforts which the married state can afford. I welcome you into the vineyard of the Lord as one of his laborers. You are now an ambassador for the King of Kings. I doubt not but that a sense of the importance of the work lies with weight upon your mind. Well, he who is the Lord our righteousness is also the Lord our strength. I have only to say, I hope God will send you upon an embassy to this place, where you will be welcomed to my heart, to my house, and to my people, and where you will have a hopeful prospect of doing much good.

Remember me in kind love to your other self. Tell her I wish her joy in her new state, and hope for the pleasure of saluting her in Charleston, where many whose ambition will be to make her happy will rejoice to see her. If the call should happen by any means to miscarry, pray look upon this as one, and do not engage until you receive a duplicate of that already sent. I wish you great grace, and am

Yours in Jesus,

OLIVER HART.

¹ Mr. Stelle was the son of Benjamin Stelle, a worthy magistrate, who for many years was pastor of the Piscataway Church. Upon the death of his father in 1759, Isaac succeeded to the pastoral office, continuing in it until his death in 1781. His son Benjamin was educated at the Hopewell Academy, and graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1766. He came to Providence soon afterwards and established a Latin School, as is learned from a letter of President Manning to David Howell. The late Hon. Nicholas Brown, as has been previously noted, married a daughter of Mr. Stelle for his second wife.

An account of the Rev. John Gano, to whom Mr. Hart here alludes, and whose name so frequently recurs throughout these pages, who was so intimately associated with Manning in his efforts to promote the cause of sound learning and ministerial education, may fitly close this chapter. He was regarded by Baptists in his day as a "star of the first magnitude," a "prince among the hosts of Israel." Possessed of superior natural talents and a great knowledge of human nature, he adapted himself with singular readiness to the varied circumstances of his eventful life. His ancestors were Huguenots. Francis Gerneaux, as the name was originally spelled, was his great-grandfather. He escaped from the island of Guernsey during the bloody persecution that arose in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and, arriving in this country, settled at New Rochelle, where he died at the extraordinary age of one hundred and three years. John was born at Hopewell, New Jersey, July 22, 1727. He was therefore Manning's senior by eleven years and upwards. His parents were eminently pious, and from his earliest years he was faithfully instructed in the great principles of religion. At the age of twenty-eight he was united in marriage to Miss Sarah Stites, who proved to be a most agreeable companion, and an efficient auxiliary to his usefulness. Eleven children—seven sons and four daughters—were the fruits of this union; one of whom, Dr. Stephen Gano, was for a period of thirty-six years (1792–1828), the honored and efficient pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence. In June, 1762, the First Baptist Church in New York, consisting of twenty-seven members dismissed for this purpose from the Scotch Plains Church, was organized, and Mr. Gano became its pastor. Here he continued for a quarter of a century, excepting the time he was absent from the city in consequence of the war. During his ministry the church was greatly prospered, receiving by baptism upwards of three hundred members.

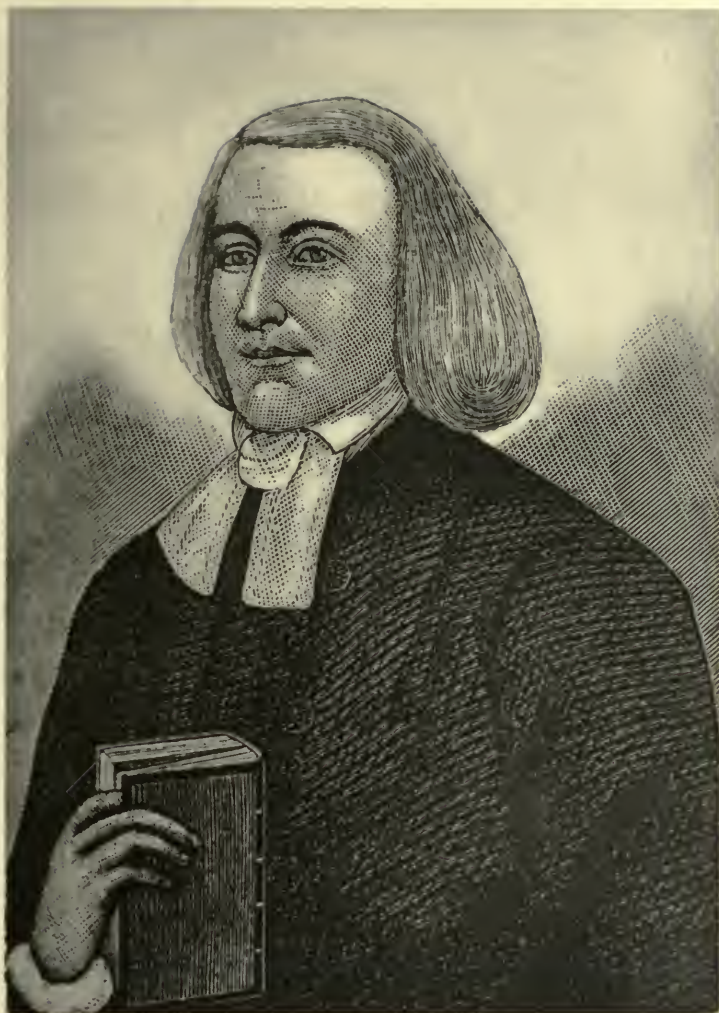
Mr. Gano early espoused the cause of his country in the contest with Great Britain. At the commencement of the war he joined the standard of freedom in the capacity of Chaplain to General Clinton's New York brigade, and by his preaching and example contributed not a little to

impart a determined spirit to the soldiers. Though his duties were peaceful he did not shun scenes of danger. Headley, in his "Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution," says:—"In the fierce conflict on Chatterton's Hill, Mr. Gano was continually under fire, and his cool and quiet courage in thus fearlessly exposing himself, was afterwards commented on in the most glowing terms by the officers who stood near him." In speaking of his conduct on this occasion he himself modestly says:—"My station in time of action I knew to be among the surgeons, but in this battle I somehow got in the front of the regiment, yet I durst not quit my place for fear of dampening the spirits of the soldiers, or of bringing on myself an imputation of cowardice." Headley further states that when he "saw more than half the army flying from the sound of cannon, others abandoning their pieces without firing a shot, and a brave band of six hundred maintaining a conflict with the whole British army, filled with chivalrous and patriotic sympathy for the valiant men that refused to run, he could not resist the strong desire to share their perils, and he eagerly pushed forward to the front." Mr. Gano continued in the army till the conclusion of the war. On the 19th of April, 1783, Washington proclaimed peace from the "New Building" at Newburg, and the patriotic Chaplain, in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, offered up a prayer of thanksgiving and praise to the Almighty Ruler of the Universe.

In 1788 Mr. Gano left his Society in New York, and removed to Kentucky. He died at Frankfort, in 1804, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. Hon. Charles S. Todd, formerly Ambassador from the United States to Russia, in a communication to the Rev. Dr. Sprague, says:—"Well do I remember the venerable and imposing appearance which he used to make, as he walked the streets, and how everybody respected him, both as a Christian gentleman and a minister of the Gospel." "He was in person," says the Rev. Dr. Furman, "below the middle stature, and, when young, of a slender form; but of a vigorous constitution, well fitted for performing active services with ease, and for suffering labors and privations with constancy. In the more advanced stages of life his body tended to corpulency. His presence was manly, open,

and engaging. His voice was strong and commanding, yet agreeable, and capable of all those inflections which are suited to express either the strong or tender emotions of an intelligent, feeling mind."

Memoirs of Mr. Gano, written principally by himself, were published in a small duodecimo form in 1806. This is now a very rare book, and much sought after. He was one of the first trustees of Rhode Island College, and as such rendered good and efficient service. Cathcart has a fine likeness of him in his "Baptist Encyclopædia," from which the accompanying portrait is taken.



JOHN GANO.

CHAPTER II.

1763-1769.

Manning's first appearance in Rhode Island in behalf of the College—Stopped at Newport while on a voyage to Halifax—Accompanied by Rev. John Sutton, afterwards an assistant to the Rev. Samuel Winsor of Providence—Motion for the College made to prominent Baptists, and a meeting to discuss the subject held at Col. John Gardner's house—Account of Colonel Gardner—Sketch of the proposed College presented by Manning at an adjourned meeting, and the Hon. Josias Lyndon and Col. Job Bennet appointed to draw a Charter to be laid before the next General Assembly—Designs of the friends of the College nearly frustrated by "secret contrivances"—After three sessions of the General Assembly, Charter finally granted at an adjourned session, held in East Greenwich, on the last Monday in February, 1764—Manning and Edwards present at these sessions—Charter now the Constitution of Brown University—Remarkably liberal in its provisions—Necessary to locate the College in the beginning where the President could receive a support as the Pastor of a Church—Warren the place selected—Members of the church in Swansea about to form a separate church in Warren—Preparations made to build a meeting-house—Manning received a call dated Feb. 17, 1764, "to come over from New Jersey and settle amongst them"—Arrival in Warren—Formation of the Baptist Church, Nov. 15, 1764—Covenant—Imposition of Hands—Call of the Church to Manning—Latin School commenced—First meeting of the Corporation held in Newport in 1764—Second meeting held in 1765—Manning elected President—Brief account of the members—Extracts from the records—First student, William Rogers, of Newport, matriculated—Sketch of his character and life—Letter from Isaac Backus to the Rev. Dr. Gill, of London, commending Manning as a teacher of youth and the President of the College—Extract from Backus's history—Letter from Manning to David Howell about to graduate at Princeton, inviting him to come to Warren—Sketch of the life and character of Howell, the first Tutor and Professor of the College—Morgan Edwards requested by the Corporation to go to England and solicit funds for the College—Account of his mission—Subscription book preserved among the Library archives—Parsonage-house built by a lottery—Formation of the Warren Association in 1767—Plan drawn by Manning—Records of the early meetings—Noah Alden—Efforts put forth in behalf of religious freedom—Standing Committee on Grievances—Manning's prominence both in the Warren and the Philadelphia Associations—Circular Letter by Manning—Meeting of the Corporation for 1769 held in Warren—First Commencement—Red-letter day in the history of the College—Candidates dressed in American manufactures—Stamp Act—Discussion of American Independence a prominent feature of the Commencement exercises—Description of the first Latin sheet or broadside—Alphabetical arrangement of the

names of the candidates in contrast with that of Harvard—Brief biographies of members of the graduating class—Oration of William Rogers—Sketches of Richard Stites, James M. Varnum, William Williams, and Charles Thompson—Thompson's Valedictory Address.

DURING the year that elapsed after his ordination and marriage, Manning traveled through the Colonies, in order to ascertain from personal observation the real state of religion, and to prepare himself for the great work upon which he had now entered. No record is left to indicate the extent or to exhibit the incidents of his journeyings. From his "Narrative," which we shall give in full in connection with the history of the charter, and from subsequent events, it appears that he sailed to Halifax, and from thence returned through the New England Colonies, attending the several sessions of the Rhode Island Legislature during the discussions upon the charter, visiting Providence, his future home, and also Warren, where he was soon to be settled as a pastor. He was accompanied, it is stated, by the Rev. John Sutton, a member of the Scotch Plains Church, and an early graduate of the Hopewell Academy.¹ Several years previous to this time Mr. Sutton had preached and baptized converts in Newport, Nova Scotia. He was afterwards, says Edwards, settled in Nova Scotia from 1766 until 1770. On his return to the Jerseys, after his settlement, he stopped at Providence, where he was an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Winsor six months, preaching for the church "to good acceptance." This we learn from the records, and also from Knight's "History of the Six Principle Baptists."

¹ This statement was made to the author many years ago, by the Rev. Dr. Benedict, and other members of the Gano family. It probably came from Mrs. Manning, who resided with her nephew, Dr. Gano, after the death of her husband. She died in 1815. It is more than probable that she also accompanied her husband on this voyage to Halifax. In the sketch of the College found among the papers of Judge Howell, and given in Appendix B to President Sears's Centennial Discourse, it is stated that John Sutton accompanied Manning on his voyage to Halifax, touching at Newport, in the summer of 1763. (See Centennial Discourse, pages 63-64.) Among the Manning papers is a letter from the Rev. Oliver Hart, of South Carolina, Nov. 14, 1764, in which he refers to a letter from Rev. Mr. Simpson, in answer to a call from the people at Halifax. This letter Mr. Hart sent to Manning, with a request that he would forward it in the "best and speediest manner you can." It is evident that Manning's visit to Halifax in the summer of 1763 had reference in some way to the Baptist interest in that place.

In the month of July, 1763, the vessel in which they had embarked for Halifax stopped at Newport, Rhode Island. It was at this time, says Manning, using his own words, that he "made a motion to several gentlemen of the Baptist denomination, whereof Col. John Gardner, the Deputy Governor was one, relative to a Seminary of Polite Literature, subject to the government of the Baptists. The motion was properly attended to which brought together about fifteen gentlemen of the same denomination to the Deputy's house."

Who these "fifteen gentlemen of the same denomination" were we have no means of positively knowing. Among them without doubt were the three pastors of the Baptist Churches, Edward Upham, Gardner Thurston, and John Maxson. Colonel Gardner was surely present, for the meeting was at his house. So also the Hon. Josias Lyndon and Col. Job Bennet, for they were appointed a committee to draw up a charter and present it to the Legislature. Governor Samuel Ward, so his biographer states, was present. So doubtless were Doct. Thomas Eyres, a graduate of Yale, and the first Secretary of the Corporation, Simon Pease, Peleg Barker, John Tanner, John Warren, and John Tillinghast. These were all Baptist Trustees and Fellows, and were present at the first meeting of the Corporation in 1764. Colonel Gardner, beneath whose hospitable roof was held this first meeting in Rhode Island relative to the College, was a man venerable in years and prominent in society, being not only Colonel and Deputy Governor, but also Chief Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature, now called the Supreme Judicial Court. He was a son of Joseph and Catherine (Holmes) Gardner, and a descendant of the celebrated Rev. Obadiah Holmes, who was publicly whipped for his religious opinions by the authorities at Boston. He died in 1764. The inscription on his tomb in the Newport graveyard reads as follows: —

To the memory of the Honorable John Gardner, Esq., this tomb is dedicated. He changed this life for one more glorious, on the 29th day of January, 1764, in the 69th year of his age. His death was to the community the loss of a useful and worthy member; to his disconsolate wife and numerous offspring a loss irreparable. He was a loving and indulgent husband, as well as a tender and affectionate parent, and remarkable for

his affable and courteous deportment to all men. While young he devoted himself to the service of his country, in which he was advanced to many posts of the greatest trust, which he discharged with honor and fidelity. He was early received into the Baptist Church, in the communion of which he remained a worthy member till his death. His life was exemplary, and few men had a more extensive charity for Christians of every denomination. In his last hours he bore his sickness with patience and resignation, a glorious presage of his future happiness. And we trust that he is now at rest in the mansions of bliss, with his Redeemer and the spirits of just men made perfect.

In accordance with the suggestion of Colonel Gardner, Mr. Manning was requested to draw a sketch of the design, and the meeting was adjourned until the day following. "That day came," says Manning, "and the said gentlemen, with other Baptists, met in the same place, when a rough draft was produced and read, the tenor of which was, that the Institution was to be a Baptist one, but that as many of other denominations should be taken in as was consistent with the said design." This appears to have met the approval of the brethren present, "and accordingly," Manning continues, "the Hon. Josias Lyndon and Col. Job Bennet were appointed to draw a charter to be laid before the next General Assembly, with a request that they would pass it into a law." The "next General Assembly" met by adjournment in Newport on the first Monday in August. The manner in which the designs of the friends of the College were nearly frustrated by what Backus terms "secret contrivances and some other attempts against it," will be shown in detail in a succeeding chapter. After two sessions of the General Assembly held in South Kingstown, one in October, 1763, and one in January, 1764, and after much opposition on the part of certain Congregationalists and their friends, a charter reflecting the liberal sentiments of the Colony, and of the Baptist denomination at large, was finally granted, at an adjourned session held in East Greenwich, on the last Monday in February, 1764. "After much and warm debate," says Judge Jenckes, "the question was put and carried in favor of the charter by a great majority." The final result was largely due doubtless to the personal influence of Manning and Edwards, who it appears were present at these several sessions. Manning, the future President,

was now twenty-five years of age, of a fine, commanding appearance, and polished address. He was known as a superior scholar, having recently been graduated from Princeton with the second honors of his class. His physique was large and imposing, his person was graceful, and his countenance handsome and remarkably expressive of sensibility, dignity, and cheerfulness. He possessed, moreover, a voice of extraordinary compass and harmony, to which, in no small degree, may be ascribed the vivid impression which he made upon other minds. His manners, too, were those of a refined gentleman, combining ease without negligence, dignity, grace, and politeness without affectation. Mr. Edwards, the "first mover" in the enterprise, is described by all his biographers as a man of wonderful magnetic influence, inspiring with enthusiasm all with whom he came in contact. Such were our leaders at this crisis in the history of the College. How much influence Bishop Berkeley, whose name has been mentioned by prominent writers in this connection, had in the matter, does not to the writer's mind yet appear. He had resided in Newport thirty-two years previous to this time, from February, 1729, until September, 1731, with the pious intention of converting the American Indians to Christianity by means of an Episcopal college to be established in one of the Bermuda islands.

This charter, which gives to the Baptists, or as they are further designated, "Anti-Pedobaptists," the control, or in the words of Manning, "the lead in the Institution," is now regarded as the "unalterable constitution of Brown University." However severely it may be criticised by the Baptists of to-day for its remarkable, and in the minds of some, excessive liberality, it is very evident that no other charter could have been obtained one hundred and thirty-two years ago; and furthermore, that no strictly sectarian college could have succeeded, at least for the time being, under the exclusive patronage of a despised and oppressed denomination, having only seventy regularly organized churches in all the thirteen colonies, with a membership of perhaps five thousand. Our fathers were wise in their day and generation; and they well deserve our gratitude and praise, for their wise and persistent efforts to found an institution of learning.

But though the Colony of Rhode Island had been selected for the College, and a charter reflecting her liberal and well known sentiments in religious concernments had been secured, no town stood at first prepared to welcome it in its infant state, without students, without funds, and with no certain means of support. To the projectors and friends of the enterprise it seemed necessary and desirable that it should be located where the President, like the revered principal of the Hopewell Academy, should be the pastor of a church, in order that he might thus be the better able to rally around him the friends of the College, and by preaching obtain for himself and family a support. The three churches in Newport were already provided with competent pastors, viz., the Rev. John Maxson, who was a Seventh-day Baptist, the Rev. Edward Upham, who was a graduate of Harvard College, and the Rev. Gardner Thurston, whose meeting-house and congregation, according to Edwards, were the largest of any connected with the denomination in New England. The church at Providence, although founded by Roger Williams, and the oldest Baptist church in America,¹ had never been accustomed to contribute liberally toward the support of a pastor. In point of fact it did not believe in paying for preaching. With only one hundred and eighteen members, living widely apart, with a small and uncomfortable meeting-house, opposed to singing in public worship, and clinging to many prejudices and customs, which it afterwards threw off under the enlightened teachings of Manning, it offered but feeble encouragement in the outset to a seat of learning. Moreover, it was already provided with a pastor, the Rev. Samuel Winsor, son of a former pastor of the same name who had been ordained in 1733. Together they two, father and son, had the oversight of the church for thirty-seven years.

¹ This has been the claim of the church and society from the beginning. In the words of a committee appointed to review the claims of the Newport Church to priority of date: "The priority, in age, of the First Church, in Providence, has been asserted by the unanimous voice of Baptists and others. The story has been told by father to son, and handed down through thousands of the families of this State and land, without change. The earliest chronicles have recorded it. It has been woven into every history which was ever written of the State, or of the denomination." Callender, Hopkins, Edwards, Stiles, Backus, Arnold, Staples, the records of the church and the records of the society, all are at one on this point in our ecclesiastical history.

Warren, a thriving town on an arm of the Narragansett Bay, ten miles from Providence, seemed to meet all the requirements in the case. Here were nearly sixty Baptist communicants, the majority of whom were members of the venerable church in Swansea, three miles away.¹ With this church they and their forefathers had in former years found association and comfort. Under the care of the Rev. Jabez Wood, it was now, according to Backus, in a declining state. The population of Warren was moreover rapidly increasing, and it became obvious that the time had arrived when these communicants could best secure their religious welfare by forming themselves into a separate and independent body, instead of continuing as a branch of the mother church. "Papers," says Spalding in his centennial discourse,² "have recently come to light which make it clear, that as early as 1762, before the College was projected at Philadelphia, the purpose had been formed to build a meeting-house in Warren." One of these papers, dated Feb. 14, 1763, is a bill against "the meeting-house" for dragging a stick of timber "through the great swamp." The house, says Morgan Edwards, writing in 1771, "was erected in 1763, on a lot fifty rods square, purchased by the congregation."

Ministers, according to Edwards, occasionally visited the place and baptized, particularly Rev. Gardner Thurston, who may have communicated these facts to Manning on his visit to Newport in the summer of 1763. There are no records to show when Manning first visited Warren. Perhaps he made it his home during the several sessions of the Legislature, when the charter was under discussion, preaching as opportunities offered. The members of the Legislature from Warren, it may be added, were prominent members of the Baptist congregation. It is certain that he received his call to Warren just previous to the final vote at the session in East Greenwich. The records state that "the congregation at Warren gave the Rev. James Manning a call to come

¹ The oldest Baptist Church in Massachusetts. Founded in 1663 by the celebrated John Miles, who, in 1662, was ejected from the living in Ilston, in Wales, by the Act of Uniformity.

² Centennial Discourse on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the First Baptist Church in Warren, R. I., Nov. 15, 1864. By A. F. Spalding, A. M., Pastor of the Church. 8vo. Providence, 1865.

over from New Jersey and settle amongst them." This was dated Feb. 17, 1764, and signed by their Committee, Sylvester Child, Ebenezer Cole, and John Wheaton. This call Manning accepted: Accordingly we read in Hezekiah Smith's diary,¹ under date of Wednesday, April 11, 1764: — "With Mr. Manning and his wife embarked for Newport, in Rhode Island, with Captain Stephen Wanton. Arrived on Friday." Mr. Manning proceeded at once to Warren, leaving Mrs. Manning for the time in Newport. Again we read in the diary, under date of Saturday, April 21st: — "Went to Warren with Mrs. Manning, Esquire Coles, Captain Wheaton, and Mr. Lillibridge." A parsonage house was built for the pastor later on. His zeal and eloquence soon attracted a large and flourishing congregation. The fruits of his ministry were apparent, and believers in Christ were publicly baptized. In a few months it was unanimously agreed by all who desired to come into fellowship as a church in Warren, to have a covenant or plan of union, the church in Swansea, says Spalding, dismissing twenty-five members for this purpose. On the fifteenth day of November, 1764, a church of fifty-eight members was duly organized and constituted. By previous appointment, they had engaged the Rev. John Gano, of New York, the Rev. Gardner Thurston, of Newport, and the Rev. Ebenezer Hinds, of Middleborough, to assist in the proposed undertaking. The day was kept in the solemn exercise of fasting and prayer. "In the forenoon," says the record, "Mr. Thurston preached a sermon, and after a short intermission of service, the people returned, and Messrs. Gano, Manning, and Hinds, each made a prayer suitable to the occasion, after which the church covenant, previously prepared by Mr. Manning, was presented and read."

This covenant, the original of which, in Manning's handwriting, was in the possession of the Rev. J. P. Tustin, at the time of the dedication of the new church edifice, we copy from an appendix to Mr. Tustin's discourse: — ²

¹ Chaplain Smith and the Baptists, page 42.

² Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the new Church Edifice of the Baptist Church and Society in Warren, May 8, 1845. By Josiah P. Tustin, Pastor. 18mo. Providence. H. H. Brown, 1845.

Whereas we, unworthy sinners, through the infinite riches of free grace, as we trust, brought out of darkness into the marvellous light of the gospel, and the grace of it, transformed into the kingdom of God's dear Son Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour, and made partakers of all those privileges which Christ purchased with his precious blood, think it our duty, and the greatest privilege we can enjoy here on earth to walk in all the commandments and ordinances, not only for our own comfort and peace, but for the manifestation of the glory of God and for the mutual help and society of each other; and as it hath pleased God to appoint a visible church relation, to be the way and manner whereby he is pleased to communicate to his people the blessings of his presence, a growth in grace, and furtherance in the knowledge of our Lord God —

We, therefore, this day, after solemn fasting and prayer for help and direction, in the fear of his Holy name, and with hearts lifted up to the most high God, humbly and freely offer up ourselves a living sacrifice unto him who is our God; in covenant, through Jesus Christ, to walk together according to his revealed Word, in visible gospel relation, both to Christ our only head and to each other as fellow-members and brethren of the same household of faith.

And we do humbly engage, that, through his strength, we will endeavor to perform all our respective duties toward God and each other, and to practise all the ordinances of Christ, according to what is and shall be made known to us in our respective places; to exercise, practise, and submit to the government of Christ in this church.

And we declare that it is our mind that none are properly qualified members of this Christ's visible church, but such as have been wrought upon by the grace of God, delivered from their sins by the justifying righteousness of Christ, and have the evidence of it in their souls, have made profession thereof, that is, of a living faith in Christ, and have been baptized by immersion, in the name of the Holy Trinity.

Further, it is our mind, that the Imposition or Non-Imposition of Hands upon believers, after baptism, is not essential to church communion, and that where the image of Christ is discerned, according to the rules of God's word, and those previous duties but now mentioned are submitted to according to gospel rules, we are ready to hold communion with all such walking orderly in the church of Christ.

And now we humbly hope, that although of ourselves we are altogether unworthy and unfit thus to offer up ourselves to God, or to do him any service, or to expect any favor or mercy from him, yet that he will graciously accept of this our free-will offering, in and through the merits and mediation of our dear Redeemer, and that he will employ and improve us in his service to his own praise, to whom be all the glory both now and forever. Amen.

This covenant may be regarded as the creed or constitution of the

church. The paragraph relating to the Imposition or Non-Imposition of Hands upon believers after baptism, deserves consideration. The doctrine of "Laying on of Hands," referred to in Hebrews vi. 2, was practised, it appears, by the Scotch Plains Church, and by all the churches in Rhode Island at this time, they being called Six Principle Baptist churches. When in 1652 some of the members of the Providence church withdrew from the parent body, under the leadership of Thomas Olney, they were called Five Principle Baptists, because they rejected the doctrine. Manning did not believe in the rite, and yet, with a large Christian charity, he yielded to its practice as a non-essential when requested. "This rite," says Spalding,¹ "which so troubled the Rhode Island churches, now generally conceded to have been connected with the supernatural gifts of the Holy Ghost, was quietly laid aside, and has never disturbed our church. At a meeting one month after its formation, the records say, 'Mrs. Sarah Throop came under the Imposition of Hands, being conscious of duty.' Few, if any other instances of the rite are on record."

After the members had signed the foregoing covenant, "they were asked by the Rev. Mr. Manning," continues the record, "whether they, in the presence of that assembly, viewed that as their covenant and plan of union in a church relation, which question was answered by them all in the affirmative, standing up"; after which three of the brethren, Samuel Hix, Amos Haile, and John Coomer, in behalf of the church, presented to Mr. Manning a call to become their pastor. The call was read publicly by Mr. Gano, and formally accepted by the pastor elect. The solemnities of the day were closed by a sermon from Mr. Gano, who reminded both pastor and people of their respective duties, and urged the mutual performance of both, from those important motives which the nature of the relation requires.

Manning's first call, it will be observed, was from the congregation, "to come over from New Jersey and settle amongst them." His second call was from the church. We present it in full as an interesting part of our narrative: —

¹ Centennial Discourse, page 15.

The Church of Christ in Warren, in the Colony of Rhode-Island, baptized upon a personal profession of faith, holding the doctrines of regeneration, perseverance in grace, etc., being constituted and organized a church this 15th day of November, 1764, present to the Rev. James Manning, late of Nassau Hall, in New Jersey, their Christian salutation :

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR :

Inasmuch as God in his Providence hath seen fit to give us an opportunity of being constituted a church of Christ, that we may according to the pattern showed us in the Gospel, partake of the ordinances which Christ hath left in his church, and walk together as brethren in Christ, and his Apostles having instructed us that ordained pastors are those that are to feed his people with knowledge, and administer ordinances amongst them, we do this day unanimously request that you would accept this our call to the work of a pastor over and amongst us, having been fully satisfied heretofore of your call and ordination in the work of the ministry in a regular church of Christ in Elizabethtown, East Jersey, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Benjamin Miller. And as we are of the opinion that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, we do here declare our intention to render your life as happy as possible by our brotherly conduct towards you, and communicating our temporal things to your necessities so long as God in his Providence shall continue us together ; your acceptance hereof we humbly hope will be a means under the Divine blessing of our mutual furtherance and growth in grace. Thus we prefer our request and subscribe your brethren,

JOHN EASTOBROOK,
BENJAMIN COLE,
SYLVESTER CHILD,
JOHN CHILD,
EBENEZER COLE,
JOHN WEST,
WILLIAM EASTOBROOKE.

*In behalf
of the whole.¹*

The first step taken by Manning in reference to the College was to open a Latin School, with an ultimate view to college instruction. This School, which soon became flourishing, he continued to teach personally

¹ See Tustin's Dedication Discourse, pp. 171-173.

or superintendent for many years, in connection with his professional duties as pastor of the church and President of the College. It was removed to Providence in 1770, and, upon the completion of the building now called University Hall, to rooms in that building. In 1810 a brick house for its accommodation was erected by friends of the College, under the direction of a committee of the Corporation consisting of Thomas P. Ives, Moses Lippitt, and Thomas L. Halsey. It is now called the University Grammar School, and is taught by the principals, Emory Lyon and Edward A. Swain, they having the entire control and responsibility of its management. This School has been from the beginning an efficient auxiliary to the College or University. In a manuscript volume belonging to Manning, which has recently come into our possession, are the following entries, which are of special interest in this connection:—“William and Daniel Rogers returned to School November 17, 1765. Samuel Ward returned November 28, 1765. John Dennis, John Coomer, and Joseph Rogers began School the 1st day of May, 1766. Reuben Mason began May 5, 1766. William Bradford and Samuel Miller, May 12, 1766. Richard Stites began the 20th of June, 1766. August 11, 1766, received of Dr. William Bradford three Spanish milled dollars, it being for one quarter's schooling for his son William, Jr. JAMES MANNING.”

The first meeting of the “Corporation for founding and endowing a College or University within the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America,” was held at Newport, on the first Wednesday in September, 1764. At this meeting the following gentlemen, twenty-four in number, as appears from the records, were present, and qualified themselves by taking the oath prescribed by the charter; namely, Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Hon. Joseph Wanton, Hon. Samuel Ward, John Tillinghast, Simon Pease, James Honeyman, Nicholas Easton, Nicholas Tillinghast, Daniel Jenckes, Nicholas Brown, Joshua Babcock, John G. Wanton, Rev. Edward Upham, Rev. Jeremiah Condy, Rev. Gardner Thurston, Rev. John Maxson, Rev. Samuel Winsor, Rev. James Manning, Josias Lyndon, Job Bennet, Jr., Ephraim Bowen, Edward Thurston, Jr., Thomas Eyres, and Peleg Barker.

The Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Esq., was chosen Chancellor, John Tillinghast, Esq., Treasurer, and Doct. Thomas Eyres, Secretary. The form of a certificate, authorizing persons to receive donations for the College, was adopted, and also the form of a receipt therefor. A "Preamble" was adopted, setting forth the nature and design of the Institution, and its need of funds. Committees to receive subscriptions for the College were appointed throughout Rhode Island, in the Southern and Western parts of the continent, and in the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Committees were also appointed to provide a seal for the use of the Corporation, and to assist in digesting and recording the proceedings of the meeting.

The second annual meeting of the Corporation was held in the Colony House at Newport, on the first Wednesday in September, 1765. At this meeting Manning, in the quaint language of the records, was formally appointed "President of the College, Professor of Languages and other Branches of Learning, with full power to act immediately in these capacities at Warren, or elsewhere." It would seem from the phraseology of this vote, that there was in the minds of the Corporation an uncertainty in regard to the permanent location of the College. This appears prominent in the records of all future meetings, until the removal to Providence. Manning's friend and classmate from Haverhill was present at this meeting, and was elected a member of the Board of Fellows. He was now on his way to New Jersey, in company with one of his parishioners, Capt. John White. His journal reads as follows:—"Tuesday, September 3d, 1765. We went to Newport and stayed at Col. Bennet's till Saturday. Wednesday and Thursday I was with the Corporation, which sat upon the College business, and on Thursday I was elected one of the Fellows. Mr. Manning was chosen President the same day. We, although but a part of the Corporation, subscribed for the building and the endowing of the College, nineteen hundred and ninety-two dollars."¹ Whatever else may have been lacking in these early days, there was evidently no lack of faith on the part of the guardians and friends of the College.

¹ Chaplain Smith and the Baptists, page 97.

It is interesting to observe the character and standing of the men, who, at this second and most important meeting of the Corporation, formally elected Manning President of the Institution which, under the auspices of the Philadelphia Association, he had happily succeeded in founding. Of the four religious denominations recognized in the charter, the Congregationalists alone were unrepresented. The reason for this will be apparent in the progress of our narrative. The Episcopalians were represented by Governor Joseph Wanton and the Hon. James Honeyman, both residents of Newport, and gentlemen of culture, wealth, and high social position. The former was elected Governor in the year 1769. Previous to this he had been Deputy Governor. He continued to fill the office from year to year, with great acceptance, until 1775, when he was suspended by the General Assembly for disloyalty. Mr. Honeyman was the son of the Rev. James Honeyman, Rector of Trinity Church, Newport. He was an able lawyer and a prominent politician, filling many high offices. In 1742 he was appointed "King's Attorney." For many years he was Advocate General of the Court of Vice Admiralty for the Colony, having been appointed to this office by the British Government. The Quakers or Friends were represented by the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Nicholas Easton, John G. Wanton, and Edward Thurston, Jr. No name is more prominent in the history of this period than that of Hopkins, and few men of any period have exerted so wide an influence upon the destinies of the country. For nearly forty-five years, as Speaker of the House of Representatives, Associate and Chief Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature, Governor of the State, and Representative to Congress, he was engaged in some kind of public official duty. His name appears among the signers of the Declaration of Independence.¹ The office of Chancellor, to which he was elected at the first meeting of the Corporation, he held until his death, in 1785, a period of twenty-one years. He was a warm personal friend of Manning, and by his unwearied zeal, extensive learning, and genuine love of litera-

¹ "Stephen Hopkins, a Rhode Island Statesman," by William E. Foster, is a noble contribution to our biographical literature. It forms a part of the series of "Historical Tracts" published by Sidney S. Rider.

ture, proved a most efficient coadjutor in all the plans and efforts of the latter for the advancement of the interests of the College. We shall have frequent mention of him in succeeding chapters. In a letter to Dr. Rippon, of London, Manning, referring to his decease, describes him as "for many years Governor of the Colony, and one of those distinguished worthies who composed the First Congress. He was one of the greatest men our country has reared." Mr. Wanton was an opulent merchant of Newport, and related by blood and marriage to the wealthiest and most popular families in the Colony. The name of Nicholas Easton appears in Arnold's History of Rhode Island, as a member of the General Assembly from Middletown, in the year 1776. He was a physician, and a direct descendant of Governor Nicholas Easton, one of the pioneer settlers of Newport. Mr. Thurston, who also represented the Quakers, continued a Trustee eighteen years, and served on important committees. He was a descendant of Edward Thurston, of Newport, who was treasurer of the Colony from 1709 until 1714. The latter had two sons, Edward, who died Nov. 14, 1735, and Gardner (born Nov. 14, 1721, died May 23, 1802,) who was pastor of the Third Baptist Church. Edward, who died in 1735, had a son named Edward, who was born about the year 1732. This must be the one whose name appears in the early records of the Corporation as Mr. Edward Thurston, Jr.

The remaining twenty-one members of the Corporation who were present at this meeting were Baptists, seven of them being Fellows. They were from the towns of Newport, Providence, Warren, and Westerly in Rhode Island, and from Boston, Haverhill, Middleborough, New York and Philadelphia. Manning, as the elected President, was chairman of the Board of Fellows, and guided, we may suppose, the deliberations of the body. The duties of a Fellow which Hezekiah Smith now assumed, he conscientiously discharged with rare ability and zeal. For a period of forty years, or until his decease, he attended the annual meetings of the Corporation, and also the Commencements, having been absent, as appears from his diary as well as from the College records, but twice in all that time. And this, too, although he lived seventy miles away, and was obliged in every case to come and go, either on horseback

or in his own chaise. In the year 1769, by special vote of the Corporation, he left his home in Haverhill and travelled eight months in South Carolina and Georgia, soliciting funds for the Institution. During the war, when the College was closed, he was with the American army as a Brigade Chaplain, and was present in important battles. Washington corresponded with him and gave him his confidence and respect. His diary¹ from 1762 when he was graduated, until 1805, when he died, is a most important record of the times in which he lived, and invaluable for historical illustration and research. He was an acknowledged leader among the Baptists, and a prominent man in the community.

The Rev. Samuel Stillman, who at first had been a Trustee, was at this meeting elected a Fellow. This office he also held until his death, a period of forty years. He, too, was punctual in his attendance upon all the meetings of the Corporation, cheerfully exerting his great influence in aid of the various interests of the College. In January of this year he had been installed as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston. He was a man of learning and culture, and as a preacher exceedingly popular, having, it is asserted, no superior in New England. Among his admirers were President Adams, General Knox, and John Hancock, the latter of whom was for a time a member of his congregation. No clergyman of the day, it is said, was so much sought after by distinguished strangers who visited the New England metropolis. In the early times there was a "Commencement sermon" at the close of the day, and crowds of people were wont to flock to the spacious Baptist meeting-house to hear "the great man of Haverhill," or the "eloquent Stillman of Boston." Doct. Thomas Eyres, the first Secretary of the Corporation, was the son of Rev. Nicholas Eyres, and a graduate of Yale College. He was a practising physician, and a member of Mr. Thurston's church. The Rev. Edward Upham, pastor of the First Church in Newport, was a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1721. Doct. Joshua Babcock was a leading man in Westerly, and had held various public offices of responsibility and trust, including that of Judge

¹ See "Chaplain Smith and the Baptists."

of the Superior Court of Judicature. In 1775 he was appointed Major-General of the Rhode Island militia. Morgan Edwards was also present as a member of the Board of Fellows.

Of the twenty-two Baptist Trustees, as the charter provides, fourteen, according to the record, were present at this meeting, viz.: The Hon. Samuel Ward, Nicholas Brown, Col. Job Bennet, Judge Daniel Jenckes, the Rev. Gardner Thurston, the Rev. John Maxson, the Rev. Samuel Winsor, the Rev. John Gano, the Hon. Josias Lyndon, John Tillinghast, Peleg Barker, Simon Pease, Nicholas Tillinghast, and the Rev. Isaac Backus. Ward, the political opponent of Hopkins, and the popular Governor of Rhode Island during the years 1762, 1765, and 1766, was one of the most influential members of the famous Congress of 1774. His life, written by Professor Gammell, is published in Sparks's American Biography; Brown was the oldest of the "Four Brothers," whose names are so prominent in connection with the early history of the College, and the growth and development of the town of Providence;¹ Lyndon was a resident of Newport, and a man of influence. In 1768 he was elected Governor by an overwhelming majority of nearly fifteen hundred; Bennet was the intimate friend of Manning and Smith, frequently entertaining them beneath his hospitable roof. In the list of Judges his name frequently appears as Associate Judge of the Superior Court. He was now a prosperous merchant, doing business, according to advertisements in the *Newport Mercury*, on Thames street, and having the military title of Colonel; Jenckes was one of the most influential men of Providence. A sketch of him will be found in a subsequent chapter on the charter; Thurston has already been mentioned as the pastor of the Second Baptist Church, having, according to Edwards, the largest Baptist congregation in New England. He was, it is stated, an intimate friend and associate of the learned Dr. Stiles; John Tillinghast was the first Treasurer of the College, serving three years until 1767, when he was succeeded by Colonel Bennet; Gano has already been

¹ For a biographical sketch of these brothers, including the inscriptions on their several tombstones, see "Manning and Brown University," pp. 143-176.

mentioned as Manning's brother-in-law, and one of the great "lights" in the Baptist denomination; Backus, who was soon to be prominent as the historian of New England, and the agent of the Baptist churches, in connection with the "Committee on Grievances" of the Warren Association, was now the popular and useful pastor of a church in Middleborough. We shall frequently have occasion to refer to him in the progress of our narrative. The following are extracts from the records of this meeting: —

Resolved, That a seal for the College be procured immediately by the Rev. Samuel Stillman, at Boston, with this device: — Busts of the King and Queen in profile face to face; underneath, George III., Charlotte; round the border, the seal of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in America.

At the next annual meeting Mr. Stillman's account was presented and allowed, and the sum of ten pounds and thirteen shillings was ordered to be paid him by the Treasurer. The seal was of silver. Continuing our extracts: —

Resolved, That Nicholas Brown be appointed to receive subscriptions for the College in Providence.

Resolved, And the Secretary is hereby directed to preserve the seniority of the respective members in both branches of this Corporation, by inserting those re-elected immediately after those who have legally qualified themselves within the time limited, and afterwards those chosen at this meeting, and so from time to time.

Resolved, That Rev. John Gano be requested and duly authorized to receive subscriptions in any part of America.

Resolved, That Rev. Hezekiah Smith be appointed to receive subscriptions at Haverhill, and Mr. Solomon Southwick at Dartmouth.

Resolved, That Honorable Samuel Ward, Honorable Joseph Wanton, Jr., James Honeyman, Esq., Rev. Edward Upham, Rev. Gardner Thurston, Mr. Edward Thurston, Jr., and the Secretary (Doct. Eyres) be a committee to transact the necessary affairs during the recess of this Corporation.

Here we have the beginnings of the Executive Committee, which has always been a prominent feature of the Corporation.

The day previous to the annual meeting which we have here described, Tuesday, September 3d, Manning matriculated his first college student, William Rogers, a lad of fourteen, from Newport. This we learn from an interesting paper in his hand-writing preserved on file, entitled, "A Matriculation Roll of the number of students in Rhode Island College, with the time of their admission, up to 1769." The second student matriculated according to this document was Manning's brother-in-law, Richard Stites. The entry reads, "Richard Stites, entered June 20, 1766, from Elizabethtown, N. J." From Sept. 3, 1765, until June 20, 1766, a period of nine months and seventeen days, young Rogers was therefore the only student in College, constituting the entire Freshman class. He was graduated with honor in 1769, and afterwards attained to distinction as a preacher, a chaplain in the army, and a man of letters. If, among her "first fruits," Trinity College, of Dublin, may boast of her Archbishop Usher, and Harvard College of her Dr. Woodbridge, Rhode Island College may also boast of her Dr. Rogers, as the first student who enrolled his name upon her records, and as one whose character and life reflect the highest honor upon his revered instructor and the Institution over which he presided. A brief biographical sketch may not be regarded as inappropriate in this connection:—

WILLIAM ROGERS.

William, the second son of Capt. William and Sarah Rogers, was born in Newport, Rhode Island, on the 22d of July, 1751. Having finished a preparatory course of study under the care of the Rev. Aaron Hutchinson, a Congregational minister of Grafton, Massachusetts, he entered Rhode Island College at the early age of fourteen, one day previous to the meeting of the Corporation when Manning was elected President. He was graduated in 1769, having for his subject an oration on benevolence, in which, says the reporter, "among other pertinent observations, he particularly noticed the necessity which that Infant Seminary stands in for the salutary effects of that truly

Christian virtue."¹ After graduating he engaged for awhile in teaching in the place of his birth. While thus employed, during the year 1770, he became a subject of renewing grace, and was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Thurston, being received as a member of the church, his biographer states, "by prayer, and the Imposition of Hands." This fact is mentioned as an illustration of the views and usages that then prevailed in the Baptist churches of Rhode Island. Very soon he gave evidence of talents that would qualify him for enlarged usefulness. President Manning, in referring to the first graduates of the College, in a letter to Dr. Stennett, of London, under date of June 5, 1771, thus writes respecting Rogers:—"One of the youth, graduated at our first Commencement, who is thought to be savingly brought home by grace, has joined Mr. Thurston's church in Newport, and appears eminently pious. As soon as his age will admit, for he is quite a youth, he will be called to the work of the ministry, with hopes of his making a distinguished figure in the pulpit. He bears the greatest resemblance to Mr. Hezekiah Smith of any person I know, and I hope he will make such another son of thunder."

His reading from this time on was chiefly on theological subjects, though he still indulged, to some extent, his taste for scientific studies. In August, 1771, he was called and licensed to preach, by the church of which he was a member; and in December following, in consequence of earnest solicitations from Morgan Edwards, and others, he relinquished his charge as principal of the academy in Newport, and removed to Philadelphia. Here he continued preaching on probation until March, 1772, when he received a unanimous call to succeed Mr. Edwards as pastor of the Baptist Church. He accepted the call, and was ordained on the 31st of May following, not yet having attained his majority. The sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. Isaac Eaton, of Hopewell, from the words:—"And who is sufficient for these things?" It proved to be the last sermon that Mr. Eaton ever preached, while the text was the first upon which Mr. Rogers preached. It pleased the

¹ The orations of this graduating class are preserved in manuscript, and are in the possession of the writer. Mr. Rogers's Oration, and the Valedictory Address are given at the close of the present chapter.

Lord graciously to bless his labors among this people, and before the close of the year he baptized upwards of thirty, mostly young persons, including Miss Hannah Gardner, a highly accomplished young lady of eighteen, whom he afterwards married. He continued his labors as a pastor until the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, when patriotism led him to engage in the service of his country.

The General Assembly of Pennsylvania, having in March, 1776, voted three battalions of foot for the defence of their Province, appointed Mr. Rogers their Chaplain. In June, 1778, he was promoted to a Brigade Chaplaincy in the Continental army, which office he continued to hold until June, 1781, when he retired from military service altogether.¹ He was in intimate relations with the prominent actors of the Revolution, and enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the Commanding General. He was an honored member of the Masonic Fraternity, and frequently addressed them on public occasions.² In March, 1789, he was appointed Professor of Oratory and Belles-Lettres in the College and Academy of Philadelphia; and in April, 1792, he was elected to the same professorship in the University of Pennsylvania. He received the degree of Master of Arts in 1780, from Yale College, and also from the College of New Jersey six years later. From the University of Pennsylvania he received, in 1790, the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity. The following pleasant account of Dr. Rogers, as given by an English gentleman, in a letter dated New York, June 25, 1793, we take from Evans's *Life of Richards*.³ The writer was travelling through the country with a view to final settlement. The extract serves to illustrate Rogers's social character, and also gives an agreeable view of General Washington in his private relations:—

¹ His "Journal of a Brigade Chaplain in the Expedition against the Six Indians, under command of Major-General John Sullivan," with notes by the publisher, Sidney S. Rider, constitutes No. 7 of Rhode Island Historical Tracts. Small 4to. Providence, 1879, pp. 136.

² He delivered a Fourth of July Address before the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was a member, in 1789; which address was printed in full in the *Providence Gazette*, January 2 and 9, 1790. A prayer before the same Society, delivered Feb. 22, 1800, was published by particular request. It is advertised in Rippon's Baptist Register, Vol. 3, page 202.

³ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Rev. William Richards, LL. D.*, by John Evans, LL. D., of Irlington. 12mo. Chiswick, 1819.

After travelling through an extreme pleasant country, we arrived at Philadelphia, and waited on Dr. Rogers. Dr. Rogers is a most entertaining and agreeable man, and received your letter with much pleasure. We were with him a great part of the time we remained in the city, and were introduced by him to General Washington. The *General* was not at home when we called, but, while we were talking with his private secretary in the hall, he came in, and spoke to Dr. Rogers with the greatest ease and familiarity. He immediately asked us up into the drawing-room, where was *Lady Washington and his two nieces*. When we were seated, *the General* called for wine and cake, of which we partook, he drinking our "health, and wishing us success in all our undertakings." *The General* asked us a number of questions respecting the situation of things in Europe, to all which we answered, you may be sure, in our best manner. It is his general custom to say little; but on this occasion we understood he was more than usually talkative. He made one remark, which, under the circumstances in which it was delivered, has a peculiar energy—"that we had chosen a *happy country, and one large enough!*" After sitting about half an hour, we retired, highly gratified with having conversed with the *first* character of *the age*.

The last years of Dr. Rogers were spent in dignified retirement, and in the diligent cultivation of pious and devout feelings. He was connected with various benevolent organizations, and during the years 1816 and 1817 was a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. He died in Philadelphia, April 7, 1824, at the age of seventy-three. The First Baptist Church, as a testimony of its veneration and regard, erected a handsome monument to his memory. As a preacher, says the late Dr. Sharp,¹ he was highly evangelical, advocating and ably defending the doctrines of the Reformation as held by a Watts, a Doddridge, and multitudes of others. Notwithstanding his attachment to evangelical principles, he was remarkably liberal in his feelings, for he truly loved all good men. In illustration of this, it may be stated, that during one year, soon after the close of the war, he received invitations from three very important churches, and of as many different denominations, in the states of Maryland, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, either to supply the pulpit steadily, or to settle as pastor. One of these invitations was from the Episcopal Church of St. John's, in Providence. The invi-

¹ Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, Vol. VI.

tation was given, of course, with a proviso, as will be seen by a reference to Updike's History of the Narragansett Church.

Dr. Rogers was of the middle size, and in his habits and manners was more than ordinarily refined. In seasons of relaxation he was agreeably facetious. He was very active, and walked with the agility of youth, until within a few weeks of his decease. In the circle of his family he was almost worshipped. A fine picture of him, executed by his daughter, Miss Eliza J. Rogers, from an original portrait by Rembrandt Peale, graces the collection in Sayles Memorial Hall. He was twice married. His first wife, a daughter of William Gardner, died of the yellow fever, in 1793. His second wife, who survived him, was a daughter of Joseph Marsh, of Philadelphia. A younger brother, Daniel, a pupil of Manning's Latin School in Warren, was a successful merchant in Newport. He died in August, 1792, in the fortieth year of his age. An obituary notice, copied from the *Providence Gazette*, is published in Rippon's Register. Another brother, Robert, was graduated from the College in 1775. He was an officer in a Rhode Island regiment during the war, and afterwards was principal of a classical school in Newport. Washington Allston was one of his pupils. For twenty years he was secretary, treasurer, and librarian of the Redwood Library, and from 1788 until his death in 1835, a period of forty-seven years, he was a Fellow of Rhode Island College, afterwards Brown University. A son of his, William Sanford Rogers, of Boston, founded in 1870 a scholarship, and dying two years later, bequeathed to Brown University the sum of fifty thousand dollars to found the "Newport-Rogers Professorship of Chemistry." This he did, as he expressed it in his will, in memory of his father and his uncle who had both been graduated from the College. Thus the memory of the first student will forever be perpetuated in the annals of science.

The following advertisement, which we take from the *Newport Mercury* of June 20, 1768, may fitly close this sketch. It shows the position of the father of the first student of the College, and contains an allusion to Judge Gardner's house, where the first meeting for the founding of the College was held: —

William Rogers, of Newport, on the north side of the Parade, opposite the Town School House, takes this method to acquaint his customers and others, that he has newly supplied his shop with a very large and general assortment of English and India goods, directly from London, via Boston; which he will sell as cheap as can be had at any shop in the Government, for cash:— And he will take in pay for any of said goods tried tallow, bayberry-wax, striped flannel, and tow cloth, at cash price.

N. B. Said Rogers has to sell, a large double house and lot, situated on the north side of the Parade, opposite to Governor Lyndon's, forty feet front and forty-five feet deep, on a cross street, next to the late Deputy Governor Gardner's; with another house on said lot sixteen feet front on said cross street, and forty feet long, which he will dispose of at very reasonable terms on good security. For further particulars inquire of said Rogers.

The accompanying portrait of Dr. Rogers is taken from an engraving in Rippon's Baptist Register, and is dated April, 1797. In the super-scription he is styled "Professor of English, and the Belles-Lettres, in the University of Pennsylvania."

A letter addressed by Backus to the Rev. Dr. Gill, of London, an extract from which we here present, illustrates Manning's position at this time, as a pioneer in introducing polite literature or learning among the Baptists of New England. The writer was already known as an author, having commenced publishing his discourses and controversial tracts as early as 1754. Gill was the acknowledged leader among his brethren throughout Great Britain. As a learned commentator on the Old and New Testaments his reputation was world-wide:—

One grand objection made use of against Believer's Baptism, has been that none but ignorant and illiterate men have embraced the Baptist sentiments. And there was so much color for it as this, namely, that ten years ago there were but two Baptist ministers (Jeremiah Condy, of Boston, and Edward Upham, of Newport,) in all New England who had what is called a liberal education; and they were not clear in the doctrines of grace. But three others have lately come from the Southern governments; namely, Mr. Samuel Stillman, who is settled in Boston; Mr. Hezekiah Smith, who has had remarkable success in Haverhill, where he has gathered a large society; and Mr. James Manning, who is settled at Warren, R. I. And as the Baptists have met with a great deal of abuse from those who are called learned men in our land, they have been not a little prejudiced against learning itself; but, latterly, there has been considerable alter-



WILLIAM ROGERS.

ation in this respect. A charter was obtained from the General Assembly of Rhode Island in February, 1764, incorporating a number of Trustees and Fellows, for founding and endowing a College for the education of youth (of which you will be likely to hear more in due time); and this Corporation, at their annual meeting, last September, chose the aforesaid Mr. Manning President. He has commenced a school, which appears in a likely way to increase fast. But as there are scarce any books suitable for such business to be sold in that Colony, he has thought of sending to London for a quantity; and as he is unknown there, he requested that I would write a few lines in his favor. Therefore, my dear sir, if my poor testimony may be thought worthy of any notice, I desire that you would mention to Mr. Keith, to whom he has thoughts of sending, that, from near two years' acquaintance with him, I am well satisfied that he is a man of piety, integrity, and ability, who will make conscience of fulfilling his engagements.

I remain, sir, your humble servant,

ISAAC BACKUS.

Another extract from Backus may not be regarded as inappropriate in this connection, as it throws light on the early history of the College. In his examination of nine sermons preached by Joseph Fish, of Stonington, against Baptists and Separatists, he shows the difference between true and false learning.¹ In answer to the charge made by Mr. Fish, that a learned and able ministry was held by them in light esteem, he replies:—

Several who have formerly sent their sons to college have been disappointed, as the clergy have found means to draw them over to their party; which has discouraged others from sending their sons. And the Baptists in general have been so much abused, by those who boast of their *Learning*, that it is not strange if many were prejudiced against such men; yet they have had some that the world calls learned men, from the beginning; and lately have begun a College of their own which bids fair to increase. (The charter for it was granted in February, 1764, by the General Assembly of Rhode Island Colony; and Mr. James Manning, of Warren, is now President thereof.) But I hope they may never imagine to confine Christ or his church, to that, or any other human school for ministers.

¹“A Fish caught in his own Net. An Examination of Nine Sermons, from Matt. xvi. 18. Published last year by Mr. Joseph Fish, of Stonington, wherein he labors to prove, that those called Standing Churches in New England, are built upon the Rock, and upon the same principles with the first fathers of this country;—And that Separates and Baptists are joining with the Gates of Hell against them. By Isaac Backus. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Middleborough.” 12mo. Boston. Printed by Eccles & Gill, 1768, pp. 129.

The first of the letters from Manning's pen that have been preserved was written to Miss Stites while he was a student in College, a brief extract from which is given in our first chapter. The second is specially interesting, as indicating the way in which the Honorable David Howell came to be so intimately connected with the College. We give it entire. He was now a member of the Senior class at Princeton, and about to graduate from that institution: —

SIR:—I some time ago received a line from you by Mr. Stelle, in which you requested my advice relative to your destination when you have done with college. I was glad to find that you had not yet determined upon any place or employment, because I was desirous that you should make a visit to these parts before your settlement. But to give advice, without having some prospect of advantage, I should think imprudent; and indeed the matter is important, for if it should not succeed according to your wishes, you might entertain hard thoughts of me. However, at present it appears to me that you cannot do better than to visit Rhode Island. The success Mr. Stelle has met with encourages me. He has a Latin school in the town of Providence of nearly twenty scholars, and may have more if he finds himself able to manage them. I believe he gives good satisfaction, and is much esteemed by the gentlemen of the town. I thought when he came here that he would much more readily have found employ in Newport; and although the people there were for making the attempt, yet he chose first to see Providence, whither I accompanied him. They would not, however, consent that he should go back, but immediately employed him; so that if you are disposed to keep a school, I imagine one may easily be obtained in Newport. I would gladly invite you to come and live in my family, if the infant state of our College could promise you proper encouragement; but at present it is hardly to be expected, although in the revolution of a year it will doubtless need more help. Upon the whole, I think if I were in your circumstances, as near as I can judge, I should come; and I would advise you to see me before you engage anywhere. A taste for learning is greatly upon the increase in this Colony. Mr. Stelle can give you a more particular account of matters in these parts, as he will be with you at Commencement; and if you can get your affairs in readiness, he will be your company over. After telling you my family is well, as also your friend Stites, etc., I bid you farewell, wishing you the best blessings of heaven, and that I may have the pleasure of waiting upon Mr. Howell at the house of

Sir, your humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

WARREN, July 14, 1766.

Agreeably to President Manning's advice, Mr. Howell came to Warren, and was at once associated with him as Tutor in the College. In 1769 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, which position he occupied until the breaking up of the College in consequence of the Revolutionary War. In addition to the regular studies of his professorship, he taught the French, German, and Hebrew languages. For thirty-four years he was Professor of Law, although he never delivered any lectures in connection with this department of instruction. He was fifty-two years a member of the Board of Fellows, and for many years was Secretary of the Corporation. He was thus intimately connected with the College during a large portion of his protracted life. On several occasions, after President Manning's decease, he presided at the College Commencements, and delivered to the graduating classes Baccalaureate addresses, which were greatly admired. He practised law in Providence for many years, and was regarded as the leading member of the Rhode Island bar. Under the Confederation he was a member of Congress, and he subsequently filled, with great ability, several high offices, civil and judicial. In 1812 he was appointed United States Judge for the District of Rhode Island, and this office he sustained until his death, in 1824. "Judge Howell," says Professor Goddard, "was endowed with extraordinary talents, and he superadded to his endowments extensive and accurate learning. As an able jurist, he established for himself a solid reputation. He was, however, yet more distinguished as a keen and brilliant wit, and as a scholar extensively acquainted not only with the ancient, but with several of the modern languages. As a pungent and effective political writer, he was almost unrivalled; and in conversation, whatever chanced to be the theme, whether politics or law, literature or theology, grammar or criticism, a Greek tragedy or a difficult problem in mathematics, he was never found wanting. Upon all occasions which made any demands upon him, he gave the most convincing evidence of the vigor of his powers, and of the variety and extent of his erudition."¹ To all this may be added extraordinary physical powers,

¹ Memoir of Rev. James Manning, page 6.

and a majestic, dignified presence. Such was the intimate friend and early academical associate of Manning.

The following are in brief his various titles and positions, as given in the recently published "Historical Catalogue" of the University:— He received the degree of A. B. from the College of New Jersey in 1766; the degree of A. M. from Rhode Island College in 1769, and from Yale University in 1772; the degree of LL. D. from Rhode Island College in 1793; he was Tutor, 1766–69; Professor of Natural Philosophy, 1769–79; Professor of Jurisprudence, 1790–1824; Acting President, 1791–92; practising Lawyer in Providence; Member of the Congress of Confederation, 1782–85; Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, 1786–87; Attorney General, 1789; Commissioner for settling the boundaries of the United States; District Attorney; United States Judge of Rhode Island District, 1812–24; Member of the Board of Fellows, 1773–1824; Secretary of the Corporation, 1780–1806. He was born in New Jersey, January 1, 1747; died in Providence, July 21, 1824.

Mr. Howell married Mary, only daughter of Jeremiah and Waitstill (Rhodes) Brown. One of his daughters, Waitstill, was married to Ebenezer Knight Dexter, who, dying without issue, left his large estate to his native town. The Dexter Asylum, Dexter Training Ground, Dexter Lots, and the Dexter Donation Fund, are the enduring memorials of his munificence. The city erected a monument to his memory in the North Burial Ground, on the spot where his remains are interred. Through the generosity of a private citizen, the Hon. Henry C. Clark, a statue of Ebenezer Knight Dexter has recently been erected on the Dexter Training Ground.

The following in reference to Tutor Howell appears in the records of the annual meeting of the Corporation for September, 1767:—

The Reverend President's conduct for the year past, and his engaging Mr. David Howell as a Tutor, is approved of, and the amount of his account for engaging him was allowed, being twenty-five pounds, lawful money, which was ordered to be paid.



DAVID HOWELL.

The following appears as a part of the record for September, 1768 : —

Resolved, That Mr. David Howell be a Tutor of the College.

Voted, That the salary of Mr. Howell as Tutor be £72 lawful money, and that he collect the tuition money as it becomes due as part of said salary.

Voted, That the sum of £23 lawful money be paid by the Treasurer to President Manning for the board of his Assistant.

At the annual meeting of the Corporation held in Warren, Sept. 8, 1769, as appears from the records, "Mr. David Howell was elected Professor of Philosophy in this College." The accompanying likeness is from a portrait in Sayles Memorial Hall. This portrait was copied by J. S. Lincoln from one by Col. John Trumbull in the picture of "Washington resigning his Commission to Congress," in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. Trumbull painted from a sketch from life taken in 1793.

The Latin School was now flourishing, and already there were six members of the college class. These facts, and the coming of Mr. Howell to Warren to identify himself with the infant Institution, inspired Morgan Edwards with renewed confidence, and led him to leave his family and church for a time, and devote himself to the raising of funds in the land of his birth and education, for the payment of the President's salary. In accordance with an offer to this effect, a special meeting of the Corporation was held in Newport, Nov. 20, 1766, when it was voted : — "That the Reverend Morgan Edwards be requested and duly authorized to go to Europe and solicit benefactions for this Institution, and that the thanks of this Corporation be returned him for his generous offers." It was also voted at this meeting, "That the President return the thanks of this Corporation to Dr. Thos. Llewelyn (of London) for his donation of a pair of Globes for this Institution. The following "authorization" for Mr. Edwards we copy from the records : —

By the Honorable Samuel Ward, Esquire, Vice-Chancellor, and the Reverend James Manning, President of the College or University in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England, in America. To the

Reverend Morgan Edwards, A. M., of the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, GREETING: —

WHEREAS, The General Assembly of the Colony aforesaid, did, by an act passed at their session held on the last Monday in February, 1764, incorporate certain persons therein named into one body corporate and politic; and granted them a charter, authorizing and empowering them and their successors to found, endow, order, and govern a College or University within said Colony, as in and by the said charter, reference thereto being made will fully and clearly at large appear: And whereas, the Corporation of said College or University, reposing special trust and confidence in your abilities and integrity, and convinced of your disinterested zeal and ardor for promoting and completing the design of the General Assembly, did, at their meeting held by authority of, and agreeable to their charter, at Newport, in the said Colony, on the day of the date hereof (Nov. 20, 1766,) unanimously resolve, that you, the aforesaid Morgan Edwards, should be requested and empowered to proceed to Europe to solicit and receive donations for the aforesaid purpose: These are therefore to authorize and empower you to proceed with all convenient speed to Europe, and in any part of his Majesty's dominions, or elsewhere, to urge, solicit, and receive from the friends of useful literature, and other well disposed persons, donations and benefactions for the founding and endowing the College or University aforesaid: For all which donations and benefactions you are to be accountable to the Treasurer of said Corporation for the time being; your reasonable charges and expenses in soliciting the same being first deducted. In testimony whereof, etc.

With this authorization duly signed, and the seal of the Corporation affixed, Mr. Edwards set out on his mission in the month of February following. He returned during the latter part of 1768, having been absent from home nearly two years. From his account which he presented to the Corporation, it appears that he obtained for the College the sum of £888 10s. 2d. sterling, or about five thousand dollars; which, he remarks in his narrative, was succeeding "pretty well, considering how angry the mother country then was with the colonies for opposing the Stamp Act." On this point he thus writes to Manning, under date of London, April 26, 1768: — "Your newspapers, and letters from your Government, published in other papers, have hurt me much. You boast of the many yards of cloth you manufacture, etc. This raises the indignation of the merchants and manufacturers. I

have been not only denied by hundreds, but also abused on that score. My patience, my feet, and my assurance are much impaired. I took a cold in November, which stuck to me all winter, owing to my tram-pousing the streets in all weathers."

An account of these subscriptions forms an interesting chapter in the "Documentary History of Brown University," (pages 148-171). The original subscription book is preserved among the archives of the Library. It was presented to the Library in the year 1849 by Joshua Edwards, a son of Morgan, through his pastor, the Rev. Richard Webster, of Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania. The donor was then living, though upwards of eighty years of age. The signatures, it may be remarked, are genuine. Among them we notice the subscriptions of the Hon. Thomas Penn, of London, £20; Thomas Llewelyn, Esq., £31 10s.; Samuel Roffey, Esq., £21; Benjamin Franklin, £10 10s.; Benjamin West, £10 10s.; the Rev. Doctors Gill, Stennett, Gifford, and Gibbons; Thomas Hollis and Timothy Hollis; Hugh and Caleb Evans of Bristol, etc. It is an interesting fact that Mr. Edwards's first subscriptions were obtained in Ireland, in the towns and cities of Cork, Waterford, Dublin, Belfast, Lisburn, Antrim, Ballymony, Coleraine, Londonderry, Newry, Westmeath, and Ormond.¹

The meeting-house to which reference has been made, which was erected before Manning's call to Warren, served a most important purpose in bringing together beneath its roof the friends of religion and learning. And now a parsonage was needed, not only for the accommodation of the pastor and his family, but also, as in the case of the parsonage at Hopewell (a cut of which is given in our previous chapter), for the use of the pupils of the Latin School, and the students of the

¹At the semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, held in Boston, April 24, 1895, Dr. Samuel S. Green read an able and instructive paper on "The Scotch-Irish in America," showing that after the English Revolution of 1688, a steady stream of Scotch Presbyterians had poured into Ireland, and that large numbers of these Presbyterians emigrated in the eighteenth century to America. Dr. Green showed that these emigrants constituted an important part of our population, and that they had always been on the side of popular education and religious liberty. In the remarks that followed the reading of this paper, the writer referred to the subscriptions for the College obtained in Ireland by Morgan Edwards. See Proceedings of the Society, Vol. 10, pages 7-8.

College. A popular method of raising money for religious, charitable, and educational purposes in these early times, not only in Rhode Island but throughout all the colonies, as legislative records amply show, was by means of lotteries, duly sanctioned and properly managed. Gradually they came to be managed by knaves and speculators, for private ends, and eventually, in accordance with the changed sentiment of the public respecting them, they were abolished. It is interesting to read the following notice which Mr. Tolman, in his recent "History of Higher Education in Rhode Island,"¹ has copied from the *Newport Mercury* for Oct. 5, 1767 :—

Scheme of a Lottery granted by the General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island, etc., for raising one hundred and fifty pounds lawful money (\$500), to be applied towards finishing the Parsonage house belonging to the Baptist Church in Warren, and rendering it commodious for the reception of the pupils who are or who shall be placed there for a liberal education. . . . It is hoped that the extraordinary expense of that infant society in building a new meeting house and parsonage house, as far as the building is advanced, together with the immediate necessity of room for the pupils under the care of the Rev. Mr. Manning, and the great encouragement for the adventurers, there being but little better than two blanks to a prize, will induce those who wish well to the design speedily to purchase the tickets.

It was about this time that Manning conceived the plan of uniting the Baptist churches of New England in an association, in order to promote their harmony and growth, to resist more successfully acts of oppression on the part of the "Standing Order" in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and especially to disarm his brethren of all existing prejudices against human learning, to which Backus in his letter to Dr. Gill refers, and thus to advance the best interests of the College over which he presided. The Baptists of Rhode Island at this time, with the exception of the church in Warren, were called "Six Principle Baptists," and were united in an organization called the "Rhode Island Yearly Meeting." Knight in his history² states that this Meeting, in 1764, the

¹ United States Bureau of Education. Circular of Information. No. I. 1894.

² History of the General or Six Principle Baptists in Europe and America. Published under the patronage of the Rhode Island Yearly Meeting. By Richard Knight, Pastor of the church in Scituate. 8vo, Providence, 1827.

date of the College Charter, consisted of the following churches, viz.: Providence, Newport, Swansea, North Kingstown, Richmond, Tiverton, Rehoboth, Groton, New London, Smithfield, Scituate, Warwick, South Kingstown, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Cranston, Coventry, and perhaps some others. In the process of time some of these churches have become extinct, while others have ceased to maintain their peculiar organization.

It was Manning's wish to unite all the churches of his faith and order in an association similar to the one in Philadelphia, of which he was a member, which was simply advisory in its character, having respect to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom by spreading through the churches an account of the welfare and prosperity of each. The undertaking was of no ordinary magnitude. The government of Baptist churches had been from time immemorial, as now, of the independent form, each particular church having an exclusive right of jurisdiction over its own members, electing and dismissing its own officers, and transacting all its business by final issue within itself, without appeal to any power on earth, either civil or ecclesiastical. It had always been the belief of the Baptists that civil government, however desirable and necessary for civil purposes, had nothing to do with Christ's kingdom, which is spiritual, and not of this world, and nothing to do with the visible church, which is subject to Jesus Christ alone as the head thereof. Hence they regarded all synods, conventions, associations, and councils to decide religious controversies, revoke acts of particular churches, inflict censure, form platforms, and prepare articles of faith, as useless and antagonistic to the independency of the churches; as having more or less respect to the civil state, and so partaking too much of the carnal wisdom of this world. Outside of Rhode Island they had suffered too much from measures adopted at such councils and conventions of the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to be easily persuaded to meet in the form of a permanent organized body, lest perchance they might seem to be following the example of their Congregational brethren.

From the journal of Hezekiah Smith it appears that Manning was

in Haverhill, Boston, Newport, and other places in the spring of 1766, conferring with his brethren in the ministry, and that in August following Smith spent a week in Warren. Naturally the matter was presented to the members of Manning's church. The first official mention of an association appears in the records of the church under date of Aug. 28, 1766, when it was voted, "That an association be entered into with sundry churches of the same faith and order, as it was judged a likely method to promote the peace of the churches." Doubtless the matter was discussed during the meeting of the Corporation held in Newport the month following. The next meeting of the Corporation was held in Newport Wednesday, Sept. 2, 1767. Mr. Smith records in his journal:—

Sat with the Corporation of the College till Thursday. Thursday evening preached in Mr. Thurston's meeting-house, from Solomon's Song, 1:4. Sat. Sept. 5. Preached in Mr. Maxson's pulpit, from John 31:20. Sabbath, Sept. 6. In the forenoon I preached in Mr. Upham's pulpit, from Rom. 5:1, in the afternoon in Mr. Thurston's pulpit from Solomon's Song, 5:2, and in the evening again for Mr. Thurston. Mon. Sept. 7. Went to Warren. Tues. 8. Met with a number to form a regular association. Mr. Gano from New York preached a sermon upon the occasion at the opening of the meeting. Wed. 9. Mr. Manning's church at Warren, Mr. Hinds's at Middleborough, Mr. Alden's at Bellingham and ours at Haverhill, formed an association. The same evening I preached from Prov. 3:17.

Manning, Smith, Noah Alden¹, and Ebenezer Hinds, four illustrious names, deserving for this act alone to be held by the denomination in grateful and lasting remembrance!

¹ The Rev. Noah Alden, whose name frequently occurs in connection with Smith, Manning, and Stillman, was a lineal descendant from the famous John Alden of Plymouth. He was born in Middleborough, in 1725. In 1753 he became a Baptist, and shortly afterwards he was ordained as pastor of a church in Stafford, Conn. In 1766 he was installed as pastor of a church in Bellingham, where he remained until his death in 1797. "He was," says his biographer, Dr. Fisher, "for many years one of our most distinguished and honored ministers, and his name deserves to be held in grateful remembrance." He frequently presided at the meetings of the Warren Association, and rendered good service in the cause of religious freedom. He was a delegate to the Convention which met in September, 1780, for the purpose of framing a new State Constitution, and moved to have the third article of the famous Bill of Rights, which was at first intended to give rulers power in religious matters, recommitted. "The motion," says Backus, "was concurred with, and he was elected the chairman of a committee of seven upon that Article." He thus became in one

Mr. Backus, who was chosen Clerk, thus commences the minutes of the meeting : —

Whereas there hath of late been a great increase of Baptist churches in New England, which yet have not such an acquaintance with each other and orderly union together as ought to be, it has been thought by many that a general meeting or association might be a likely means to remove this evil, and to promote the general good of the churches. Therefore a number of elders, being occasionally together last year, did appoint a meeting at Warren, in Rhode Island Colony, on Sept. 8, 1767; and sent an invitation to others of their brethren to meet them there, to confer upon these affairs. Accordingly a considerable number of elders and brethren met at the time and place appointed; and Elder John Gano, from New York, opened the meeting with a suitable sermon, from Acts xv. 9.

Eleven churches were represented at this meeting by pastor and delegates, as follows; namely, Warren — Rev. James Manning, and brethren Benjamin Cole and Daniel Brown; Second, Rehoboth — Rev. Richard Round, and brethren Samuel Bullock and Daniel Bullock; Haverhill — Rev. Hezekiah Smith, and brethren Jacob Whittier and Jonathan Shepard; Norton — Rev. William Carpenter; Bellingham — Rev. Noah Alden; First, Middleborough — Rev. Isaac Backus; Second, Middleborough — Rev. Ebenezer Hinds; Cumberland — Rev. Daniel Miller; First, Boston — Dea. Josiah Colburn; Second, Boston — Brother Philip Freeman; Attleborough — Brethren Abraham Bloss and Joseph Guild. There were also present from the Philadelphia Association, Rev. Messrs. John Gano, Abel Griffith, and Noah Hammond. Mr. Gano was chosen moderator, and, after looking to Heaven for guidance and direction, they proceeded to the business before them. The occasion, as we may well suppose, was one of unusual interest.

Although the delegates in attendance “generally manifested,” says the historian, “a good will toward this attempt for promoting the union

sense the author of a provision in the Massachusetts Constitution, which was greatly in advance of the governments of his time, and was characterized by Dr. Paley in his *Political Philosophy*, published in 1785, as the best arrangement for the legal maintenance of a clergy that had yet been proposed. The Rev. Dr. Edward E. Hale, in an instructive discourse upon the Centenary of the Massachusetts Constitution, delivered in January, 1880, has drawn especial attention to this fact. Mr. Alden was also a prominent member of the Convention that in 1788 adopted the Constitution of the United States. The name of Ebenezer Hinds frequently occurs in the pages of Backus.

and welfare of the churches, most of them thought they were not prepared to join an association." Four only of the churches represented were ready to make the venture. The others hesitated, through fear perhaps of some usurpation of authority, by the associated body, over the particular churches composing it. Moreover, they were not altogether satisfied with the sentiments and plan of organization adopted at this time, which were substantially those of the Philadelphia Association. These were afterwards modified by President Manning, and in 1769 were adopted as a final basis for organization and action. As such they have been continued with few changes down to the present time. They read as follows: —

SENTIMENTS TOUCHING AN ASSOCIATION.

1. That such a combination of churches is not only prudent, but useful, as has appeared even in America by the experience of upwards of sixty years. Some of the uses of it are, union and communion among themselves; maintaining more effectually the order and faith once delivered to the saints; having advice in cases of doubt, and help in distress; being more able to promote the good of the cause, and becoming important in the eye of the civil powers, as has already appeared in many instances on this continent. 2. That such an association is consistent with the independency and power of particular churches, because it pretends to be no other than an *advisory council*, utterly disclaiming superiority, jurisdiction, coercive right, and infallibility. 3. That an association should consist of men knowing and judicious, particularly in the Scriptures. The reasons are obvious: such men are the fittest to represent communities who profess the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith and practice in religious matters, and who expect that every advice, opinion, or direction they receive from an association be Scriptural. They should be skilled and expert in the laws of their God, as counsellors are in the laws of the land; for that is the ground of the church's application to them.

PLAN OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association to consist only of messengers chosen and sent by the churches. These messengers to be their ministers (for a reason given in sentiment 3), together with some judicious brethren. Their expenses to be borne by the churches which send them.

2. With the messengers the churches send letters addressed to the Association. In these letters mention is made of the messengers, and their authority to act for their

churches; also of the state of the churches touching their peace; their increase by baptism, and by letters dismissive and commendatory from other churches; touching their diminution by death, excommunication, and dismissal to other churches, and the present number of members. If any questions are to be put to the Association, any advice to ask, or business to propose, these are to be expressed in said letters.

3. All matters to be determined in this Association by the suffrage of the messengers, except what are determinable by Scripture: such matters are never put to the decision of votes. All that speak are to address the moderator, who is to take care that none be interrupted while speaking, and that no other indecorum take place.

4. Churches are to be received into this Association by petitions setting forth their desire to be admitted, their faith, order, and willingness to be conformable to the rules of the associated body. When a petition is read, and the matter ripened for a vote, the moderator states the question. Suffrage being given in favor of the petition, the said moderator declares that such a church is received into the Association, in token of which he gives the messengers the *right hand of fellowship*, and bids them take their seats.

5. The Association to meet annually, at Warren, on Tuesday next after the first Wednesday in September,¹ at two o'clock in the afternoon, and to continue till business be finished. It is to be opened with divine service: after which a moderator and clerk are chosen; the letters from the churches are read; the names of the messengers are written, that they may be called over at after meetings; then business is attended to, and minutes thereof made; a circular letter to the churches is prepared and signed, and a copy of it sent to every church, containing the minutes of the Association, the state of the churches, when and by whom vacancies are to be supplied, who is to preach the next Association sermon, and whatever else is needful for the churches to know.

6. A connection to be formed and maintained between this Association and that of Philadelphia, by annual letter and messengers from us to them and from them to us.

7. The faith and order of this Association are expressed in a confession put forth by upwards of a hundred congregations in Great Britain, in the year 1689, and adopted by the Association of Philadelphia in 1742. Some of the principles in said Confession are:—The imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity; the inability of man to recover himself; effectual calling by Sovereign grace; justification by imputed righteousness; immersion for baptism, and that on profession of faith and repentance; Congregational churches and their independency; reception into them upon evidence of sound conversion, etc.

¹ "And as the annual Commencement at our college is on the first Wednesday in September, and some who come to it from a distance would desire to attend the Association also, it was appointed to be on the Tuesday after the Commencement." Backus's Church History, Vol. 2, page 409, edition of 1871.

The meeting of the Association for the year 1769, coming after the first Commencement of the College, was rendered unusually interesting by the presence, as messengers from the Philadelphia Association, of Samuel Jones, who had rendered essential service in remodeling and preparing for the Legislature Dr. Stiles's first draft of the charter, and who was the first choice of prominent members of the Corporation in 1791, to succeed Manning in the Presidency; also John Davis and Morgan Edwards, who had but recently returned from England. "Many of the letters from the churches," says Backus, "mentioned grievous oppressions and persecutions from the Standing Order, especially the one from Ashfield, where religious tyranny had been carried to great lengths." Whereupon petitions to the General Courts of Massachusetts and Connecticut for redress were prepared by a committee of seven, of which the Rev. John Davis acted as chairman. The same having been read and approved, Messrs. Samuel Stillman, Philip Freeman, Philip Freeman, Jr., John Proctor, and Nathan Spear, all of Boston, were chosen a committee to present them. Stillman and Spear, it may be added, were members of the Corporation.

The following proposal and plan to collect grievances, which we copy from the manuscript minutes of Backus, was also read at this meeting and approved: —

Whereas, complaints of oppressions occasioned by a non-conformity to the religious establishment in New England have been brought to this Association; and whereas the laws obtained for preventing and redressing such oppressions have, upon trial, been found insufficient (either through defect in the laws themselves or iniquity in the execution thereof); and whereas humble remonstrances and petitions have not been duly regarded, but the same oppressive measures continue: This is to inform all the oppressed Baptists in New England that the Association of Warren (in conjunction with the Western or Philadelphia Association) is determined to seek remedy for their brethren where a speedy and effectual one may be had. In order to pursue this resolution by petition and memorial, the following gentlemen are appointed to receive well-attested grievances, to be by them transmitted to the Rev. Samuel Stillman, of Boston; namely, the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, the Rev. Isaac Backus, of Middleborough, Mr. Richard Montague, of Sunderland, the Rev. Joseph Meacham, of Enfield, and the Rev. Timothy Wightman, of Groton, in Connecticut.

The efforts put forth by Manning and his associates in behalf of sound learning and civil and religious freedom, through the agency of the Warren Association, will be further illustrated in successive chapters. Those who may wish to consult fuller and more detailed accounts are referred to Backus's History, Hovey's Memoir of Backus, and "Chaplain Smith and the Baptists," the latter work giving in full the laws of Massachusetts relating to "Anabaptists" from 1728 until Manning's time.

Gradually the Association won the confidence of the denomination, until in a few years it had extended over New England. By its means mutual acquaintance and harmony were promoted; the weak and the oppressed were relieved; errors in doctrine and in practice were exposed and guarded against; warnings against false teachers in religion were published; feeble and destitute flocks were provided with preachers; the College was materially aided and strengthened; students were encouraged to study for the ministry, and the Gospel was preached in destitute places. During the period of the Revolution it presented able addresses in behalf of civil and religious freedom to the Governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and to the Continental Congress. Although, says Arnold, in his History of Rhode Island, it no longer has that intimate connection with the University which at first existed, and the growth of Baptist churches in New England has given rise to numerous other associations of a similar character, the parent body still continues to exert a widespread and beneficent influence over the objects of its charge.

The minutes¹ of the Association show that Manning, during the whole period of his connection with it, was one of its most prominent and useful members. By his counsels and personal influence he first

¹ The manuscript minutes of the first four meetings of the Warren Association are among the Backus papers, from which they were carefully copied by the late Rev. Silas Hall, a graduate of the College in the class of 1809. To his kindness in placing them at our disposal we are greatly indebted. The minutes were first printed in the year 1771, since which time they have been published without interruption down to the present date. A set, including the aforesaid manuscript minutes, from the meeting of the Association in 1767 down to the present time, is in the College Library. The years 1780 and 1783 are copied from a set in the possession of the late Mr. John Carter Brown; otherwise the set is complete.

called it into being. As has already been stated, he drew up the plan of its organization. In the years 1776, 1781, 1784, and 1787, he presided over its deliberations as Moderator. In 1778 and in 1787 he preached the introductory sermon. In 1785 he made the opening prayer. From year to year we find his name on various important committees. He was likewise prominent as a member of the Philadelphia Association, rarely failing, especially during the latter part of his life, to attend its sessions, although thereby subjected to great trouble, expense, and loss of time. He was once clerk, twice moderator, and three times the preacher at its annual meetings. We close this portion of our narrative with the following Circular Letter, presented by him to the Warren Association, and by them adopted at its third meeting in 1769. It affords a happy illustration of the author's temper and spirit, and of his peculiar fitness to guide and instruct his brethren.

CIRCULAR LETTER BY MANNING.

The Elders and Messengers of several churches belonging to the Association, met in Warren, in the Colony of Rhode Island, etc. To the several churches they represent, greeting.

DEAR BRETHREN:— We have had the pleasure of meeting your representatives at the Association, who in general have brought us good news from the churches. We rejoice to see that the Son of man is pleased to walk in the midst of his golden candlesticks, the churches, to dispense his blessings to his people, and to attend the Word of the kingdom with divine power to the salvation of sinners. Come! help us to magnify the Lord for his unspeakable mercy and goodness! Yet we find that the enemies of truth are busily employed in endeavoring to subvert it, and in vexing and oppressing those who stand up for the cause of God. Brethren, we sympathize with you under your afflictions, while we call to mind the declaration of your ascended Head to his beloved flock whom he left behind,—*In the world ye shall have tribulation.* Yet how refreshing is what follows,—*But be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.* Those who live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution. Let not the powers of the world, who set themselves to oppose, discourage you. Search for the mind of Christ in his Word; which being discovered, pay a sacred regard thereto. Call no man master on earth; and remember that the followers of Christ carry their cross in imitation of their Divine Master. Brethren, suffer us, however, to beseech you to use all proper means to obtain relief from the burdens imposed upon you, by taking heed to the general plan which we

as a body propose to pursue. But while you attend to human means, let your cries be incessant to Him who hears and who will redress the cries of the oppressed. Pray for those who despitefully use you. Remember that love enters deeply into the spirit of our holy religion; and that the glorious Founder thereof has given us the most striking example of it in living and dying for his enemies. Walk soberly and inoffensively toward those without; and let your conduct prove that it is the power of truth, the force of conscience, that makes you Baptists, and not an affectation of singularity. And as you are persuaded that you have been taught by the Spirit of God, so let your light shine before others that you may win them to the truth. In the meantime, carefully guard against any designs to ensnare you, or to engage you in any combination with them that may eventually prove to the detriment of the cause.

Finally, may the Lord Jesus afford you his presence, and bless you with abundant increase in all grace, to the glory of his great name.

The sixth annual meeting of the Corporation was held in Warren, Wednesday, Sept. 6, 1769, at which were present twenty-one Trustees and seven Fellows. The first vote recorded reads as follows:—*“Voted*, That the meeting-house at Warren be fitted up at the charge of the Corporation, in the best manner the shortness of the time will admit, for the reception of the people to-morrow, the day of Commencement.” This is the house which we have already described, erected in 1763, a small unpainted building, forty-four by fifty-two feet, with a four-sided hip roof, surmounted at the top and centre with a belfry, in which was placed a ship bell, the rope of which hung directly down in the centre of the middle aisle. There was no tower or porch, the front door on the east side leading directly into the audience room. The galleries at this date were not finished. The “fitting up” referred probably to the erection of a platform or stage for the speakers.

We find in the records of this meeting the only allusion thus far to the President’s salary: — *“Ordered*, That the Reverend President be paid £50 lawful money, by the Treasurer, out of the interest of the moneys remitted from Europe, as an allowance in part for his services.” This vote was subsequently explained more fully by the report of a committee of five appointed to “examine into the state of Mr. President Manning’s account with the College.” They report, in the lan-

guage of the records, "That the said President hath served the Society (College) for three years past and hath received no compensation for the same; and as by a vote of the Corporation the sum of £50 lawful money was ordered to be paid the Reverend President out of the interest money supposed to be due, we do report it as our opinion, that the said sum ought not to debar him from being recompensed in a more ample manner whenever it shall be in the power of the Corporation to do the same." It was understood, of course, in the beginning that the President would derive his support from the Latin School, and from the church of which he was to be pastor, the infant College having no funds.

The first Commencement was held in the meeting-house on Thursday, Sept. 7, 1769. This has always been regarded as a red-letter day in the history of the College. Four years had now elapsed since the President, with a solitary pupil, commenced his collegiate duties as an instructor. Through toils, and difficulties, and opposition even, he had quietly persevered in his work, until the Seminary under his care had won its way to public favor. And now his first pupils were about to take their Bachelor's degree in the Arts, and go forth to the duties of life. They were young men of promise. Some of them were destined to fill conspicuous places in the approaching struggle for independence; others were to be leaders in the church, and distinguished educators of youth. Probably no class that has gone forth from the College or University in her palmiest days has exerted so widely extended and beneficial an influence, especially in the Baptist denomination, the times and circumstances taken into account, as this first graduating class of seven. The occasion drew together a large concourse of people from all parts of the Colony, inaugurating what proved to be a State holiday in the history of Rhode Island. "And as each recurring anniversary," says the historian, "of this time-honored institution of learning calls together from distant places the widely-scattered alumni of Brown University, we do but renew, on a more extended scale, the congratulations that crowned this earliest festival."¹ The per-

¹ History of Rhode Island, 1636-1790. By Hon. Samuel Greene Arnold, LL. D. 2 vols., 8vo. New York, 1859-60. See Vol. 2, p. 299.

formances of the day excited universal admiration. "We can readily imagine," says an early graduate,¹ "how the beautiful and benevolent face of President Manning was radiant with smiles on this occasion; with what joy he beheld the first fruits of his anxieties, and labors, and prayers; with what glowing eloquence he pours forth, at the throne of grace, the pious effusions of a grateful heart, invoking the blessing of God upon the future efforts of the friends of the infant Institution, and filling every heart with emotion, if not every eye with tears, as, with the affection of a friend and the solicitude of a father, he commended to the care of Heaven those who were about to depart from him, and, at a period of no ordinary moment, to enter a world of temptation and trial."

The following account of this "first Commencement," taken from *The Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, needs no apology for its insertion here. It will be read with special interest by those who have attended the Commencements of a later day.

FIRST COMMENCEMENT. 1769.

On Thursday, the seventh of this instant, was celebrated at Warren the first Commencement in the College of this Colony; when the following young gentlemen commenced Bachelors of Arts; namely, Joseph Belton, Joseph Eaton, William Rogers, Richard Stites, Charles Thompson, James Mitchel Varnum, and William Williams.

About 10 o'clock A. M., the gentlemen concerned in conducting the affairs of the College, together with the candidates, went in procession to the meeting-house.

After they had taken their seats respectively, and the audience were composed, the President introduced the business of the day with prayer; then followed a salutatory oration in Latin, pronounced with much spirit, by Mr. Stites, which procured him great applause from the learned part of the assembly. He spoke upon the advantages of liberty and learning, and their mutual dependence upon each other; concluding with proper salutations to the Chancellor of the College, Governor of the Colony, etc., particularly expressing the gratitude of all the friends of the College to the Rev. Morgan Edwards, who has encountered many difficulties in going to Europe to collect donations for the Institution, and has lately returned.

To which succeeded a forensic dispute, in English, on the following thesis; namely, "The Americans, in their present circumstances, cannot, consistent with good policy,

¹ Hon. Judge Pitman, class of 1793. See Alumni Address, 1843.

affect to become an independent state." Mr. Varnum ingeniously defended it, by cogent arguments handsomely dressed; though he was subtly but delicately opposed by Mr. Williams; both of whom spoke with emphasis and propriety.

As a conclusion to the exercises of the forenoon, the audience were agreeably entertained with an oration on benevolence, by Mr. Rogers; in which, among many other pertinent observations, he particularly noticed the necessity which this infant Seminary stands in of the salutary effects of that truly Christian virtue.

At three o'clock P. M., the audience being convened, a syllogistic dispute was introduced on this thesis: "*Materia cogitare non potest*,"—Mr. Williams the respondent; Messieurs Belton, Eaton, Rogers, and Varnum the opponents,—in the course of which dispute, the principal arguments on both sides were produced towards settling that critical point.

The degree of Bachelor of Arts was then conferred on the candidates. Then the following gentlemen (graduated in other colleges), at their own request received the honorary degree of Master in the Arts; namely, Rev. Edward Upham, Rev. Morgan Edwards, Rev. Samuel Stillman, Rev. Hezekiah Smith, Hon. Joseph Wanton Jun. Esq., Mr. Jabez Bowen, and Mr. David Howell, Professor of Philosophy in said College.

The following gentlemen, being well recommended by the Faculty for literary merit, had conferred on them the honorary degree of Master in the Arts; namely, Rev. Abel Morgan, Rev. Oliver Hart, Rev. David Thomas, Rev. Samuel Jones, Mr. John Davis, Mr. Robert Strettle Jones, Mr. John Stites, Rev. James Bryson, Rev. James Edwards, Rev. William Boulton, Rev. John Ryland, Rev. William Clark, Rev. Joshua Toulmin, and Rev. Caleb Evans.¹

A concise, pertinent, and solemn charge was then given to the Bachelors by the President, concluding with his last paternal benediction, which naturally introduced the valedictory orator, Mr. Thompson, who, after some remarks upon the excellences of the oratorical art, and expressions of gratitude to the patrons and officers of the College, together with a valediction to them, and all present, took a most affectionate leave of his classmates. The scene was tender, the subject felt, and the audience affected.

The President concluded the exercises with prayer. The whole was conducted with a propriety and solemnity suitable to the occasion. The audience (consisting of the

¹ The writer of this account has failed to give the names of all who received honorary degrees on this occasion. They may be found in the triennial catalogues. Most of them were prominent members of the Philadelphia Association. Samuel Jones and Robert Strettle Jones were instrumental in securing the charter of the College; the former was thought of as Manning's successor in the Presidency. Stites was Manning's father-in-law. Ryland and Evans were prominent English Baptists who afterwards became benefactors of the College. The names of Toulmin, Clark, Boulton, James Edwards, and Bryson, are given in Morgan Edwards's list of subscriptions.

principal gentlemen and ladies of this Colony, and many from the neighboring governments), though large and crowded, behaved with the utmost decorum.

In the evening, the Rev. Morgan Edwards, by particular request, preached a sermon;¹ especially addressed to the graduates and students, from Phil. iii. 8: "Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord;" in which, after high encomiums on the liberal Arts and Sciences, the superior knowledge of Christ, or the Christian Science, was clearly and fully illustrated in several striking examples and similes; one of which follows:—"When the sun is below the horizon, the stars excel in glory; but when his orb irradiates our hemisphere, their glory dwindles, fades away, and disappears."

Not only the candidates, but even the President, were dressed in American manufactures. Finally, be it observed, that this class are the first sons of that College which has existed for more than four years; during all which time it has labored under great disadvantages, notwithstanding the warm patronage and encouragement of many worthy men of fortune and benevolence; and it is hoped, from the disposition which many discovered on that day, and other favorable circumstances, that these disadvantages will soon, in part, be happily removed.

The *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, a weekly paper, in the columns of which appeared the foregoing account of Commencement, had been established by William Goddard, in October, 1762, mainly it is stated, through the influence of Governor Hopkins, in opposition, perhaps, to the *Newport Mercury*, established in 1758, which for some reason had become the vehicle for the expression of loyalist sentiments, antagonizing the positions taken by the patriotic leaders of Boston and Providence.² Mr. Hopkins was present at this Commencement as Chancellor of the Corporation, and undoubtedly wrote the account. The allusion to the fact that both the President and the candidates "were dressed in American manufactures," is significant. The famous Stamp

¹ The custom, thus inaugurated by Morgan Edwards, of having a sermon on the Wednesday evening of Commencement, was continued down to the beginning of Dr. Wayland's administration, when the "President's Levee" took the place of the Commencement sermon. The usual preachers in Dr. Manning's time were Dr. Stillman, of Boston, and Dr. Smith, of Haverhill. In later times Dr. Baldwin frequently preached.

"It is not known," says Foster, "how direct an agency Governor Hopkins had in securing William Goddard as its publisher; but from the very first issue of this paper, until the very end of the Governor's career, under each one of its successive publishers, his share in it was continuous." See STEPHEN HOPKINS A RHODE ISLAND STATESMAN. Vol. 2, p. 48.

Act, everywhere denounced, went into operation on the 1st of November, 1765. "The fatal day," says Arnold,¹ "dawned upon a nation united in their determination of resistance. Not a stamp was to be seen. Everywhere the distributors had resigned, some by force, and others of their own free will. The wheels of every government in America were stopped at once. Commerce was crushed, law was annulled, justice was delayed, even the usages of domestic life were suspended by this anomalous and terrible act. Not a ship could sail, not a statute could be enforced, not a court could sit, not even a marriage take place, that was not in itself illegal, so far as the British Parliament could make it so; for every one of these acts required the evidence of stamped paper to establish its validity." Non-importation agreements were at once entered into by the leading merchants in America; and a combination for the support of American manufactures, and to increase the supply of wool, by ceasing to consume lamb or mutton, was soon afterwards formed.

The "Forensic Dispute" between Varnum and Williams, on the question of American Independence, was also significant. Nowhere in all the colonies was patriotism earlier developed and more outspoken than in Rhode Island. As soon as it was known that the Stamp Act had passed both Houses of Parliament and received the royal approbation, the minds of both the Governor and the people were made up to disregard its provisions. The officers appointed to superintend the execution of the law were hanged in effigy at Newport. The cruisers in the bay became subjects of popular jealousy and hatred, on account of their scrutiny and arrogance. During the summer of 1765 the *Maidstone* sloop of war lying in the harbor of Newport impressed some sailors belonging to the town; whereupon a mob seized a boat belonging to the *Maidstone* and burnt it in a public square. Repeated incidents like this served to array the feelings of the people more decidedly against the officers of the Crown. The day before the Stamp Act was to take effect, all the royal governors, says Arnold, with Fitch of Con-

¹ History of Rhode Island. Vol. 2, p. 263.

necticut, took the oath to sustain it. Samuel Ward, "the Governor of Rhode Island, stood alone in his patriotic refusal."¹ Organizations under the name of "The Sons of Liberty," and "The Daughters of Liberty," sprung up everywhere, and meetings were held in all the towns. Thus the spirit of resistance to England gained ground from day to day, and popular demonstrations for freedom became frequent. On the 19th of July, less than two months before Commencement, the British armed sloop *Liberty*, Capt. William Reid, which had needlessly annoyed all the coasting craft in search of contraband traders, had been boarded by a mob, dismantled, scuttled, and her boats carried to the upper end of the town and burnt. This has been justly claimed as among the earliest, in point of time, of the acts of open resistance to British power, which terminated in the final separation of the colonies from England. It was followed, three years later, by the destruction of the schooner *Gaspee*, when the first blood was shed.

An account of this memorable Commencement, and especially of the discussion of American Independence, which constituted the prominent feature of the exercises, was given by the writer in a paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, Dec. 17, 1883, and afterwards published as a part of Volume VII. of its Collections. The manuscript containing this discussion, and also the orations, in the handwriting of Charles Thompson, the valedictorian, came into the writer's possession many years ago, soon after the publication of "Manning and Brown University." It is not a little remarkable that what leading statesmen were slow to perceive and cautious to advance, even so late as 1775, and 1776, was clearly set forth in almost the very arguments of the DECLARATION, by a young Baptist pupil of President Manning and Tutor Howell, as early as 1769, in the little town of Warren, before a crowded and approving audience.

Mr. Varnum presented in an eloquent and attractive manner the arguments used by the Royalists, or Tories, as they were afterwards termed, for the preservation of peace. The following extract from the

¹ Bancroft's History of the United States.

closing part of Mr. Williams's address, illustrates the views and patriotic feelings that prevailed in Rhode Island at this early period:—

X
 Their menaces might terrify and subjugate servile, timid Asiatics, who peaceably prostrate their necks to be trampled on by every bold usurper. But my auditors, you have not so learned the principles of liberty. You know liberty is our birthright, and if this is taken away, we may in part adopt the language of Micah, "What have we more?" Besides, how unreasonable is it, that this wide extended continent, formed by nature for a kingdom of its own, should pay homage to the diminutive island of Britain, but a mere speck upon this huge globe? I have, as before observed, no aversion to a friendly alliance, a close union with Britain, provided we could enjoy that liberty wherewith God has made us free. But to purchase their friendship at so dear a rate as owning them our masters, is worse than madness; it is patricide. How could we answer it to the manes of our ancestors, should those venerable shades meet, accost, and call us to account for such conduct? How can we answer it to posterity, who must drag out a painful life in slavery? Nay, how shall we answer it to ourselves, when the galling yoke of slavery bears heavy on our necks? On the other hand, view the liberty, the transporting liberty of America. View millions basking in its beams, and gratefully acknowledging their obligations to the venerable names that now stand as pillars to support our rights. View America, the largest and happiest empire on earth, the land of liberty, the seat of science, the refuge of religion. But my point is gained; your countenances indicate the patriotic feelings of your breasts, and with one voice you declare that **AMERICA SHALL BE FREE.**

A Latin sheet or broadside, fifteen by nineteen inches, handsomely printed on good stout paper, was circulated through the house. This with the Latin salutatory, and a Latin syllogistic dispute, served to give the little College a genuine academic flavor, impressing the minds of the hearers, doubtless, with an appearance of superior learning. This custom of distributing a Latin broadside at Commencement, containing, in addition to the names of the Chancellor, President, Faculty, and Graduating class, theses in Latin on grammar, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, physics, ontology, pneumatology, theology, ethics, and politics, was continued from year to year, with slight changes or variations until 1795, when an "Order of Exercises," in English, was substituted for the programme. The Latin theses, however, were printed

and circulated in octavo form, with the order of exercises, down to nearly the close of President Messer's administration. A complete set of these broadsides, order of exercises, and theses, collected by the writer, is among the treasures of the Library of the University. The following is the text of the heading of this first broadside, which we introduce as an illustration of "ye early days." The size of our page will not admit of an exact reproduction of the original:¹—

BENEVOLENTISSIMO

Ac eximia virtute, doctrinaque utilissima praedito, viro,

STEPHANO HOPKINS, ARMIGERO,

Collegii hujusce, intra Coloniae Insulae Rhodiensis Fines, Cancellario;

Admodum Reverando aeque ae Honorando JACOBO MANNING, Praesidi,

Omnibus artibus liberalibus scientiisque, et pietate praesigni induto, cujus sub moderamine sequentia philosophemata sunt defendenda;

Totis Curatoribus et Sociis eruditissimis, hujusce Academiae Observantissimis;

Doctissimo pariterque dignissimo Davidi Hoell, ejusdem Seminarii Tutori;

Denique, omnibus desiderio scientiae afflatis, ubicunque in terrarum orbe, tam Ecclesiarum Pastoribus, quam Reipublicae benè meritis, paeclpuè nostro Collegio faventibus;

THESES haec (Numine fausto) Juvenes, in artibus initiati, defensuri,

JOSEPHUS BELTON,

GULIELMUS ROGERS,

JACOBUS MITCHEL VARNUM,

JOSEPHUS EATON,

RICHARDUS STITES,

GULIELMUS WILLIAMS.

N. B. Nomina alphabetice disposita sunt.

CAROLUS THOMPSON,

Summa observantia. D. D. D. C. Q.

Under the names of the graduating class the reader will notice the following: — "N. B. Nomina alphabetice disposita sunt." In the older colleges a different practice had prevailed. In all the Harvard catalogues previous to 1773, says Sibley,² the graduates in each class are arranged, not in alphabetical order, but according to their social posi-

¹ A photographic fac-simile of the original sheet or broadside, which served as a programme at this first Commencement, was published in the *Mercury and Gazette* (No. 3) which was the official organ of the "Rhode Island Days of Auld Lang Syne," Providence Opera House, April 6th-11th, 1896, the same being under the auspices of the Colonial Dames and Daughters of the American Revolution.

² Catalogues of Harvard University. By John Langdon Sibley. See Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1864-1865.

tion or family rank. Judge Wingate, writing to Librarian Peirce, respecting the excitement which was generally called up when a class in college was "placed," says, "the scholars were often enraged beyond bounds for their disappointment, and it was some time before a class could be settled down to an acquiescence in the allotment." The higher part of the class, those whose names came first in the earlier catalogues, generally had the most influential friends; and they commonly had the best chambers in college assigned them. They also had a right to help themselves first at the table in commons. "I think," Judge Wingate concludes, "that the government of the college, in my day, was a complete aristocracy." A practice similar to this prevailed when families were seated in church. Democratic, liberty-loving Rhode Island, which had, in face of the ecclesiastical laws of the Massachusetts Bay touching the erection of meeting-houses, been without a house of worship for sixty years, would not be likely, in the beginnings of its first and only College, to follow the aristocratic rulings of Harvard and Yale. Hence the alphabetical arrangement thus publicly announced. The same note appears in the early Latin or triennial catalogues.

The following brief biographies of the members of this first graduating class, may fitly close this chapter of our history. Concerning JOSEPH BELTON, who heads the list in the programme, we have thus far no definite information. Like many other patriotic young men of his time, he may have enlisted in the service of his country and perished in battle. He was from Groton, Connecticut, and was matriculated, as appears from the document to which reference has already been made, on the 4th of November, 1766. JOSEPH EATON, the next on the list, was also matriculated in November, 1766. He was from Hope-well, New Jersey, and was the son of the Rev. Isaac Eaton, founder of the Academy. In Edwards's "Materials towards a History of the Baptists of New Jersey," published in 1792, we find this paragraph: — "Mr. Eaton's (Rev. Isaac) wife was Rebecca Stout, by whom he had many children; some died single; but JOSEPH, David, and Pamela, married into the families of the Turners, Potts, and Humphreys, and have raised him eight grandchildren." In the list which Edwards gives of the

graduates of Hopewell Academy, he speaks of JOSEPH EATON as a physician who practiced his profession, and died some time previous to the year 1790.

Of WILLIAM ROGERS, the "first student," we have already given a sketch. His "Intermediate Oration on Benevolence" is preserved among the papers of the valedictorian, Charles Thompson. Our readers will thank us for giving it a place in the pages of the present work:—

ORATION ON BENEVOLENCE.

BY WILLIAM ROGERS.

When I look around, and behold the smiling visage and splendid appearance of this polite and learned assembly; when I reflect on this auspicious day, as also on the honor, the distinguishing honor, you are pleased to confer on this seat of the Muses, by affording an attentive ear to the broken accents of her eldest though infant sons; gratitude excites me to applaud the noble principle which inspires your generous minds. While you recur to the rapturous sensations of your own breasts to judge of the genuine operations of the subject contained in the sequel; I flatter myself you will consider my inexperience and youth, and make all due allowance for these disadvantages. Convinced that the wise and unprejudiced will receive with approbation the feeble efforts of an honest heart, I shall enter on my agreeable task, cheerfully relying on your candor and indulgence. The subject to which I would solicit your attention is Benevolence—a subject which affords a prospect infinitely variegated by the tenderest productions of a refined nature—a prospect that courts the attention and attracts the admiration of all that are in anywise capable of the tender feelings of humanity.

Benevolence is that amiable virtue which prompts us to wish well, and perform kind offices to others. Friendship is but the offspring of benevolence, and contracts its views within a narrower sphere. But this disdaining to be circumscribed by any limits, diffuses its agreeable influence to the remotest corners of society. The source from whence this engaging virtue is derived is heaven itself. It originally proceeds from the grand parent of every species of goodness. The exalted nature of seraphic beings is peculiarly adapted to this agreeable flame. It there buds in eternal youth. It there shines with growing splendor, in a soil peculiarly calculated to cherish such a divine production. It filled the lofty emporium with ambrosial fragrance only, until divine munificence sowed the seeds, or rather transplanted Benevolence in full maturity into human nature. And surely it was infinitely fit such a generous plant should be cultivated in every soil productive of rational beings. But Lucifer, in whom malice against the king of heaven had totally extinguished this celestial spark, envying man's

superior felicity, and the possession of that inestimable inheritance which he could never hope to regain, made one dreadful effort to erase it forever from the heart of man; and had succeeded in his foul design had not the seasonable interposition of a superior power defeated his infernal project.

This noble principle is composed of the more rational feelings of an immortal mind. It towers above the classes of private connections, whether natural or acquired; and considers man as a social being, a part of a grand whole, formed for a reciprocation of interests; partaker of a common nature; subject to all the vicissitudes of a weak, defenseless constitution; and dependent on society for mutual assistance. It views him as not made for himself, not independent of others; and therefore prompts him to a sensible regard for the happiness of mankind. When any scheme is projected for public utility, with what alacrity does it afford the best assistance! When a friend, an acquaintance, or even a stranger is in distress, it listens with profound attention to the melting strains of calamity. Sympathy operating, it extends a generous hand and grants a kind relief. When liberty, the dearest property of man is invaded, when tyranny advances with menacing gigantic strides, and threatens to trample under foot the sacred rights of the people, and erase the very foundation of civil society; regardless of private happiness, attentive to the prosperity of the whole, and the fate of posterity, with what zeal, with what vehemence is this principle exerted and displayed!

Before I dismiss this agreeable subject I must beg liberty to observe that BENEVOLENCE shines most conspicuous when it proposes the greatest public utility. As the purposes of education, therefore, are the most noble and perfective of our rational nature, I am constrained to mention the great obligation this infant Seminary is under, to many gentlemen in this Assembly, whose laudable zeal for the good of society, has excited them to take it by the hand, and conduct it through oppositions it must of necessity have met with in its feeble state. Under your patronage it now shines in gentle glories; and we confidently trust, it will in some future period, tower with superior eminence. Then with what deep felt joys, with what pleasing veneration will this Colony, will North America recognize the memory of its first benefactors.

Finally, my worthy auditors, I may recommend this principle, as absolutely requisite to constitute the gentleman, the sage, and the Christian; as that which fills the mind with those purer joys, which not only bear a distant resemblance to, but in their nature are the same which glow in the breasts of kindred spirits above. Let us therefore catch, and as we catch, increase the blaze, until it shall re-enkindle, or rather burst out, and mingle flames in the pure element of love.

RICHARD STITES.

RICHARD STITES, as has already been stated, was the brother-in-law of President Manning, being the youngest son of John Stites, Esq., mayor of Elizabethtown. He was born at Connecticut Farms in 1747, being therefore twenty-two years of age at the time of his graduation. He was prepared for college at the Hopewell Academy, and matriculated by President Manning, on the 20th of June, 1766, as his second student. A copy of his Latin salutatory, which the *Gazette* states was pronounced with much spirit, and procured him great applause from the learned part of the assembly, is preserved with the other orations. Immediately after graduating, he entered upon the study of law, and on the 2d of May, 1771, as appears from the records, he was admitted to the bar. He practised in Elizabethtown. On the 12th of May, 1776, he married Sarah, daughter of John Dennis, of New Brunswick, at that time state treasurer. Several months previous to this he had been commissioned as captain in Heard's brigade, General Nathaniel Greene's division of the Continental Line. During the disastrous battle on Long Island, August 27, 1776, he was severely wounded, and taken to his home, where he died a few days afterward. In March following a son was born, Richard Montgomery Stites, who was eventually placed in President Manning's care, and by him fitted for college. He was graduated in 1792, one year after Manning's death. A grandson named Richard Montgomery Stites, a civil engineer by profession, is now living in Morristown, New Jersey. To him we are specially indebted for these particulars respecting his ancestor.

JAMES MITCHEL VARNUM.

JAMES MITCHEL VARNUM was born in Dracut, Massachusetts, in the year 1749. He was graduated therefore at the age of twenty. While a student at Cambridge, he had developed a remarkable capacity for learning, and although, as his biographer states, somewhat dissipated in his habits, made liberal acquisitions in general knowledge and literature. He was especially attached to mathematical science

and delighted in its pursuit. Why he should have left the venerable halls of Harvard to connect himself with the infant Seminary at Warren, has always seemed to many a mystery. Perhaps the solution of it may be found in Quincy's History of the University. In April, 1768, the author states, there were serious disturbances at Harvard. Tutors's windows were broken, other outrages were committed, and lives even were endangered. Three under-graduates were expelled, others were rusticated, and several ring-leaders gave up their chambers and left the college. Mr. Varnum may have been one of this number. The date of his admission at Warren, May 23, 1768, favors this view. Furthermore, he may have become dissatisfied with the Senior instruction at Harvard. President Holyoke, who had been in office since 1737, was now an old man, in his eightieth year, and in feeble health. Indeed he died the year following. On the other hand, he had probably heard through Hezekiah Smith, who was then preaching at Haverhill with wonderful power and success, and was a welcome visitor at his father's house in Dracut, of the remarkable gifts of President Manning, and of his associate instructor, Tutor Howell.

After graduating, Mr. Varnum taught for a while a classical school; and to this period of his life he ever afterwards referred as a season of special benefit. In the year 1771 he was admitted to the bar, having studied law in the office of Oliver Arnold, Esq., then the Attorney General of the Colony. Soon afterwards, he established himself in the town of East Greenwich, where he rapidly rose to distinction in his profession, his great talents securing for him an extensive practice. Two years previous to this time he had married a daughter of Cromel Child of Warren, whose acquaintance he formed while a student. The following extract from the "Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, or Men and Times of the Revolution," presents a pleasing description of his powers of eloquence at this period:—

Mr. Varnum was one of the most eminent lawyers and distinguished orators in the colonies. I first saw this learned and amiable man in 1774, when I heard him deliver

a Masonic oration. Until that moment I had formed no conception of the power and charms of oratory. I was so deeply impressed, that the effect of his splendid exhibition has remained for forty-eight years indelibly fixed upon my mind. I then compared his mind to a beautiful parterre, from which he was enabled to pluck the most gorgeous and fanciful flowers, in his progress, to enrich and embellish his subject. Lavater would have pronounced him an orator, from the vivid flashing of his eye, and the delicate beauty of his classic mouth.

Mr. Varnum had a decided taste for military life, and in 1774 was commander of the "Kentish Guards," a company which, from its acquirements in military tactics, became the nursery of many distinguished officers during the Revolutionary War. Among them may be mentioned Major Whitmarsh, Col. Christopher Greene, and Rhode Island's greatest general, Nathanael Greene, who was second only to Washington. The prominent part which Varnum had taken in the colonial controversy induced him, upon the breaking out of hostilities, to offer his services to the Government. He was at first a colonel in the American army, but in February, 1777, Congress promoted him to the rank of brigadier-general. He continued in the army several years, and saw some service, commanding a brigade in Sullivan's expedition on Rhode Island. He was a good disciplinarian, and invaluable in council. He wielded a vigorous pen, commanding a rich flow of eloquence, embellished by the ornaments and graces of rhetoric.

While in command at Taunton, he addressed an admirable letter to the chief officer of the Hessians in Rhode Island, and sent it in by a flag. The letter was a transcript of his views on the great controversy with England, and was considered an able argument on the subject. It was subsequently published in England, and reflected much credit on the author. In 1779 he resigned his commission, and returned to his former profession. The Legislature, in consideration of his national services, and the more effectually to secure them in defense of the State, elected him Major-General of the militia of Rhode Island, an office to which he was annually re-elected during the remainder of his life. In 1780 he was appointed a delegate to the Congress of the Confederation, and again in 1786. As that body sat with closed doors, his

voice could not be heard by the public; but his name often appears in the published journals of the proceedings.

The great forensic effort of General Varnum was in the celebrated case of Trevett against Weeden, in the fall of the year 1786. The General Assembly, at its May session, with a wilful blindness unparalleled in the annals of civilization, had emitted the enormous sum of £100,000 in paper bills, making them "a good and lawful tender for the complete payment and final discharge of all fines, forfeitures, judgments, and executions of every kind and nature whatsoever." It also passed acts making it criminal to refuse said bills in exchange for articles of merchandise, and depriving their opponents of the sacred palladium of Britons, the trial by jury, and furthermore rendering them, even though freemen, ineligible to any office. In the case referred to, John Trevett, of Newport, had purchased meat of John Weeden, a butcher, and tendered to him bills of the emission of the May session of the Legislature in payment; which bills Weeden refused. Whereupon a complaint was made and filed, in accordance with the acts of the General Assembly, before Paul Mumford, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The court consisted of Paul Mumford, Chief Justice, and Joseph Hazard, Thomas Tillinghast, and David Howell, associates. When the case came up for trial, the whole public was in a state of feverish excitement. The merchant closed his store, the farmer left his fields, the mechanic his workshop, and all congregated in and around the Court-house to await the final issue. If the complaint was sustained, then would they be prostrated in utter ruin, and the commerce and business of the State be effectually destroyed. Varnum proved himself equal to this emergency. By his resistless eloquence he stemmed the tide of power and misrule, and successfully vindicated the claims of equity and justice. The Court adjudged that the amended acts of the Legislature were unconstitutional, and so void. The tyranny of the demagogues was thus overthrown, and the State was saved.

In the year 1787 General Varnum was appointed by Congress one of the judges of the Northwestern Territory, and in the following spring entered upon his duties. But disease had enfeebled his body,

and his race was nearly run. He died at Marietta, Ohio, on the 10th of January, 1789, at the early age of forty. His funeral was conducted with great solemnity and respect. A long procession of mourners—private citizens, civil and military officers, gentlemen of the Order of the Cincinnati, and Free Masons—followed his remains to the grave. His memory is yet fragrant in the annals of Rhode Island.

A younger brother, Joseph Bradley Varnum, we may add, also served as brigadier-general in the war, and was afterwards prominent in Massachusetts politics. He was a member of the State Senate, House of Representatives, and Council. For sixteen years he was a member of Congress, serving two terms as Speaker of the House; and from 1811 until 1817 he was a member of the United States Senate. He was also a prominent and useful member of the Baptist church in Dracut.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS was born in Hilltown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in the year 1752. His father emigrated from Wales, and settled in this country as a farmer, accumulating a handsome property. The son was fitted for college at the Hopewell Academy. He came to Warren in November, 1766, and was the fourth student whom the President matriculated. In the autumn following his graduation he married a daughter of Col. Nathan Miller, of Warren. Mr. Miller was a prominent citizen, and in 1786 was Dr. Manning's colleague as a member of the Continental Congress. For several years Mr. Williams remained in Warren and engaged in teaching,—an employment for which his talents and inclinations especially qualified him. During a revival of religion under the preaching of Mr. Thompson, Manning's successor in the pastorate, he was converted, and in September, 1771, was baptized by his classmate and received as a member of the church. In the year 1773 he removed with his family to Wrentham, Massachusetts, where he opened an academy, which soon attained to high distinction among the literary institutions of that day. He is supposed to have had under his care nearly two hundred youth, about eighty of whom he fitted for

his Alma Mater. Not a few of these became distinguished in professional and political life; among whom may be mentioned the Rev. Dr. Maxcy, successor to Manning; the Hon. David R. Williams, Governor of South Carolina; and the Hon. Tristram Burges, LL. D., Professor of Oratory and Belles-lettres in Brown University, and for many years a distinguished Representative in Congress. Mr. Williams also conducted the theological studies of young men with a view to their entering the ministry.¹ On the 3d of July, 1776, he was publicly ordained as pastor of the Baptist church in Wrentham, — an office which he held for nearly half a century. Though strictly evangelical in his doctrines, he was not regarded as a popular preacher. Quite a number of his early manuscript sermons are among the archives of the College library. They are written in a plain, legible hand, and exhibit marks of careful preparation. Mr. Williams, says his biographer,² “was not a man greatly to attract or impress the multitude in any way, but by a steady course of enlightened and Christian activity, he accomplished an amount of good for his denomination, which fairly entitles him to a place among its more distinguished benefactors. He diffused a spirit of improvement, a love of intellectual culture, throughout the circle in which he moved, and no doubt his influence will continue, and find new channels through which to flow down to posterity, long after the last of his surviving contemporaries shall have passed away.”

Mr. Williams continued to be engaged as teacher and preacher until the close of life. From 1789 until 1818, a period of twenty-nine years, he was an honored member of the Board of Fellows of the College. He was present in 1804, when the name of the College was changed to Brown University. During the war, when the College building was occupied as a barrack for the militia, and afterwards as a hospital for the French troops, the library was removed to Wrentham and placed in his keeping. Messrs. Smith, Stillman, Baldwin, Gammell, and other Baptist ministers were frequent visitors at his hospitable home on their

¹ One of his pupils in theology was the lamented Rev. William Gammell, of Newport, father of the late Professor William Gammell.

² Rev. Dr. Abial Fisher. See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. VI.

way to and from Providence. In his diary, under date of Friday, July 10, 1772, Mr. Smith writes : — “Went at Mr. Williams’s request to Wrentham to hear his scholars examined and pronounce their orations.” In 1785 the Warren Association held its sessions in his meeting-house, and again in 1802. He died on the 22d of September, 1823, aged about seventy-one years.

A daughter of Mr. Williams died in Wrentham, in 1867, at the advanced age of ninety. In her last moments she enjoined it upon those around her to see that her father’s pine table was given in charge to Samuel Warner, Esq., for Brown University. This belonged to her father when he was a student at Warren. Its capacious drawer, he used playfully to remark, contained all the books that belonged to the College during the six years that it was located in that town. The table is now kept as a precious memento on the third floor of the new Library Building. The contrast between it and its surroundings is striking and very suggestive.

We append to this brief sketch a copy of Mr. Williams’s “parchment,” which is carefully preserved among the archives. It differs from President Manning’s “parchment” as given in the previous chapter : —

Omnibus ad quos præsentēs Literæ pervenerint salutem. Notum sit quod Collegii in Anglicana Rhodiorum Providentiatiūque Colonia inter Nov. Anglos in America Sociorum Ordo Gulielmo Williams juveni probo et ingenuo, in omnibus Humanitatis Literarumque Studiis in nostra Academia instituto, et Examine sufficiente previo approbato Baccalaurei Gradum decrevit, publicis in Comitibus apud Warren in Colonia supradicta habitis Die Septimo Septembris Annoque Domini Millesimo Septingentesimo Sexagesimo Nono. In Cujus Rei Testimonium Sigillum Collegii huic Membranae affixum Nominaque nostra subscripta sunt.

JACOBUS MANNING, *Praeses.*

DAVID HOELL, *Phil., Prof.*

THOMAS EYRES, *Secretarius.*

CHARLES THOMPSON.

CHARLES THOMPSON, the valedictorian of the class, was born in Amwell, New Jersey, April 14, 1748. He, too, was fitted for college at

the Hopewell Academy, coming to Warren with Belton, Eaton, and Williams, and being matriculated with them in November, 1766. Having the ministry in view and being of age, he commenced preaching while a student. When the College was removed to Providence, President Manning was persuaded to remove also with his undergraduates. This was in May, 1770. In the autumn following, Mr. Thompson was called to preach at Warren as a candidate for settlement. The year following he was ordained as pastor of the church.¹ About this time he married a daughter of Sylvester Child, one of the leading citizens of the town.

A great blessing attended the ministry of Mr. Thompson, so that during the four years of his pastorate the membership of the church was nearly doubled. But when the War of the Revolution broke out, its sad effects were specially visible among his people. He was at once appointed a chaplain in the American army, which office he held till 1778, a period of three years. While at home on a visit, the English troops came up to Warren, and on the morning of May 25, 1778, burned the meeting-house, parsonage, arsenal, and several private dwellings, and carried away Mr. Thompson as a prisoner. He was confined at Newport; but in about a month was released, by what means he never knew. He afterwards preached at Ashford, Connecticut, until 1779, when he became pastor of the church in Swansea. During his ministry of twenty-three years at this latter place, there were several extensive revivals of religion: one immediately after his settlement, when

¹ The following account of his ordination is taken from the *Providence Gazette* for July 6, 1771. President Manning, it will be observed, took no part in the exercises. For some years there was a coolness on the part of the church toward him because of his decision to go with the College to Providence:

“On Wednesday last (July 3) was ordained to the work of the ministry at Warren in Bristol County, by the unanimous choice of the Baptist church and congregation in that town, the Rev. Charles Thompson, A. B., the first son of Rhode Island College that has yet engaged in the sacred office. Rev. Ebenezer Hinds, of Middleborough, began the solemnity with prayer, and preached an excellent sermon on the occasion to a polite and crowded auditory, from 2 Tim., 2: 15: ‘Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.’ Rev. Noah Alden, of Bellingham, delivered the charge, Mr. Hinds gave the right hand of fellowship, and Mr. Alden concluded with prayer. The whole was conducted with that solemnity and order which the importance of the occasion demanded, and afforded the highest satisfaction to every one present, particularly to the patrons and friends of the College.”

seventy-five persons were baptized and added to the church; one in 1789, when fifty persons were baptized; and a third in 1800, of still greater extent, which resulted in the admission to the church of a hundred new members. He died in Charlton, Worcester County, Massachusetts, on the 4th of May, 1803, in the full confidence of passing to a better world. In consequence of the poverty and distractions of the times his pecuniary support was small, so that he was obliged to labor with his own hands, keep store, and instruct scholars, in order to obtain a living for himself and family.

“Mr. Thompson,” says his biographer,¹ “was tall, spare, and of a fine figure. The expression of his countenance was indicative at once of a vigorous intellect, and an amiable disposition. He placed a high value upon time, and improved all his hours to good purpose. In his family, and in the church, he was a model both of kindness and firmness. As a preacher he held a very high rank. He had a voice of great compass, and its tones were sweet and commanding. He had great depth and tenderness of feeling, and he often wept with his people, while he occasionally addressed them in a voice of thunder. His sermons were carefully studied, and sometimes written, but his manuscript was never seen in the pulpit, and his language was generally such as was supplied to him at the moment. He had a deep sense of his responsibility, and feared not to proclaim, in all fidelity, the whole counsel of God. The church he fed with the bread of life, so that under his ministry they were instructed and rendered holy.

“He was also very successful in the instruction of youth, being fully master of everything which he attempted to teach. He may indeed be regarded as having been an accomplished scholar, as well as a devout Christian, and an able and a successful preacher. Such talents as he possessed could not be hid; he was often called upon to preach on public occasions, and multitudes, besides the people of his own particular church, were benefited by his faithful labors. At his death, well might it be said, ‘A great man has fallen in Israel.’”

¹ Rev. Dr. Abial Fisher. See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. VI. See also *Tustin's Dedication Discourse in Warren*. 12mo. Providence, 1845.

The original of Mr. Thompson's valedictory address, in his own handwriting, was presented to the writer some thirty years ago by Miss Louisa H. Thompson, daughter of Capt. John B. Thompson, granddaughter of Doct. William Thompson, and great-granddaughter of Rev. Charles Thompson, the author. They all resided in Warren, the latter, as has already been stated, having been for four years pastor of the church. The subject of the Oration, it will be observed, is "THE ORATORIAL ART," of which President Manning's entire professional life was a happy illustration. Manning himself was a splendid pulpit orator, and taught oratory both in his Latin School and in the College. It was in view of this fact, doubtless, that the first Professorship, founded by the Hon. Nicholas Brown, when the College received its present name, was a "Professorship of Oratory and Belles-lettres."

THOMPSON'S VALEDICTORY ADDRESS.

"THE ORATORIAL ART."

To gratify and procure the favor of an audience, at once so respectable and candid as I have the honor now to address, will be acknowledged by all to be the rational ambition of a benevolent heart. It will therefore be unnecessary to inform you, that I feel an increasing ardor to entertain in the most agreeable manner this assembly, whose characters demand veneration and esteem, no less than their countenances promise that candor and indulgence which reason pleads for on the present occasion.

You are not ignorant, gentlemen, that a finished composition is the production only of a long series of studies, joined to a continual exercise in that branch of learning; neither of which is compatible with the short time of our academic course, mostly taken up as it is in attention to the languages, arts, and sciences requisite to lay a foundation for this. On the other hand, the few accomplished speakers who have graced the desk, the Senate, House, and bar, will naturally suggest to you the almost unsurmountable difficulties that attend a tolerable degree of perfection therein, even where the Parent of Nature has laid a foundation in the gift of a happy genius. These things being duly weighed, I promise myself your benevolent attention to this my immature and juvenile exhibition, relying that the goodness of my subject and well meant effort will in a great measure, if not entirely, atone for my want of ability and injudicious execution. The subject upon which I would glance, by way of introduction to the part assigned me by the Rev. President, in the exercises of this day, is of supe-

rior moment, and has consequently had, not only the eulogies of the wise and the learned from age to age, but can boast of feats as glorious as any of the whole circle of the arts and sciences. After this hint need I tell you, I mean the ORATORIAL ART, or that irresistible energy accompanying truth delivered by men thoroughly acquainted with the human heart, and those springs of action the passions of human nature, together with the avenues that lead to them, and the means of awakening and exciting them in the most effectual manner.

This truly useful and popular art is by no means to be considered independent of, or detached from the other parts of liberal learning, but in a close connection with every branch of polite erudition, or rather as the collected force and perfection of them all. For though logic, mathematics, metaphysics and philosophy furnish knowledge for, and add strength to, the mind, yet these are rather calculated for entertainment in solitude, and, separate from a proper method of communicating our ideas, would be as superfluous to society as elaborate volumes on those different subjects in a language perfectly unintelligible. Man was formed for society, and is consequently furnished with organs by which to communicate his thoughts to others, and enable them to receive advantage from his researches; but, as a bare representation of our ideas by those terms stipulated to stand for them is found inadequate to this end, the great Author of Nature, to remedy this defect, has furnished us with a variety of tones, looks, and gestures, which, by the help of the living voice, render the speaker's heart transparent, and enable him to print his own ideas on the hearer's mind in the most indelible characters.

To undertake an enumeration of the rules of this art, or to point out the means by which we may arrive at a competent acquaintance therewith, had I the ability, would far exceed the brevity of my present design. Let it suffice, then, to evince by a few considerations, that Oratory may with justice be styled the mistress of the arts, and therefore merits the most vigorous pursuits of those ambitious of honor. Amongst the almost infinite variety of animals which surround this globe, the power of speech is granted to none but man. It is highly reasonable, therefore, to conclude that this, in conjunction with his soul, is characteristic of his superior dignity. Consequently to rate this prerogative high, and carry it to the greatest perfection possible, is altogether rational. The more it is cultivated and perfected, the more we exceed the brutal world, and approach those blessed beings who communicate their knowledge with infinite intuitive rapidity and ease.

But in the illustration of this proposition, I shall principally confine myself to those unspeakable advantages with which it is and ever has been attended, in doing which I must lead your minds back to those great originals of Greece and Rome; for a moderate acquaintance with those ancient republics will at once demonstrate how highly

they rated the talent of speaking well. It was the grand object in view in their public educations; therefore their youth were put under the tuition of the ablest masters, who, together with teaching them the rules, might exhibit practical lessons, by pronouncing before their pupils;—a method more effectual than all the rules in the world to teach an art, which principally consisted of a due management of the voice, countenance, and gestures of the body. This, together with the repeated corrections of those judicious doctors, both guarded them against contracting vicious habits of pronunciation, and enabled them to renounce those already contracted. Neither was it deemed sufficient to have studied and declaimed under one master only, although the most skilful of the age. And this, doubt not, was of unknown advantage, both to Demosthenes and Cicero, in forming them for those exalted spheres in which they afterwards moved.

Oh! could you but for a moment transport yourselves to Athens, and in imagination there behold that oracle of Greece, that prince of orators ascend the rostrum, surrounded by the gaping multitude; could you hear the terrific thunder of his voice, and see the light flash from either eye, while all the members of his agitated body proclaim the huge emotions of his mind; could you hear him discharge those thundering volleys of execration on the devoted head of an usurping Philip, that invader of Grecian liberty.—Anon he bursts upon his audience like a hurricane. By his moving figures he storms their very hearts, and paints their dangers in such striking colors, as throws the theatre into consternation and transport, impatient to snatch their arms, resist, fight, bleed, conquer. Could you, I say, for once be admitted to such an interview, you would cease to wonder at the prodigious influence of that renowned patriot over his fellow citizens;—for his eloquence had gained him universal empire over the hearts of his auditors, so that he could with equal ease lead them on ardent and intrigued to the most hazardous enterprises, or recall them from prosecuting ill concerted schemes. It was this which caused Antipater, Alexander's successor, to say, that but for Demosthenes, he had taken Athens with less difficulty than Thebes; and that his powerful words had done more towards disconcerting his designs, than the most formidable army without them; a declaration similar to this averring that Demosthenes was the only enemy he had at Athens. From which we see, that those powerful enemies deemed his eloquence a more certain defense for his country than brazen walls. And may we not with propriety conclude, that had there been a succession of Demosthenes, Athens had remained until now.

But I must leave this native land of science, this university of the world, and pay a visit to her rival sister Italy, where the arts were imported from Greece, and which was no less indebted to this guardian genius for her grandeur and imperial dignity. What but polite literature, of which my theme is a principal ingredient, raised Rome

from a troop of shepherds accidentally packed together upon the banks of the Tiber, to that height, that summit of glory and renown, and bequeathed her the appellation of mistress of the world, holding even Britain an obscure province of its wide extended empire! This land of liberty (for arts and sciences flourish in no other soil), produced an exuberant crop of orators, who stood as so many bulwarks to defend the sacred palladium of Roman liberty;—amongst whom the immortal Cicero shone as the moon amidst the lesser stars: whose superior talents were so repeatedly and successfully employed in the Forum, as well for the defence of his friends, as against the common pests of society, endeavoring to emperil the State in civil discord, that they might climb to empire on its ruins. How did he marshal all his forces against a daring Catiline, a wicked Clodius, and an ambitious Cæsar, and by his energetic eloquence, like an overwhelming flood, sweep among the combined enemies of the State, or like a wide expansive conflagration burn up their best concerted measures, that he might leave Rome free! More than once did his powerful voice snatch Rome from the jaws of destruction.—As a recompense for which he wore the highest honors of the State, and that at a time when other young gentlemen just began to enter upon public life.

Time would fail me to enumerate the long list of great orators who were so many pillars to support their respective commonwealths, and whose fame will only be extinguished with the stars. After what has been said I have time only to mention our British worthies who have shone in this way; for notwithstanding our general inattention to speaking, there are and have been instances among us, though rare, of heroes, who, by the force of good eloquence, have successfully served both church and state. Would it not trespass on your patience, I could instance a British Minister, who, by availing himself of this power, and employing it in his country's cause, from comparative obscurity raised himself in a few years to the first honors of the State, became the idol of the people, and by the power of his voice made distant thrones tremble. Need I tell you that the heralds of Life who have been happy in this talent, have by turns, with such energy and force of expression, painted the joys of heaven and the horrors of the infernal world as to enrapture and transport their audience on the one hand, while on the other, their voice like peals of thunder assail the astonished ear and their words, quick as lightning, pierce their inmost souls, producing a momentary conviction, by such striking representations of virtue and vice, as force even the vicious to revere the former and in some measure hate the latter. In short, that honor and promotion are sure to attend but a moderate proficiency therein, need no other proof than an acquaintance with facts, which are incontestable. So that this may be justly esteemed the most effectual means of extensive utility, as well as the most certain road to preferment; than which what other arguments can be conceived necessary to engage persons of all characters to admire and pursue it.

But finally, if there should be any in this assembly so rude in knowledge, so unacquainted with human nature, as to imagine that this art was taught and practised as an engine to destroy the force of reason, to subject mankind to the tyranny of passion, and enable wicked designing men more effectually to put into execution their mischievous designs, they cannot be judged worthy a serious refutation. The judicious knows it only offers itself a handmaid to reason, and presupposes the application of sober reasoning to the intellect; that the constituent qualifications of an orator will not admit such an abuse of it; and that mankind in their present state are so much more powerfully affected by their eyes and ears, than by any dispassionate application to the understanding only, as to render it of the least importance. It would require no exertion of genius to prove this by the most convincing arguments, did not my time and your patience require that I should close the part assigned me by taking an affectionate leave of this respectable audience.

And first of all, to you, honored sir, with those other active members of the Corporation of Rhode Island College, as well Trustees as Fellows, our cordial gratitude and thanks are due for your disinterested and early attention to the founding and endowing this seat of learning, where, under your patronage, we have been favored with access to the liberal arts and sciences, and with delight have tasted those intellectual pleasures which they abundantly afford. Permit us incessantly to pray, that your endeavors to promote and perfect this laudable design, may meet with abundant success, and that these in company with your other benevolent actions, may follow you, where they shall meet the rewards of your benevolence. Gentlemen, in the name of my class, I bid you farewell.

Reverend Sir: The tender and parental concern you have manifested in forming our morals, both for our present and future happiness, the unremitting attention to the means of our improvement, together with other peculiar favors conferred on us, attach us to your person and interest by all the ties of humanity. We beg leave, therefore, in this public manner to present you our most humble acknowledgments, and though they compose an inadequate offering, yet you will please accept them, as a sure token of the deep felt sense of our many obligations. The thought of removing from under your paternal inspection fills our hearts with pungent sorrow. But since this day is about to effect it, you will allow us to supplicate the Father of all Consolation, to communicate all necessary supplies, that your vigorous efforts for the good of society may be crowned with abundant success, and yourself reap the rich reward of your virtue. Reverend Sir, we bid you an affectionate farewell.

To you, our worthy and respected Tutor, we next present our sincere acknowledgments and unfeigned thanks, for the many signal expressions of your affection, but principally for your indefatigable and assiduous attachment to our improvement in

useful sciences. The many inexpressible favors received from you in this way, have rendered and ever will render your memory dear to us. For success in your present laudable employment, and that you may largely share the rewards of your every virtuous and benevolent action, is our hearty desire, while we bid you farewell.

To use arguments to stimulate you, my fellow students who have not yet completed your education, in the pursuit of knowledge, would be a superfluous labor, since you have already tasted its delectable sweets and drunk at the uncorrupted fountains of antiquity. The ardor apparent by your conduct, in the pursuit of truth, promises, nay assures you success. And if from our short experience we may be allowed to judge, we promise you increasing pleasure through every step of your scientific journey. With ardent wishes for your prosperity, we bid you adieu.

Neither are we wanting in gratitude to the respectable inhabitants of this town, for your humane and courteous treatment during the time of our residence amongst you. With ineffable pleasure shall we remember our connections in Warren when far removed from hence. And as we are now about to leave you, in the name of my class I bid you farewell.

The singular honor conferred upon us, by the generous attendance of this polite and learned assembly, rendered more brilliant by that dignity and lustre which sparkle from the modest fair, excite us to return our thanks while we take our leave of you.

And must this day dissolve that society, that amicable society, which for years has subsisted in this place? Must we now, my dear classmates, launch out into the world, and enter upon our new untried scenes, where, unassisted by each other's counsel, we must shift as we can on the rude sea of life? How painful the thought! How intolerable! Perhaps never more to see the faces of the persons who compose the greatest joys of our life. What do I not feel for to-morrow! I can readily excuse a tear, and should be stupid if I did not echo a sigh for the past scenes of pleasure and mental delight through which, hand in hand, we have walked. Now all rise fresh to view and painfully augment the pangs of parting. But I cease to pursue the tender story. Permit me to take one more affectionate look, and rally all my resolution, while I bid you FAREWELL.

CHAPTER III.

1769-1770.

Final location of the College — Morgan Edwards's account — First mention of the subject in the Corporation records — Meeting of the Corporation in 1769 — Plans for a building in Warren, and committee appointed — Vote of the Church in Warren offering the use of the meeting-house on Commencement occasions — Notification for special meeting of the Corporation to consider proposals from East Greenwich — Motion to have the College in Providence — Meeting of the Corporation in Newport, Nov. 14, 1769 — Three days' session — Extract from the records — Voted that the College edifice be at Providence, provided Newport does not raise a larger subscription than Providence — Arguments presented to the Corporation in favor of Providence, East Greenwich, and Newport — Increasing interest in the contest — Diary of Dr. Stiles — Citation for another meeting of the Corporation to be held in Warren, Wednesday, Feb. 7, 1770 — Caucuses and town meetings on the subject held in Providence and Newport, and hand bills circulated — Anonymous letter to Nicholas Brown from President Manning — Account of the meeting in Warren — Final action at ten o'clock Thursday night in favor of Providence by a vote of twenty-one to fourteen — Letter from Manning to Hezekiah Smith giving an account of the meeting — Account by Moses Brown — Party in Newport disappointed — Sharp letter in the *Newport Mercury* — Four of the fifteen members from Newport voted for Providence — Names of the other seventeen members of the Corporation who voted for Providence — Names of the fourteen who voted for Newport — Summing up of the controversy by Chancellor Hopkins — Unreasonable enmity of the people of Newport to Providence — Movement for another College, to be located at Newport — William Ellery the leader — Article in the *Newport Mercury* cited — Action of the General Assembly — Special meeting of the Corporation held in Warren, April 25, 1770, and remonstrance prepared — Most important document — Settles points in controversy respecting the origin of the College — Account of a seal prepared in anticipation of another college — Some special considerations which influenced in the final vote — Providence, a Baptist town — Letter from Moses Brown to President Wayland, giving reasons why the committee on location selected the home-lot of Chad Brown — Extract from the record of deeds describing the lot — Building committee — Nassau Hall, Princeton, selected as a model for the edifice — Manning's relations with the Church at Warren — Decides to go with the College to Providence — Action of the Church — Diary of Dr. Stiles — Howland's recollections of Manning and the College in 1770 — Extract from Professor Goddard's memoir.

UP to this date (1769) says Edwards, "the Seminary was for the most part friendless and moneyless, and therefore forlorn, insomuch that a college edifice was hardly thought of." But after the frequent remit-

tances from friends in England and Ireland, and the general interest awakened by the first Commencement, "some began to hope, and many to fear, that the Institution would come to something and stand. Then a building and the place of it were talked of, which opened a new scene of troubles and contentions, and that had well nigh ruined all. Warren was at first agreed upon as a proper situation, where a small wing was to be erected in the spring of 1770, and about eight hundred pounds raised towards effecting it. But soon afterwards some who were unwilling it should be there, and some who were unwilling it should be anywhere, did so far agree as to lay aside the said location, and propose that the county which should raise the most money should have the College. Then the four counties went to work with subscriptions. That of Providence bid high for it, which made the county of Newport, which is jealous of Providence on account of trade, exert itself to the utmost. However, Providence obtained it, which so touched the jealousy and piqued the pride of the Islanders, as to make many of them enemies to the Institution itself. The same is too much the case with the other disappointed counties. Nevertheless, by the adventurous and resolute spirit of the Browns, and some other men of Providence, the edifice was begun in May, 1770, and roofed by the fall of the year. The next summer the inside was so far finished as to be fit for the reception of scholars."

The account of the final location of the College, to which the writer has devoted thirty-eight pages of a previous work,¹ forms an important and deeply interesting chapter in the early history of Rhode Island. The vote of the Corporation appointing James Manning President and Professor, and authorizing him "immediately to act in those capacities at Warren or elsewhere," shows that there was in the beginning an uncertainty in the minds of members of the Corporation as to the permanent location. The first mention of the subject in the records appears under date of September, 1768, and reads as follows:—

Voted, That the Hon. Josias Lyndon, Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Hon. Samuel Ward, the President, Nicholas Easton, Esq., Rev. Russell Mason, and Nicholas Brown, Esq., be

¹ Documentary History of Brown University.

a committee to examine what place is most suitable to fix the college edifice upon, and to make report to the next annual meeting.

Voted, That the next annual meeting be at Warren. *Ordered*, That the Secretary do notify the next annual meeting at Warren six weeks successively previous to their meeting, by an advertisement in the Newport and Providence newspapers, and that 'tis proposed to take into consideration a suitable place for erecting a college edifice.

Agreeably to the foregoing votes, the Corporation met at Warren, Wednesday, Sept. 6, 1769, the day before Commencement, and after the transaction of routine business, adjourned until seven o'clock the next morning. At this adjourned meeting the committee made the following report:—

We, the subscribers, being appointed to consider of the most suitable place to erect the College edifice on, are of opinion that said edifice be placed in some part of the county of Bristol; and that a committee be appointed to point such a place as shall be most convenient and be had upon the best terms.

“Whereupon,” the record adds, “the Corporation voted generally to accept said report, and it was accepted accordingly.”

Resolved, That Sylvester Child, Esq., Mr. John Brown, Capt. John Warren, and Mr. Nathan Miller, be a committee to purchase materials, agree for a suitable place to erect the edifice on, to take a deed for the same in behalf of the Corporation, and carry said building into execution as soon as they can; and that any three of them be a quorum; and that they be empowered to solicit and receive subscriptions.

Neither Brown nor Miller were at this time members of the Corporation. The former, although the leading man in the erection of the building, laying the corner stone, supervising the construction and making up the accounts, was not made a Trustee until 1774. The latter was never a member of the Corporation. At an adjourned meeting held Friday morning, September 8th, at seven o'clock, it was

Resolved, That Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Esq., Mr. Joseph Brown, and Rev. John Davis be a committee to draft instructions and prepare a model of the house proposed to be

erected, to be directions, by the approbation of the Corporation, for the committee appointed to carry the same into execution.

Resolved, That Archibald Campbell, Esq., be added to the committee for placing the college edifice.

At a subsequent stage of the meeting the committee to draft instructions reported : —

1. That a suitable place be procured for erecting the College edifice on the easiest terms, and that the title be indisputable ; and that proper and sufficient deeds of conveyance for said land be taken for the Corporation.

2. That the building do not exceed sixty-six feet long, and thirty-six wide, and three stories high. That it be a plain building, the walls of the best bricks and lime, the window and door frames of red cedar ; that there be a cupola for a bell ; that the first building be so situated as to be one wing of the whole College edifice when complete ; and that there be a cellar under the whole. .

3. As there is a want of time at present, that a committee be appointed to furnish the committee for building with a complete draught of the whole building.

4. That the committee for building procure the best materials on the best and easiest terms.

5. That the committee for building make provision this year, that the workmen may begin in the next.

In accordance with the third recommendation of the foregoing report, it was

Voted, That the Chancellor, the President, and Mr. Joseph Brown be a committee to prepare a complete model of the building according to the report of the above committee, and deliver the same to the committee for building.

Voted, That the committee for building be empowered to draw upon the Treasurer for money from time to time to carry on said building, and that they render accounts to the Corporation at each of the meetings ; which the Secretary is hereby ordered to notify successively in the public prints for three weeks before this meeting.

What funds were in the hands of the Treasurer for building purposes at this time is nowhere stated. In the diary of Hezekiah Smith, under date of Thursday, Sept. 5, 1765, when he was elected a member of the Board of Fellows, we read as follows : — “ We, although but a part of

the Corporation, subscribed for the building, and the endowing of the College, nineteen hundred and ninety-two dollars.”

It was in reference, doubtless, to this meeting of the Corporation and the question of final location, that the church at Warren, immediately after Commencement, came together and

Voted, That the meeting-house of this town be and is for the use of the Corporation and President at Commencement times; and oftener, if wanted by either, only so as not to interfere with Divine worship; *Provided*, that the College edifice be founded and built in the County of Bristol; and that the parsonage-house in said Warren be for the use of the President, so long as the President be our minister.¹

Hardly had the Corporation adjourned before efforts were made to have the College established in East Greenwich, County of Kent. Soon after the meeting the following citation appeared in the Providence and Newport papers:—

This is to notify the members of the Corporation of the College within this Colony, that application has been made, by the gentlemen of the County of Kent, setting forth that they have opened a subscription for founding and endowing said College, on condition that the edifice be erected in the County of Kent; and desiring an opportunity of assigning their reasons to the Corporation for a reconsideration of the vote at their last meeting, for erecting the edifice in the County of Bristol. This is therefore to desire all the members of the said Corporation to meet at the Court House in Newport, on Tuesday, the 14th of November next, at 10 o'clock, A. M., to hear such propositions as shall be laid before them, relative to placing said edifice, and transacting any other necessary business; at which time and place the gentlemen concerned in procuring subscriptions for the different places are desired, by themselves or their committees, to appear, present their several subscriptions, and offer their reasons in favor of the respective places. By order.

THOMAS EYRES, *Secretary*.

OCTOBER 18, 1769.

The first motion to have the College in Providence came, so far as can be learned, from Mr. Moses Brown, the distinguished founder of the Friends' School, or Quaker College. In a letter to his brothers,

¹ Tustin's Historical Discourse at the Dedication of the new church edifice. 12mo. Prov., 1845, page 126.

Nicholas, Joseph, and John, dated Newport, Oct. 23, 1769, he thus writes : —

I had yesterday, on the road, a full conversation with Mr. Sessions on affairs of the College. His objections are such to Warren, that he says he cannot encourage it if set there, but if it could be erected at Providence, he would give one hundred dollars, and engage to procure one or two scholars from the country; and should there be a vacancy in the Corporation, he would, if desired again, accept a place therein, and as a member do all he could for the College. And when we consider the number of advantages which Providence has over Warren, I am much inclined to think that it is yet within our reach.

Agreeably to the citation in the papers, a special meeting of the Corporation was held in the Court House at Newport, on Tuesday, Nov. 14, 1769, at which were present five Fellows, including the President, and twenty-three Trustees. During this meeting, which was continued three days, the claims of Warren, East Greenwich, Providence, and Newport were thoroughly advocated and discussed. Wednesday morning it was resolved : — “To recede from the vote of the last meeting to erect the College edifice in the County of Bristol.” In the afternoon of the same day it was voted : — “That the business of the Corporation be not postponed for a distant adjournment.” Thursday morning, the last day of the meeting, it was resolved : —

That the place for erecting the College edifice be now fixed; but that nevertheless the committee who shall be appointed to carry on the work, do not proceed to procure any materials for the same, excepting such as may be easily transported to any other place, should another hereafter be thought better, until further orders from this Corporation, if such orders be given before the first day of January next. And that in case any subscription be raised in the county of Newport or any other county equal or superior to any now offered, or that shall be offered, and the Corporation be called together in consequence thereof, that then the vote for fixing the College edifice shall not be esteemed binding; but so that the Corporation may fix the edifice in another place, in case they shall think proper.

It was then *voted*, “THAT THE COLLEGE EDIFICE BE AT PROVIDENCE; that the President, Job Bennet, Esq., Mr. John Brown, Capt. John Warren, and Mr. John Jenckes be a committee to fix a

suitable place for building the edifice; that the Chancellor, Mr. John Brown, Capt. John Warren, and Sylvester Child, Esq., be a committee to carry on the building of the College edifice."

Mr. Brown, as has been observed, was not at this time a member of the Corporation. Mr. Jenckes was the only son of Judge Daniel Jenckes. Judge Jenckes died in 1774, when his son succeeded him as a member of the Board of Trustees. Governor Sessions, in accordance with Mr. Brown's suggestion, was made a Trustee in 1770. His views in general in regard to a suitable place for the location of a seminary of learning, which it appears were presented at this meeting of the Corporation in Newport, have been preserved on file. The reader who consults the "Documentary History" will find them, as there presented, entertaining as well as instructive. Mr. Sessions gives five reasons why Providence should be preferred to either Warren or East Greenwich. His third reason, that "the town should be large and populous, so that on Commencements, or other public occasions, the large number of people that usually attend may be agreeably entertained and provided for," shows that the Commencement at Warren, and the large number of friends and strangers who crowded the little town of less than one thousand inhabitants on that occasion, made an impression upon his mind. His final argument, that "a college should not be erected where communication is liable to be interrupted by a hard frost or high and contrary winds," thus "cutting off all supplies of fuel, provisions, and other necessaries, and preventing mutual intercourse," suggests a marked contrast to the facilities of communication in these days of telegraph and telephone, of steam and electric locomotion.

The memorial from East Greenwich, which appears to have been presented on the last day of the meeting, is signed by William Greene, Nathanael Greene, Jr., Preserved Pearce, and Charles Holden, Jr. Chief Justice Greene, whose name appears at the head of the committee, was in 1778, elected Governor of the State, which office he held eight years. He was chosen a Trustee of the College in 1785, as the successor of Governor Hopkins, deceased. It seems hardly necessary

to add that the second name upon the list is that of one who afterwards became the distinguished Major-General of the American Revolution, and was now about to take his first lessons in public life as a member of the General Assembly from Coventry. Mr. Pearce, or Major Pearce, as he was called, was at this time a member of the Assembly from East Greenwich, while Mr. Holden, a few years later, represented the town of Warwick. The arguments urged by the memorialists were: first, that East Greenwich was situated nearly in the centre of the Colony; secondly, that the Government would be more likely to take the College under its care and protection at East Greenwich than elsewhere; and thirdly, that the town of East Greenwich was well situated for pleasantness, surrounded with a country abounding with every necessary supply, having a post-office and easy communications, while Providence, it was urged, though well calculated for trade, was too large and populous for a college.

The memorial from Providence, which was presented on the second day of the meeting, is signed by John Cole, Moses Brown, and Hayward Smith. Mr. Cole, who was postmaster, had been for several years a member of the General Assembly, and since 1762 had been chairman of the Town Council. Mr. Brown, it is needless to add, was one of the leading citizens of the town. The first reason urged in behalf of Providence was, that the inhabitants had generously subscribed for the Institution eight hundred pounds, or nearly twenty-seven hundred dollars; and that their conditional subscription amounted to six thousand two hundred and sixty dollars more; secondly, that the intention of the charter was to found a college or university upon the most Catholic principles subject to the control of the Baptist denomination at whose expense it would be chiefly supported, and that Providence had every advantage for free public worship and liberty of conscience; thirdly, that the situation of the town was central; that it had four public school-houses; a public library; all the materials necessary to erect the buildings; and "two printing offices, which will much contribute to the emolument of the College, there being thus published a weekly collection of interesting intelligence, which not only

tends to the enlargement of the minds of the youth, but will give them early opportunities of displaying their genius upon any useful and speculative subjects, and which must excite in them an emulation to excel in their studies." The argument of the memorialists based upon the "two printing offices," has at least the merit of novelty. Whether the "early opportunities of displaying their genius" thus afforded the students, would be recommended by the Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in these later days, or be satisfactory to the learned readers of the *Providence Journal*, we will not attempt to say. John Milton's "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing" may possibly have had something to do with the suggestion of this argument.

From all that appears, the reliance of Providence in the contest for the College now in progress, was not so much upon the generous subscriptions of its citizens, as upon their disinterested zeal and the perfect religious freedom which prevailed among them, so entirely in harmony with the spirit of the College charter, and in accordance with the principles upon which the Colony had been founded. Providence contained about this time, according to Dr. Stiles's estimate, "five hundred dwelling-houses, and about four thousand inhabitants, or half as big as Newport." . . . "I estimate one hundred families real Baptists; one hundred and forty political Baptists and nothingarians; one hundred and forty Mr. Snow's congregation, two-thirds Baptists, one-third Presbyterians; sixty Pedobaptist Congregationalists; forty Episcopalians; twenty families, Quakers, a few Sandemanians, and about twenty or forty persons, Deists."¹ The prevailing religious sentiment, it will thus be seen, was largely Baptist, and hence in sympathy with a Baptist college. In Newport, on the contrary, there was an Episcopal element, the many revenue officers and servants of the Crown residing there, and not a few of the princely merchants being attached to the Church of England. There were also two flourishing Congregational churches, the first under the care of Samuel Hopkins, the founder of a new school of theology, and the second under Ezra Stiles, whom the historian

¹ Extracts from Dr. Stiles's diary, under date of Nov. 13, 1771, and Aug. 25, 1772. See Appendix to President Sears's Centennial Discourse, pages 100-101.

Greene designates as "the most learned American of his day." The main opposition to the College in the beginning, as will be seen in our chapter on the charter, came from the Congregationalists; and they continued for many years to show an unfriendly spirit, as the pages of Manning, Backus, and Smith throughout show.

The increasing interest taken in the location of the College by the various contending parties, and the general views and considerations which influenced their actions, may be readily inferred from a well written article which appeared in the *Newport Mercury*, under date of Nov. 20, 1769; in which the writer, after dwelling upon the reputation of the island for health and pleasantness, and the advantages of the Redwood Library which the professors and students might enjoy, shows that the interests of the town would be greatly promoted by "boarding and supplying so many persons coming from abroad and spending their money among us." In the diary of Dr. Stiles, under date of Jan. 3, 1770, is an important entry:—

Dr. Eyres visited me this morning to discourse about the place of the Baptist College. He tells me that Providence has subscribed £3,000, lawful money, of which about £2,200 is truly conditioned that the College edifice be erected there; but, of the £800 they had before subscribed unconditionally, they had the subscription papers in their own hands, and refused to deliver them, holding in this manner about £500 conditioned. Dr. Eyres said that the Newport subscription was about £2,700, but said they did not choose to mention the amount exactly, nor how much conditionally. The case is this:—Mr. Redwood and some others have said they would give largely in case it was here; but that Providence, by artifice and stratagem would eventually get it there; and yet would not subscribe, but will undoubtedly give liberally. So there is a real uncertainty. They are endeavoring to get a meeting of the Corporation but Providence opposes it. Mr. Manning, the President, is for Providence.

From a letter addressed by Messrs. Nicholas, John, and Moses Brown to their brother Joseph, then in Newport, it appears that the Providence subscriptions at the close of the year 1769, had reached the sum of £3,424, lawful money, or about twelve thousand dollars. The friends of the College in Newport now redoubled their exertions, and raised a sum larger than had been raised in Providence. Notwithstand-

ing the exertions of the Browns to "stop the meeting," a citation for the Corporation to meet at Warren on the 7th of February, 1770, was published in the papers of the day, signed by three Fellows, namely, Joshua Babcock of Westerly, Thomas Eyres, and Henry Ward of Newport:—

Whereas, the county of Newport hath raised a larger sum than any that hath yet been offered to the Corporation of the College in this Colony, to be paid to the Treasurer upon condition that the College edifice be erected in the town of Newport:— This is therefore to notify members of the said Corporation to meet together at Warren, on Wednesday, the 7th day of February next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, to take into consideration any proposals that may be made for placing the College edifice, and to transact any other necessary business. At which time and place, the persons concerned in procuring subscriptions are desired to attend, by themselves or their committees.

From this time on, the interest in the question of location increased from day to day. Letters were written to parties in the country, handbills were posted throughout the two towns, caucuses were held, and the matter was discussed in the shops and on the corners of the streets. On the Monday previous to the final meeting of the Corporation, the following handbill was circulated:—

PROVIDENCE, Monday, Feb. 7, 1770.

The inhabitants of this town and county are desired to meet at the Court House, this afternoon, at two o'clock, to hear and consider of some effectual plan for establishing the College here. As this is a matter of the greatest consequence, and the Corporation is to meet on Wednesday next, a general attendance is earnestly requested.

In accordance with this call, a large number of the inhabitants assembled at the place designated, and the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Esq., was chosen Moderator. John Cole and Moses Brown were continued a committee to lay the subscriptions before the Corporation, and the following gentlemen were added thereto, viz.:— Hon. Darius Sessions, John Andrews, Joseph Nash, David Harris, Daniel Tillinghast, John Jenckes, Amos Atwell, Joseph Bucklin, Jeremiah Whipple, Esq., and Knight Dexter.

The following spirited letter from President Manning, addressed to "Mr. Nicholas Brown, in Providence," shows that he was a skilful tactician, and that he used his great influence in favor of Providence. It gives an animated view of the nature of the contest, and of the earnest determination of the parties at issue :—

SIR:—The time is now at the doors when it will be determined whether Providence or Newport shall have the College; and as I think that the former is the fittest place for it, I would give you a gentle hint, that you may be prepared in the best manner to stand your ground. I expect Newport will exceed you in the largeness of their subscriptions, for they gave bonds last week for three thousand two hundred pounds, and had not rendered the subscriptions from Block Island, South County, nor from the Eastern shore, in all which places there was money subscribed for Newport. Neither can I tell whether the Warren subscriptions were contained in that bond. Besides, they were still subscribing in Newport. Redwood has at last subscribed his five hundred pounds sterling, etc. Now, as I am a friend to the College, and think your place the best for its settlement, I would advise you to get every farthing you can subscribed. But if, when you come to compare notes, you should fall behind them, they will make a great noise if you take in your unconditional subscriptions and plead your agreements for materials, etc., etc.

Now, as I think you have the good of the College at heart more than they, it will stand you in hand to demonstrate this in the clearest light; and this you can do by proffering to build the College yourselves, without even taking their unconditional subscriptions in Newport. Say nothing about the President's house; but consult how large a house you can build, and finish two stories with your own money, in as short a time as you possibly can accomplish it, and engage to finish the rest as fast as wanted; for here you know you may have your own time, since boarding can always be had in town, and many will always choose to board there. So that the President can help you here to sufficient time to pick up money from other parts, or even enable you to finish the other rooms with the rent of those that are finished. Two advantages will result from such a proposal. First, you will throw your unconditional subscription out of their light, and give it its full weight in favor of Providence. Secondly, you can here make all the advantage to yourselves, from lying handy to the materials; the whole weight of this will be thrown directly into your scale, and you can promise just as much more than they can, as the edifice can be erected cheaper with you than them, and as you will prosecute it with more spirit and do the bargaining and work with less expense. Here, too, you will have the advantage of them, as you have made out bills of every-thing, and bespoken the materials and workmen, and can push it immediately into exe-

caution. You might reason a month on these advantages and not make some dull souls see the force of it, so well as you can demonstrate it in this way in ten minutes. And I think you will be equally as safe in this way as in giving bonds, and it must weigh much with the gentlemen who have the welfare of the College at heart. Besides, you will take them here at unawares. Give up the other subscriptions in the Colony to the Corporation, and let them dispose of them as they think best, and it will be a wonder if they don't find out by next May session, that there will be necessity of a house for the President, and very probably will lay it out that way. If you fall in with this proposal, it will be proper for four, five or six of you to oblige yourselves to the performance under a proper penalty. What I have heretofore said is to secure you against the first onset; but if you should be driven from your post, the next thing is to secure your retreat. If, therefore, your vote should be receded from, your hopes must lie in dividing the members between the four places; for it would be imprudent to fight Newport singly. It is possible you may have address enough to get Providence and Greenwich highest here, for the Newport members who favor you at heart, may vote for Warren and Kent without having their hopes torn down; and if the contest should finally fall between you and Kent, you may guess how it would terminate by the last meeting; and in this way I think all your members in Newport who favor Providence, may vote for it without incurring any damage;—I mean at your final issue. I think you could beat Kent with greater ease than Warren or Newport; but of this you are the best judge, being an experienced soldier.

There will many attend the meeting from Newport, for their spirits are very high in the cause. Proposals, too, will doubtless be made for an accommodation half way. But how great a sum will be offered for this is uncertain as yet. But should I persist in spilling ink and spoiling paper longer you may be weary of reading my jargon, and be solicitous to know my name, which at present I choose not to reveal. But am, to all intents,

Your Friend, if not Humble Servant.

N. B. You will excuse the omission of date, as it is quite unnecessary.

In accordance with the citation in the papers, the Corporation met in the Baptist meeting-house in Warren, Wednesday morning, Feb. 7, 1770. Thirty-five members were present, as follows:—

FELLOWS:—The President, Rev. Edward Upham, Rev. Samuel Stillman, Doct. Thomas Eyres, Joshua Babcock, Henry Ward, and Jabez Bowen, Jr. (7.)

TRUSTEES: — The Chancellor, Hon. Samuel Ward, Hon. Josias Lyndon, Hon. Joseph Wanton, Jr., Rev. Russell Mason, Rev. Gardner Thurston, Rev. Samuel Winsor, Rev. Isaac Backus, Rev. John Maxson, Nicholas Brown, Joseph Brown, William Brown, Joseph Russell, George Hazard, Peleg Barker, John Warren, Nathan Spear, Nicholas Cooke, Sylvester Child, John Tanner, Thomas Greene, Ephraim Bowen, Edward Thurston, Jr., John G. Wanton, Daniel Jenckes, Job Bennet, James Helme, and Darius Sessions. (28.)

The meeting, which was largely attended by friends outside of the Corporation, was continued from Wednesday morning until a late hour Thursday night. Subscriptions and securities were finally offered from the town and county of Newport, amounting, according to the records, to £4,558 14s., lawful money, the greater part being expressly conditioned that the College be placed in said town. From the town and county of Providence were offered subscriptions and securities amounting to £4,399 13s. The final vote was as follows: —

WHEREAS, The Corporation have fully heard committees from the counties of Newport, Kent, and Bristol, upon their application for a repeal of the vote of this Corporation on the sixteenth day of November last, passed for locating the College edifice in the town of Providence, and maturely considered the several sums offered, and all the arguments produced by all the parties concerned, and thereupon the vote being put — Recede or not — it passed in the negative, twenty-one to fourteen. It is therefore

Resolved, That the said edifice be built in the town of Providence, AND THERE BE CONTINUED FOREVER.

We have thus given somewhat in detail an account of the final location of the College, compiled mainly from the original records. The following letter from Manning to his friend Hezekiah Smith, who was now collecting funds for the Institution in South Carolina and Georgia, gives a very animated account of this memorable meeting: —

WARREN, Feb. 12, 1770.

REVEREND SIR: — Last week I received a letter from you of the 2d ult., in which you inform me of your success at Georgia, and your expectations from the South

province. All your friends here rejoice that you succeed so well in getting the needful for the College. "Great luck to you," as said Mr. Francis in his prayer. I thought it strange that I had no letter by Captain Durphee from you or Mr. Hart, as I wrote by him to you both. Last week I received a letter from Nelson, at Haverill, and he gives me a pleasing account of matters there. Had not his modesty forbid, I imagine he would have told me that the people were well suited with him. We had another meeting of the Corporation last Wednesday, when there were thirty-five members present. They were called to consider proposals from Newport in favor of setting the edifice in that town, as they had raised by subscription £4,000, lawful money, taking in their unconditional subscription. But Providence presented £4,280, lawful, and advantages superior to Newport in other respects. The dispute lasted from Wednesday last, ten o'clock A. M., until the same hour on Thursday P. M. The matter was debated with great spirit, and before a crowded audience. The vote was put, Recede or Not? It went Not, by 21 against 14. You asked me in your last whether it had not raised a party in the government. I answer no; but it has warmed up the old one something considerable. I was greatly censured by people in Newport for not joining to call a meeting about the first of January, and a great noise was made because I would not act contrary to an express vote of the Corporation at the meeting on the 10th of November. But at our last meeting the house gave me liberty to attempt a vindication of my conduct, and after hearing me through in the matter, they came to a vote, *nemine contradicente*, that they saw no reason why I should be blamed in this matter, and that they approved of my conduct. In the course of the debates there was sometimes undue warmth, but, upon the whole, it subsided, and all parties seemed much more unanimous than I expected, in the after business. Many of the gentlemen of Newport said they had a fair hearing, and had lost it; but their friendship to the College remained, and they would keep their places, pay their money, and forward to their utmost, the design. The College edifice is to be on the same plan as that of Princeton, built of brick, four stories high, and one hundred and fifty feet long. I wish I had a draught to send you, but it is not in my power. They determine to have the roof on next fall, and to cover it with slate, as they are now able. Now if we can get it endowed, we shall be *compos voti*. This I hope you will in part accomplish. I have thought of going to the Jerseys in the Spring. If I should I cannot go to Haverhill the first of May; for I must consult my westward friends in a matter of so much consequence as moving or not moving with the College. If I go to the Jerseys, it will probably be about the middle of April. Religion is upon the revival in these parts. Messrs. Stillman and Spear were up from Boston, and Backus from Middleborough. It is said that the eight ministers at the Corporation meeting were all for Providence. This I will not assert, however. But I believe the Baptist Society in general are not

dissatisfied at the determination. I could tell you a long tale if I had time, but can only tell you that we have twenty-three scholars, eighteen of whom are matriculated. Mrs. Manning joins in love to you, Mr. and Mrs. Hart, &c.

Your unworthy brother, and servant in the Gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

The following account written by Mr. Moses Brown, on Friday, February 9th, the next day after the adjournment, deserves to be read in this connection : —

WARREN, Feb. 7, 1770.

The Corporation met, swore in George Hazard, and chose Darius Sessions as one of the Trustees. The gentlemen from Newport kept off from laying before the Corporation their reasons for asking a remove until after candle-light, and after we insisted that they should lay these subscriptions on the table. They handed a bond from sundry persons for £3,100 lawful money, being £10 more than our former bond. We insisted then that as that did not amount to so much as ours, with the land, that they should give up their claim, agreeable to promise, but after some debate adjourned about 10 o'clock in the evening to 9 o'clock in the morning. When met they presented two papers, but insisted on knowing the amount of our subscription, which we had before told them was to the amount of the bond, and the unconditional subscription of £800 besides. At length Henry Ward took me out towards the door, and declared these were all they had, and that they had no orders to go any higher, and proposed if we would not lodge any further subscriptions, they would lay down their papers, and proceed to trial accordingly. We agreed. William Ellery then lodged the papers before held, and would not deliver to anybody, being one bond for £150 lawful money, and one other for £300. When we came to foot our sums, we had about £226 more than they, ours being £4,175. Hereupon they delayed by many evasions proceeding to business, and insisted for adjournment to dinner; after which the meeting met, and after waiting three-quarters of an hour, Samuel Ward, Doct. Babcock, Henry Ward, and others, came in and presented a security for their unconditional subscription, which they said was £508, 14s. and a bond for £500 more. All this time no subscriptions were produced, they alleging that they had left them at home; and none were finally produced. By this last bond they exceeded our subscriptions, land and all, about £385. Whereupon it was thought advisable to lodge the last subscription we had to make use of upon this occasion, amounting to £226, with the Treasurer, not caring to trust the vote, they being so much ahead, especially as they insisted that our unconditional subscription ought not to tell anything; whereby they would be about £1,235 over us. This reduced it, so that reckon-

ing the whole of their sum and the whole of ours, they were £158 more than we. We presented a calculation in the arguments, of the amount of the building if at Newport, more than if at Providence, amounting to £574 lawful money, which we insisted should be added to ours, leaving a balance in our favor of £415. The vote came on after long litigation and argument, both Kent and Warren putting in their claims. The vote was, REPEAL OR NOT. It passed in the negative by twenty-one to fourteen votes. So the merits of the Newport arguments made by Henry Ward, and others, replied to by self, Governor Hopkins, and others.

February 9, 1770.

MOSES BROWN.

The following letter, published in the *Newport Mercury*, under date of Monday, Feb. 12, 1770, and written by one who attended the meeting, shows as Manning states, that the old party "was warmed up something considerable." It is introduced as an illustration of the spirit of the times, and of the manifold difficulties which our pious fathers had to encounter in founding, locating, and endowing the College:—

MR. SOUTHWICK:

Without favor or affection I expect you will insert the following, or say no more about the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. Last Wednesday I attended the Corporation of the Providence College, for Rhode Island is out of the question, held at Warren, to consult and determine what town or county had raised the largest subscription, when it was evident to the greatest fool present, which was perhaps myself, that the town of Newport's subscription exceeded that of Providence, six or seven hundred pounds, lawful money, and, I believe on a just calculation, the difference would be more; and yet, pursuing the arithmetic practised by a late session of Parliament in the affair of the Middlesex election, between Wilkes and Luttrell, that is, by the force of bribery and corruption, proving two to be more than four, the vote was carried for Providence. Astonishing! That four men of this place, some of whom had absolutely pretended to be friends of this town, and had subscribed a small sum for having the College placed here, should act such a low, base part, as to be duped by a set of men, who for twenty years past have, on every occasion, manifested the most inveterate malice against this town and island. The Rev. President has abused and sold, for a mess of pottage, the people of Warren, who have exerted themselves in a most extraordinary manner to serve him; and yet, forsooth, he must have a vote of the Corporation to exculpate him; but I observed a large number who held their hands very close to their bodies, and did not make the least motion to raise them in his favor. However, he is what he is, a wolf

in sheep's clothing, and will, doubtless, instruct youth in the way they should walk—after him. I hope, Mr. Printer, you will have a true list of the voters on each side at the meeting of the Corporation, in season for your next; as these things ought to be made public, that the people may not be hoodwinked; the publication of which will be greatly to the honor of some gentlemen, and to the lasting disgrace of some others.

I am yours, etc.,

AN ENEMY TO ALL HYPOCRITES, AND THOSE WHO BETRAY
THE INTERESTS OF THIS TOWN.

Following the above is what the writer terms "a plain and incontestable account of facts" pertaining to the final decision; in which the amount of subscriptions and securities offered by Providence is stated to have been £4,399, 13s., and from Newport £4,558, 14s., leaving a balance in favor of the latter of £159, 1s. This agrees with the records. Manning, on the contrary, states that Newport "raised by subscription, £4,000 lawful money, taking in their unconditional subscription; but Providence presented £4,280 lawful, and advantages superior to Newport in other respects." Mr. Moses Brown, it will be observed, gives a balance in favor of Providence of £415, reckoning the cost of the building as being less at Providence than at Newport. The facts are all plainly stated. The difference in the amounts is evidently, as in the case of the "higher criticism," so called, of to-day, one of INTERPRETATION. There may, furthermore, have been a difference in the valuation of the land offered as a part of the Providence subscriptions. It would not be unfair, perhaps, to ascribe to William Ellery, who, according to the statement of Moses Brown, was present at the meeting in Warren, this caustic article in the *Mercury*. From beginning to end he showed himself a bitter and determined enemy of the College. We shall see more of his opposition before we reach the close of our narrative.

Of the thirty-five members of the Corporation who were present at this meeting in Warren, eleven were from Providence, and fifteen from Newport. The four members from Newport who voted "Not," on the question of final location, whom this writer in the *Newport Mercury* designates as "hypocrites," who betrayed the interests of the town, con-

signing them to "lasting disgrace," were, according to Manning,¹ the three Baptist ministers, viz. : Messrs. Upham, Maxson, and Thurston. The fourth member was without doubt Col. Job Bennet, Treasurer of the College from 1767 until 1775. He was a wholesale merchant on Thames street, dealing in cloths, West India goods and lumber, and renting houses, of which he owned a number. He had been an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and was now an active and influential member of Maxson's church. Manning and Smith were very intimate with him, stopping beneath his hospitable roof whenever they visited Newport. In the account of subscriptions for the building up to March 11, 1771, his name appears for £64, 4s. lawful money, or two hundred and twelve dollars. This is the largest sum paid by any subscriber outside of Providence.

It is interesting to know who were the members from Providence, and also who from other towns voted "Not" at the final decision. The Providence members were as follows : — Chancellor Hopkins, Doct. Jabez Bowen, Doct. Ephraim Bowen, Judge Jenckes, Nicholas Brown, Joseph Brown, Joseph Russell, Thomas Greene, Hon. Nicholas Cooke, Hon. Darius Sessions, and Elder Samuel Winsor. The other Baptist ministers were Stillman from Boston, Backus from Middleborough, Mason from Swansea, and President Manning. Nathan Spear, a prominent Baptist layman from Boston, and Sylvester Child, a member of Manning's church in Warren, also voted "Not." These, with the four from Newport, make up the "twenty-one" voters in favor of Providence.²

The Hon. Chancellor Hopkins, who presided over the Board of Trustees, thus states the case of the two rival claimants, presenting in a clear and concise manner the controversy from the beginning : —

The zeal and spirit of the people here, more than at Newport, for promoting the College is certainly most evident : — First, by the unconditional subscription, which, in

¹ Letter to Smith. "It is said that the eight ministers (Baptists) at the Corporation were all for Providence."

² The following members of the Corporation voted for Newport, viz. : Doct. Thomas Eyres, Henry Ward, Hon. Samuel Ward, Hon. Josias Lyndon, Hon. Joseph Wanton, George Hazard, Peleg Barker, John Warren, John Tanner, Edward Thurston, Jr., John G. Wanton, Hon. Joshua Babcock, of Westerly, William Brown, of Swansea, and James Helme, of South Kingstown.

Providence, was nearly double to that in Newport; whereas, if their zeal for the Institution had been equal to ours, the number of the people and their abilities compared, their subscriptions ought to have been much more than double to ours. And, as this was coolly transacted in both towns, before any kind of strife was begun or emulation was raised about the place where the College should be erected, it is the strongest proof imaginable that the ardor of the Providence people, while no by-ends biased, was infinitely greater than that of the gentlemen of Newport.

Again, if we consider the conditional subscriptions of both towns, we shall evidently find the same superiority in the Providence people's zeal for the College, for this subscription was set on foot and principally filled in Providence, from the very laudable motive of promoting the Institution and putting it in a condition that the College edifice might be erected somewhere, and not with the least view of circumventing any other place, as some have too uncharitably represented.

We first with grief observed the very little progress of the unconditional subscriptions, after the Commencement, and that there was very little hope, within any reasonable time, that a sum in any degree equal to erect a building, which might be tolerably decent and useful, would be obtained. This being also observed by the late ingenious Mr. Campbell, induced him to promote a conditional subscription in King's County¹ and Kent, which, as soon as we had knowledge of, we also encouraged, in hopes that it might have answered the purpose arrived at. But when that had been fully tried, we found that the sum likely to be raised by it would be altogether inadequate to the design in hand.

Things being in this situation, and after divers consultations had about it, we at length determined to open a conditional subscription in Providence, which filled beyond our warmest expectations, and seemed to promise that a College edifice might be soon erected. This subscription we offered to the Corporation at their meeting in November last, and they then approved of it.

But some gentlemen of Newport perceiving a probability that the College might be erected at Providence, were moved by their unreasonable enmity to that town, to do that which the good of the Institution itself could never have induced them to do. They accordingly desired that time might be allowed to the people of the town and county of Newport, to see if they could not raise a larger sum for the College than any that was then offered; and accordingly the time they asked was allowed, so long as not to delay carrying on the building longer than the 1st of January past. Yet, although they have taken near double the time allowed them, and the generous and public-spirited Mr. Abram Redwood hath given more than a fifth part of the whole sum, yet their

¹ Washington County was incorporated as King's County, June 16, 1729. The name was changed to Washington County, Oct. 29, 1781.

whole subscription doth not exceed ours, from which it is quite plain that their zeal for the College, even when whetted by their aversion to Providence, has fallen greatly short of ours in the conditional subscriptions also.

From all which reasons, with some others too invidious to mention, but which will naturally occur to all who are acquainted with the proceedings in this matter, it must be very evident the College edifice will be much sooner built and the Institution much more encouraged and supported, if it be left in the care of the people at Providence, who have from the beginning shown so much zeal and attention to it, than if it should be removed and put under the care of those people of Newport who have shown so little regard for it in any other light than in making a matter of contention about it.

The Chancellor alludes to the "unreasonable enmity" of the people of Newport to Providence. It is a matter of history that there had long existed an unpleasant state of feeling between the two towns; and it is evident that this feeling entered into the contest respecting the final location of the College. The famous Ward and Hopkins controversy commenced in 1755, and continued for thirteen years with all the bitterness of the most partisan strife, served, doubtless, to stimulate the zeal and passions of the parties contending for the College. Governor Ward, who was an active member of the Corporation, represented the people in the southern counties of the State, while the voters in the northern counties supported his more successful rival. The reasons "too obvious to mention" which determined the final vote, can readily be inferred by the readers of our narrative. The decided preference of the President for Providence, as indicated in his anonymous letter to Nicholas Brown, doubtless had great influence with his friends, especially with those of his own religious denomination.

And now comes another phase of this celebrated contest which the writer would gladly omit; but historical accuracy and a desire to state all the facts require the details. In circumstances like these the *suppressio veri*, as President Sears happily remarks in his Centennial Discourse, would be as culpable in the historian as the *suggestio falsi*. The decision, says Edwards, to locate the College at Providence, "touched the jealousy and piqued the pride of the Islanders, so as to make them enemies to the Institution itself." The opponents at once moved for

another college to be located at Newport. In a letter to Manning, Edwards adds:—When the College “had a locality and the beginning of existence at Providence, did they not, with some misled Baptists, attempt to get another college to destroy yours?” The leader in this movement appears to have been William Ellery. This we learn from Dr. Stiles. In his diary, under date of Feb. 23, 1770, we read:—“Mr. Ellery came to discourse about the charter of another college, on the plan of equal liberty to Congregationalists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Quakers.” And April 1, 1770, he adds:—“There is now pending before the General Assembly of Rhode Island, a petition for a charter for a college here in Newport, since the first Rhode Island College is fixed at Providence. College enthusiasm!”¹

Judge Staples, in his “Annals of Providence,” thus states the case:—“One of the results of the location of this Institution at Providence, was an application to the General Assembly, by another set of petitioners, for another college. At the February session, 1770, a charter for an academy and college, to be located at Newport, passed the Lower House of the Assembly by twenty majority. The application was not favorably received in the Upper House, where it was either rejected or indefinitely postponed.” It was neither rejected nor indefinitely postponed, but referred to the next session, through the influence, perhaps, of Judge Jenckes and Moses Brown, two of the Representatives to the General Assembly from Providence. A writer in the *Newport Mercury* for March 12, 1770, who signs himself C. D., after speaking of the want of good schools, which the inhabitants of the town had long felt, and of their efforts to have the Baptist College here, frustrated “solely by the unwearied pains taken to represent it as a party scheme,” proceeds to give a concise account of the affair as follows:—

A plan was then formed for founding a good school, the principal design of which was to educate the youth in the most necessary branches of learning, especially in the English language, in writing, in arithmetic, and in such sciences as are most useful in

¹ Quoted by President Sears, in his Centennial Discourse, page 100. Dr. Sears was permitted to consult the Stiles Papers, from which he has made several quotations.

a maritime town. But as there are generally about forty scholars here, who study the learned languages, several of whom (if it could be done with cheapness and convenience) would probably be educated in the higher branches of learning, it was thought best to enlarge the plan, and form a seminary to consist of a college and a school together; the more especially as the conferring such literary honors upon the pupils as they should merit, would be an inducement to gentlemen without the Colony to bring up their children upon this healthy and delightful spot.

A charter was accordingly drawn and agreed upon; by which the government of this seminary is equally divided among the four leading denominations of Christians in the Colony; and every possible precaution taken to preserve that equality forever. This charter was presented to the General Assembly at the last session and granted by the Lower House; but was by the Upper House referred to the next session.

As some of the gentlemen who were managers for the town, have been unjustly accused of being actuated by party views, in pressing the Upper House to a concurrence with the Lower House, instead of consenting that the petition should be referred; and as this present attempt to establish a seminary of learning here, pregnant with so many advantages to the town and Colony, must inevitably meet with the same fate as the former, if it be thought that some of the principal undertakers in it have nothing in view but the interest of a party, it is necessary to give an account, and explain the true reasons of their conduct.

After every argument that could be suggested, was made use of to induce the Upper House to a concurrence with the Lower House, it was proposed by some of the members to refer the petition to the next session. Upon this the managers for the town very justly observed, that the referring the petition was absolutely, to all intents and purposes, the same as a non-concurrence. For it is the known and established rule and practice of the Parliament of Great Britain, and of every Assembly upon this continent, that all business begun by one branch of the Legislature, and not concurred with by the other branch or branches at the same session, dies of itself. And, if ever revived, must originate anew, and receive the concurrence and assent of all the branches, at the same session; otherwise it cannot pass into a law. The reasons why this rule should never be departed from, are so clear, that they need not be mentioned. Exceptions, it is true, there have been in this Colony, owing to the loose and hasty manner in which business has sometimes been done. But even here, this rule hath been generally adhered to; the contrary practice having always been esteemed irregular. And in cases of importance, when votes have been by one House referred to the next session, they have, in consequence of an application of the other House, upon this rule been acted upon and finished the same session. It was further observed to the Upper House, that a reference would prove, at least, as fatal as an absolute non-concurrence. For, if the

vote of the Lower House, passed at February session, should be concurred with by an Upper House to be chosen in May following, when the Lower House, who originated and passed the vote, would be dissolved, and there would be a perfect new Assembly, no one would imagine that such a concurrence would make a regular and legal act. And therefore it could not be supposed, that any gentlemen in their senses, if they weighed the matter, would expend large sums of money upon so uncertain and precarious a foundation, as a charter so obtained.

The generous disposition that prevails for establishing a seminary of learning here, which will prove beneficial not only to the present, but to all future generations, must give a sensible pleasure to every friend to the town and the Colony.

There is the highest reason to expect that the General Assembly, at their next session, will grant the Charter. To give weight to our application, a handsome subscription will be necessary, and accordingly one will be opened the day after proxying for General Officers. It is put off until that time, to prevent any appearance or suggestion of party motives in prosecuting so noble an undertaking.

Why the General Assembly did not grant the Charter, as the writer of the article says there was "the highest reason to expect," at its next session, which was held in Newport on the first Wednesday in May succeeding, may be best explained by the following action of the Corporation: —

At a special meeting held in Warren,¹ on the 25th of April, 1770, it was, as appears from the records,

Resolved, That this Corporation make application to the General Assembly and pray that a petition now before the Assembly for granting a charter for another college may be rejected.

¹The following citation for this meeting appeared in the *Providence Gazette* for April 7, 1770:—

"This is to notify the members of the Corporation of the College in the Colony to meet together at Warren, on Wednesday, the 25th of this instant, April, to take into consideration sundry matters of importance, very interesting to the Institution, which will be laid before them.

JAMES MANNING, *President*.

EDWARD UPHAM,

THOMAS EYRES,

JABEZ BOWEN, JR.,

} *Fellows*.

Voted, That the Chancellor, the President, the Hon. Darius Sessions, the Rev. Samuel Stillman, Col. Job Bennet, and the Secretary, be a committee to draw a memorial to the General Assembly pursuant to the preceding resolution.

The record continues : —

The committee appointed to prepare the remonstrance to the General Assembly presented a draft, which being twice read, and approved, the Secretary is directed to make a fair copy, sign it, and deliver it to the committee which will be appointed to present it to the General Assembly.

Voted, That the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Hon. Samuel Ward, Hon. Darius Sessions, Col. Job Bennet, Moses Brown, Judge Daniel Jenckes, John Tillinghast, Oliver Arnold, and James Mitchell Varnum, be, and they, or the major part of them are appointed a committee to present to the General Assembly and enforce the said remonstrance.

This memorial or remonstrance, which we are happy to be able to present to our readers, is preserved on file among the College papers. On the back of it, in the handwriting of President Manning, is the following : — “ Copy of a Remonstrance of ye Copⁿ to ye G. Assembly against a new college. 1770.” The handwriting within is probably that of Stephen Hopkins, chairman of the committee. It is an exceedingly valuable official document, inasmuch as it settles points in regard to the origin of the College which have sometimes been disputed, giving the reasons why it was founded, stating clearly, in connection with previous narratives or accounts, by whom it was founded, when it was founded, and where the plan originated. Two of the committee, it will be observed, Doct. Eyres and Colonel Bennet, belonged in Newport. Governor Sessions was a Congregationalist from Providence. Chancellor Hopkins was a Quaker. President Manning, the second one named on the committee, was familiar, of course, with all the facts in the case. Chancellor Hopkins, it may be added, the chairman of the committee to prepare the remonstrance, and also chairman of the committee to present it to the General Assembly and enforce it, was appointed one of the Representatives from Providence to the following May and October sessions. The other

three Representatives were Judge Daniel Jenckes, Moses Brown, and Benjamin Man : —

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island, to sit at Newport on the first Wednesday in May, 1770: —

The Remonstrance of the Trustees and Fellows of the Corporation of the College in said Colony humbly sheweth: —

That, the several denominations of Baptists residing in most of the British Northern Colonies are, taken collectively, a considerable body of Christians; and these people, having of late years taken into consideration, that there are no public seminaries for the education of youth, where those of that persuasion can enjoy equal freedom and advantages with others, were thereby induced to form a resolution to erect a college, and institute a seminary for the education of youth somewhere in North America, to be effected chiefly, if not altogether, by the application, and at the cost and expense of the Baptist churches.

That, having proceeded thus far, they began to enquire after the most convenient place for executing their design; and, on deliberation, finding that the Colony of Rhode Island was first settled chiefly by Baptists, that a very considerable part of its inhabitants are still of that persuasion, and that a universal toleration of liberty of conscience hath from the beginning taken place in it, they had great hope it would prove a proper place for founding a College, and in which the infant Institution might be most encouraged; and accordingly applied to the General Assembly of said Colony for a charter of incorporation, which they thankfully acknowledge was freely granted them.

That, in forming this charter care was taken, that notwithstanding the burden of expense was to fall chiefly on the Baptists; yet, no other Christian society should be excluded from the benefits of it; and accordingly, a sufficient number from each of the principal of them were taken in to be Trustees and Fellows in the Corporation as might be able to take care of, and guard their interest in it, in all time to come. And the youth of every denomination of Christians are fully entitled to, and actually enjoy, equal advantages in every respect, as the Baptists themselves, without being burdened with any religious test or constraint whatsoever.

That, since granting the charter aforesaid, several considerable men among the Baptists have taken great pains, as well in Europe as America, to solicit benefactions for endowing said College, and have collected considerable sums for that purpose; and many others of the same Society have been very large contributors toward the expense of erecting the College edifice.

All this being known and understood, we confess our surprise at the thoughts of

those who are pleased to look upon this as a very contracted plan; and this surprise becomes a real concern on being informed, that a petition hath been set on foot, and subscribed by a great number of persons, praying the General Assembly to grant another charter for instituting a college within the said Colony, different and separate from that already granted and established, and pretended to be on a more liberal and Catholic plan; and our concern is increased to a real anxiety on perceiving the General Assembly entertained the said petition with somewhat of approbation.

Permit us therefore to remonstrate, that, as we had firm reliance on the lasting faith and credit of the Legislative Body of the Colony of Rhode Island, that faith and credit hath by us as a Corporation been asserted and pledged, in most parts of England and Ireland, and in many parts of America; and, on that foundation large sums of money have been given, and more subscribed, toward this Institution. That, should a charter be granted for erecting another Corporation of the same kind in this Colony, all those who have been benefactors to this will think themselves deluded and deceived; notwithstanding we have acted under the faith of the Government; and all those that hereafter might become benefactors will be discouraged and hindered. That, the granting of our charter, being for erecting and endowing a College in the Colony of Rhode Island, must, rational and justly, be considered as exclusive of any other college being erected within it.

Therefore, your remonstrants humbly pray that you would be pleased to countenance and encourage the present Institution and College in this Colony, and not permit, or suffer, any other to be set and established to rival and ruin it.

And your remonstrants will ever pray.

This remonstrance, presented and "enforced" by such men as Stephen Hopkins, Daniel Jenckes, and Moses Brown, proved effectual. The charter for another college was not granted. The manuscript of the proposed charter, in the handwriting of Dr. Stiles, was for a long time in the possession of the late Dr. David King, of Newport, a graduate of the University, and for thirty years the honored President of the Newport Historical Society. He died in 1882, leaving behind a large and costly collection of books on English and American history. Into whose hands the manuscript has since fallen, we are not informed. The writer has an impression of the college seal, which was made in anticipation of the granting of the charter. It is in size like a silver dollar. In the centre is the English crown, surmounted by the cross, with several devices underneath. Around the centre are the Latin

words: — “Sig. Col. Cust. Rhod. Ins. et Prov. in Nov. Ang.” The seal was for many years in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Wyatt, formerly Rector of St. Paul’s Parish, Baltimore, from whom it came into the hands of his son, Charles H. Wyatt, Esq., Attorney-at-law.”¹

The final decision to locate the College at Providence, although a wise one, as the result has proved, seems unaccountable aside from the considerations already adduced, in view of the relative importance of the rival towns. Providence was comparatively a small town, while Newport, with its eleven thousand inhabitants, was the second city in New England, and the centre of opulence, refinement, and learning. “She had,” says the historian,² “seventeen manufactories of sperm oil and candles, five rope-walks, three sugar refineries, one brewery, and twenty-two distilleries of rum, an article which in those days was deemed essential to the health of the sailor and the soldier, and all hard working men. Her foreign commerce found employment for nearly two hundred ships, and her domestic trade for between three and four hundred coasting craft. A regular line of packets kept open her communications with London for passengers and mails. Her society had never lost the intellectual impulse given it by Berkeley.” Doct. Waterhouse, in a newspaper article published in 1824, which has been frequently quoted, describes “the Island of Rhode Island, from its salubrity and surpassing beauty before the Revolutionary War so sadly defaced it,” as “the chosen resort of the rich and philosophic from

¹ The following letter from Mr. Wyatt may be of interest in this connection:—

BALTIMORE, Dec. 18, 1888.

MR. R. A. GUILD, *Librarian Brown University, Providence, R. I.*

MY DEAR SIR:—Enclosed I send you an impression taken from an old seal now in my possession, which I am led to think may be an old seal of Brown University, and should be glad to know from you if this is a fact. From boyhood I remember this seal as being in or upon the desk of my father, the Rev. Dr. Wyatt, for many years rector of St. Paul’s Parish, Baltimore, and of its being used as a paper weight. Of its history I know nothing, and cannot imagine how it came into his possession. If it should prove to be the seal of the University, and there is any interest attaching to it, I should be glad to send it to them. If it is not, you may be able to tell me where it originated.

Yours respectfully,

CHARLES HANDFIELD WYATT.

² Greene’s “Short History of Rhode Island,” page 203.

nearly all parts of the civilized world." Among the arguments advanced by the Newport contestants in favor of the College, was the advantage to be derived by the professors and students from the Redwood Library, which, at this early period, was the second library in the country, containing choice books in the arts and sciences, and especially rich in classical and theological lore. Dr. Stiles was for many years the librarian, and from its precious stores he gathered much of the knowledge for which he was so justly renowned. Providence, on the other hand, had no such literary advantages. But her situation was more convenient, and in case of a rupture with the British Government, she was much less exposed to an invasion or attack. Her inhabitants, too, were more patriotic than the inhabitants of Newport.¹ Moreover, the great apostle of civil and religious freedom had found a shelter from oppression in Providence; here he founded a colony and a church; and here his liberal Baptist sentiments had always prevailed. And so the well known preferences of the President, and the "Baptist Society" at large, the great influence of Stephen Hopkins, and the resolute and adventurous spirit of the Browns and the Jenckes carried the day. The College was removed to Providence, and, in May, 1770, the corner stone of the building now known as "University Hall," was laid.

The committee appointed, in the language of the records, "to fix a suitable place for building the edifice," consisted of John Brown, John Jenckes, Joseph Russell, Job Bennet, and John Warren, any three of them to constitute a quorum. The first three resided in Providence; the last two in Newport. The lot finally selected by this committee comprised originally about eight acres, and included the "home-lot" of Chad Brown, the great ancestor of the Brown family in Providence, who was an elder in the church, and according to tradition, the "first Baptist elder in Rhode Island." Mr. Moses Brown, in an interesting let-

¹ "There was still another class of readers whom Stephen Hopkins had in mind, in sending out to the public these carefully considered arguments. (The Rights of Colonies Examined, etc.) It was that of the Loyalists, whose numbers were at this time (1765) really formidable. They were specially numerous in Newport and the Narragansett County." See Foster's "Stephen Hopkins a Rhode Island Statesman," Vol. 2, page 59.

ter to President Wayland, under date of May 25, 1833, thus writes concerning this lot: —¹

When the fixing of the College edifice here was firmly settled, rather than at Warren, Newport, or East Greenwich, which all claimed the preference, our house, then composed of four brothers, viz.: Nicholas, Joseph, John, and Moses Brown, concluded to take charge of building the necessary buildings, purchasing land for the same, etc. At that time gardens and buildings were to be purchased and removed, besides the site for the College; for we then knew the lot from Main street to the neck road on the east was the original home-lot of our ancestor, Chad Brown, of whom we had the tradition that he was the FIRST BAPTIST ELDER IN PROVIDENCE. Doct. Edwards, when collecting materials for the history of the Baptists here, and examining all the elderly people he could find here, on which business I accompanied him, was informed that Chad Brown was the first elder, although Roger Williams, being a preacher before he came here, was a preacher and continued it here for some time. Richard Scott says he was with him in the Baptist way three or four months, when Roger left them and went in a way of seeking. Roger's testimony respecting Chad Brown I have under his own hand, in a plea of his before the Court of the four New England Colonies, saying, "Chad Brown a wise and godly soul (now with God), with myself brought the first twelve and the after comers to a oneness by arbitration." Chad and his wife were buried in their own lot near the northwest corner of the now town house, and had a large square monument of granite over them, till by the request of the town to widen that street, their bones were taken up and interred in the North Burying Ground, and head and foot stones were erected over them by the town. I saw their remains when taken up. His son, John Brown (his eldest), was also a preacher, but not an elder, and was the father of James Brown, long a Baptist elder until his death. Thou may see by all this, our family had an interest in promoting the Institution now called Brown University, besides the purchase of the name by my worthy nephew, Nicholas.

The following extract from the Record of Deeds, book 19, page 108, presents a clear and accurate account of the southern half of the original college premises: —

To all people to whom these presents shall come: We, John Brown and Moses Brown, both of Providence, in the County of Providence and Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, merchants, send greeting:— Know ye, that we, the said John and Moses Brown, for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred and thirty

¹ Documentary History of Brown University, page 207.

dollars, to us in hand already paid by the Trustees and Fellows of the College or University in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England in America, the receipt whereof, by a discount out of the sums we have severally subscribed to the College, we do hereby acknowledge, have given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, enfeoffed, conveyed, and confirmed, and by these presents do give, grant, sell, alien, convey, and confirm unto said Trustees and Fellows, and to their successors and assigns forever, one certain piece or parcel of land lying in the town of Providence, bounded . . . which said piece of land contains about four acres, and became the property of us, said Moses and John Brown, by a deed of bargain and sale from Samuel Fenner, of Cranston, who received it as one of the legatees of Daniel Abbott, Esq., late of said Providence, deceased, who received the northerly third part thereof from his father, Daniel Abbott, by descent, who purchased the same of James Brown, who received it of his brother John Brown, the present grantor's great-grandfather, who received it by descent from his father Chad Brown, who was one of the original proprietors after the native Indians of whom it was purchased, and is the middle part of that which was his house-lot or home-share of land so called; the other two-thirds being the middle part of the original house-lot or home-share of George Rickard, since called John Warner's, which part was conveyed by the said Rickard to the said Chad Brown, from whom it descended to his aforesaid son John, who conveyed it to his brother, Jeremiah Brown, who conveyed the same to the aforesaid Daniel Abbott the elder, from whom it descended to Daniel Abbott the younger, and became Samuel Fenner's as aforesaid: the whole of this piece of land making the southern half of the lot and highway leading to it whereon the College edifice is now erecting.

The northern half of the original College premises, consisting of about four acres of land, was purchased by the Corporation, as per deed recorded in the aforesaid book, page 106, of Oliver Bowen, of Providence, one of the legatees of the aforesaid Daniel Abbott, Esq., for the sum of four hundred dollars. Mr. Abbott, says the record, "took it by descent from his father Daniel Abbott, who received two-thirds part of it, being on the north side, from Robert Williams, by deed of gift, who purchased it by deed of bargain and sale of Robert Morrice, who purchased of Daniel Abbott the first, who was an original proprietor after the native Indians. The other third part the second named Daniel Abbott purchased by deed of bargain and sale from his brother John Brown, who took it by descent from his father Chad Brown." It will thus be seen that Chad Brown originally owned, or came into the posses-

sion of all the land which constituted the original college premises, with the exception of a small portion which at first belonged to Daniel Abbott.

The following appeared in the *Providence Gazette* for March 31, 1770: —

Monday last (March 26th) the gentlemen of the committee for determining on a place to erect the College edifice within this Colony, met here, when after viewing several spots proposed, unanimously agreed upon the lot lately belonging to Daniel Abbott, Esq., deceased; and accordingly on Tuesday (March 27th) a number of workmen began to break the ground, in order to lay the foundation for that seminary of learning.

The “committee to carry on the building of the College edifice” consisted of Stephen Hopkins, John Brown, John Jenckes, John Warren, and Sylvester Child, any three of them to be a quorum. The first three resided in Providence; Warren belonged in Newport, and Child in Warren. This committee prosecuted its work with remarkable energy and zeal. In the *Providence Gazette* for Feb. 10, 1770, only two days after the adjournment of the Corporation, appears the following: —

The Corporation of the College established by charter in this Colony, met the 7th instant at Warren, in order to consider the claims of the several parts of the Colony concerning the location of said College. All parties being fully heard, and their subscriptions, bonds, and deeds lodged, it was put to vote, whether to recede from their former vote of the 16th of November last, or not. Which passed in the negative, twenty-one to fourteen; and therefore said College edifice was voted to be built in Providence, according to the draft then exhibited, AND THERE TO REMAIN FOREVER. Therefore all persons in the country, who have been so public spirited as to become subscribers to this valuable Institution, are desired to call on us, who are a committee for the building of said College, and take memorandums in writing to procure timber, plank, boards, joists, etc., etc., as we may agree; as said building will begin as soon as may be in the spring.

STEPHEN HOPKINS, }
JOHN BROWN, } Committee.
JOHN JENCKES, }

At the meeting of the Corporation held Sept. 7, 1769, the Chancellor, the President, and Mr. Joseph Brown were appointed a “committee to prepare a complete model of the building.” Naturally the commit-

tee took for its model, Nassau Hall, in Princeton, where President Manning had been educated. This was regarded as the finest building of the kind in the country, as it was, in point of fact, the largest. Its dimensions were fifty-four by one hundred and seventy-six feet; it had a projection of four feet in front and twelve feet in the rear; it had three stories and a basement; and the middle was surmounted by a cupola. Ground was broken for its erection July 29, 1754, and the roof was raised in 1755. It was named Nassau Hall in honor of King William the Third, a branch of the illustrious House of Nassau.

After the final vote on the location of the College, the "draft was exhibited," whereupon it was "voted, that the College edifice be built according to the following plan, viz.:— That the house be one hundred and fifty feet long, forty-six feet wide, with a projection of ten feet on each side (10 by 30); and that it be four stories high."

Meanwhile the President was prayerfully considering the sundering of his connection with the church which he had been instrumental in founding; an event in which his tenderest and best feelings were involved. This was his first pastorate. For six years he had faithfully proclaimed to the people the glorious truths of the Gospel, and broken to them the bread of life. Many, through his agency were becoming wiser and better for time and for eternity, and how could he find it in his heart to leave them? They were attached to his ministry, had contributed liberally towards his support, and earnestly desired his continuance with them. On the other hand, the College which he had served so faithfully was still in its infancy, with an uncertain future. For four years it had been without funds, and he had been compelled to rely upon his Latin school and the Church for the support of himself and family. It is true the Corporation had voted him, at the recent Commencement, the sum of £50, lawful money, to be paid him "out of the interest money supposed to be due" from the subscriptions obtained in England. Again the times were perilous, and should a war with the mother country ensue, what would be the fate of an institution of learning, concerning the location of which there had been such contention and strife?

One of the final acts of the meeting which decided the location of the College, was to appoint all the Baptist ministers present, namely, Messrs. Upham, Backus, Stillman, Thurston, Maxson, Mason, and Winsor, "a committee to wait upon Mr. President Manning, and inform him of the hearty approbation we have of his conduct, care, and government of the College, and request him still to sustain the office he hath discharged with so much honor, and to go with the College to Providence when it shall be removed. And that they treat with the Congregation of which the President is Pastor, and inform them of this request, and endeavor to procure their consent to his removal; and that report be made to the next Corporation meeting." "This cautious delicacy," remarks Professor Goddard, "with which the Corporation interfered with President Manning's existing relations," presents a somewhat grateful contrast to the unceremonious and otherwise questionable modes of procedure, which, under similar circumstances, are now sometimes adopted. In his letter to Smith, which we have given in connection with this meeting, Manning writes: — "I must consult my Western friends in a matter of so much consequence as moving or not moving with the College." One of his Western friends to whom he would naturally first write was the Rev. Morgan Edwards. Mr. Edwards's reply is given in part by Judge Howland: —¹

I cannot help being angry with you when you talk of another President. Have you endured so much hardship in vain? We have no man that will do so well as you. Talk no more, think no more of quitting the presidency, unless you have a mind to join issue with those projectors and talkers who mean no more than to hinder anything from being done. If you go to Providence, the Warren people may have a supply; if they were willing to part with you, it is likely the College would have no reason to covet you.

At the special meeting of the Corporation held in Warren, April 25, 1770, it was voted,

¹ Biographical sketch of the Rev. James Manning. See the Rhode Island Literary Repository for January, 1815.

That the President of the College be allowed a salary of one hundred pounds, lawful money, out of the Corporation treasury, and that the time of payment be computed from the last Commencement; that the Institution be removed to Providence, and that the students at their return, after this vacation, do assemble in that town with their proper officers; that Joseph Russell, David Harris, Esq., and Mr. Daniel Tillinghast, they, or the major part of them, be a committee to hire a suitable habitation for the President in Providence, till one can be built for him, and that it be at the charge of the Corporation.

Neither Harris nor Tillinghast were members of the Corporation. The President had now made up his mind to go with the College, and had probably so expressed himself previous to the foregoing votes. He at once handed his resignation to the church, "to the wonderment of his people, he being greatly admired and renowned." This is the language of the records. Truth compels us to state that the good pastor's resignation was not well received by his people, that the church positively refused to give its assent to his leaving, and, according to the records, seriously contemplated putting him under discipline. We copy from the records the following: —

February 4, 1770. This evening the church met and had a conference with Mr. James Manning, as they had once before within three months, to know whether he was determined to leave the church and follow the College to Providence; and he satisfied the church that he would not. But it was requested of him that, if he should alter his mind, he would give the church timely notice, and he promised he would give them timely notice. But, April 25th the Corporation met, and the next morning he gave his answer to serve as President of the College at Providence, and removed the 4th of May, without calling the church together to acquaint or advise with them, which doing of his is contrary to his promise with the church.

May 31. The church met as usual. Treating about Mr. Manning leaving the church, it was agreed that Bro. Ebenezer Cole should write to Mr. Manning to come to our church meeting the last Thursday of June next, to give his reasons why he left the church.

June 28. The church met as usual; Mr. James Manning came, but gave the church no satisfactory reason why he left the church destitute of a pastor or elder.

In this connection we may give an extract from the diary of Dr.

Stiles, as quoted by President Sears. Under date of May 5, 1770, he thus writes:—

The Baptist College was last week, or week before, removed to Providence, and the Browns and Jenckes intend to turn off Elder Windsor and put in President Manning for their minister. Upon the Corporation insisting on an answer from Manning respecting his removal, he applied to his church and congregation at Warren for dismission from his pastoral relation to them. This they utterly refused. He, however, the same day answered the Corporation that he would go, and has violently rent himself from his church.

On Friday, May 4, 1770, as the church records of Warren state, President Manning, with Professor Howell, and the students, left Warren, and commenced the College in Providence. "On Dr. Manning's taking up his abode here," says Howland,¹ "he lived in the old house of Benjamin Bowen, which stood on the lot at the foot of Bowen Street, on which Mr. S. K. Richmond's brick house now stands. Mr. Howell was unmarried and boarded. The students boarded in private families, at one dollar and a quarter per week. There they studied, and at certain hours met in one of the chambers of the old brick school-house, with the officers, for recitation." This house, which is on Meeting Street, is still standing, and was long known as the house for the Meeting Street colored school. It is at present used for a ward room.

Mr. Howland's recollections are so interesting that we cannot refrain from giving another quotation:—

In May, 1770, one month after my arrival, the College which had been located in Warren, was removed to Providence. . . . There were only four in the Senior class. The Commencements for the first five years were held in Mr. Snow's meeting-house, that being then the largest in the town. Governor Wanton always attended from Newport, till Governor Cooke succeeded him. He headed the procession with the President. The Governor's wig, which had been made in England, was of the size and pattern of that of the Speaker of the House of Commons, and so large that the shallow crowned hat could not be placed on his head without disturbing the curls. He there-

¹ Life and Recollections of John Howland. By Edwin M. Stone. 12mo. Providence, 1857, page 159.

fore placed it under his left arm, and held his umbrella in his right hand. This was the first umbrella ever seen carried by a gentleman in Providence, though they had been some time in use by ladies on a sunny day. Governor Wanton was the most dignified and respectable looking man we had ever seen. The white wig of President Manning was of the largest dimensions usually worn in this country.

We close this chapter with another quotation from the chaste and appropriate memoir of Professor Goddard: —¹

Dr. Manning now entered upon a theatre of enlarged and responsible action. The College was yet in its infancy, and demanded his paternal supervision; its funds were scanty, and needed to be recruited; its actual system of discipline and instruction was imperfect, and required not only to be improved, but to be adapted to the new circumstances under which it was hereafter to be administered. To these important objects he devoted himself, with patience and energy, and with that spirit of self-denial which is essential to the success of great enterprises, and which great enterprises are apt to inspire. In the beneficent work of establishing, within the little Colony of Rhode Island, "a public seminary for the education of youth in the vernacular and learned languages, and in the liberal arts and sciences," he was aided by the efficient co-operation of the Rev. Messrs. Edwards, Smith, Stillman, Backus, Gano, and others of his clerical brethren. It is, however, perhaps not too much to say, that, but for the enlightened zeal and substantial liberality of a few Baptist laymen, citizens of Providence, the College would have been slow in winning its way to general repute. These public-spirited men, though strangers themselves to the discipline of schools of learning, knew how to prize the benefits of high intellectual culture. Though self-educated, they were without a particle of hostility to the distinctions of learning, or of that affected contempt for learned men with which the uncultivated sometimes seek to console their deficiencies. Moved by a generous ardor, they determined that their children and the children of their contemporaries should enjoy, to the remotest generations, opportunities for intellectual improvement denied to themselves. Well have they been repaid for their efforts in this good cause. Their activity and enterprise in the accumulation of wealth are now well-nigh forgotten; but still fresh is the memory of all their deeds in behalf of science and letters and religion.

¹ Memoir of the Rev. James Manning, D. D., with biographical notices of some of his pupils. Originally published in the American Quarterly Register. Pamphlet. 8vo. Boston, 1839.

CHAPTER IV.

1770-1771.

Hezekiah Smith appointed by the Corporation to solicit subscriptions for the College in South Carolina and Georgia—Credentials—Sketch of Smith—Account of his mission—Letter from Oliver Hart—Action of the Corporation on Smith's final report—Vote of the Corporation in favor of the children of Jews—Corner stone of the College edifice laid—Progress of the building—Extracts from Corporation records and the *Providence Gazette*—Report of Nicholas Brown & Co. in behalf of the Building Committee, March 11, 1771—Account of receipts and expenditures—Report of the auditing committee—Hon. Nicholas Cooke—Further extracts from the records respecting the building—Manning's correspondence—Samuel Stennett, of London—Manning's letter and Stennett's reply—Hollis family—Eliphalet Smith—Samuel Shepard—William Gordon—Rev. Joseph Snow—Commencements held in Snow's meeting-house—Account of Commencement for 1770—Meeting of Warren Association in Bellingham, Tuesday after Commencement—Appeal to the Baptists published in *Providence Gazette*—Committee on Grievances—Hezekiah Smith chosen agent to the Court of Great Britain to seek redress from oppressions on the part of the Standing Order—Circular Letter for 1770—Ascribed to Manning—Dr. Stennett's influence with His Majesty's Commissioners in disallowing acts of oppression in the Province of Massachusetts Bay respecting Ashfield—Extracts from "Acts and Resolves"—Backus on the repeal of the Ashfield law—Letter from Manning illustrating his methods of discipline—Letter to Smith—Letter to John Ryland—Ryland's reply—Rev. Dr. John Ryland—List of men recommended for College honors—Bitterness of the "New England Presbyterians," or Congregationalists, towards the College—Letter to Stennett—Trials and discouragements in connection with the College—Account of Commencement in 1771—Smith's diary—President's address to the graduating class—Letter to Thomas Llewelyn—Bristol Academy—Letter from Nicholas Brown to Hezekiah Smith—Affair of the Gaspee—John Brown—Letter to Ryland—Lotteries—Latin School—Commencement for 1772—Smith's diary—Account of Commencement from *Providence Gazette*—Corporation records—Need of funds—Letter to Ryland—"Inveterate enmity of the New England Clergy"—Donation to the Library from Dr. Gill—Letter to Stennett—Manning attends a remarkable funeral in Swansea—Esek Brown.

AT the annual meeting of the Corporation held in Warren, Wednesday, Sept. 6, 1769, and adjourned from day to day until the 8th, it was

Voted, That the Rev. Hezekiah Smith be desired by this Corporation to solicit benefactions for their use in the Southern and Western Provinces of this Continent or elsewhere,

and that suitable credentials be given him for this purpose, signed by the Chancellor, and President, with the seal of the Corporation annexed.

The following is a copy of the "credentials," from a rough draft on file:—

By the Honorable Stephen Hopkins, Esquire, Chancellor, and the Reverend James Manning, President of the College or University in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England, in America.

TO THE REVEREND HEZEKIAH SMITH, OF HAVERHILL, IN AMERICA,

GREETING:—

Whereas, the General Assembly of the Colony aforesaid, taking into consideration the many advantages derived to society from educating youth in useful literature, did grant a charter incorporating the persons therein named in a body politic, and empowering them to erect, found, and endow a College or University in said Colony:—And whereas, the said Corporation from the smallness of their funds, have found themselves under a necessity of requesting the generous assistance of the friends of religion and learning without the said Colony:—And whereas, the said Corporation at their annual meeting at Warren, on the first Wednesday in September, instant, being well convinced of your affection and regard to the said College or University, and of your integrity and ability, did unanimously appoint and request you to solicit and receive benefactions in any part of America for the benefit of the said Institution. These are, therefore, to empower and authorize you, the said Hezekiah Smith, to receive all such charitable donations as shall be made in America, for the erecting, founding, or endowing the said College or University; assuring the donors that their benefactions shall be religiously applied by the said Corporation to the purposes they shall direct.

In testimony whereof, we, the said Chancellor and President, have hereunto set our hands, and caused the seal of the said College or University to be affixed, this [L. S.] eighth day of September, in the ninth year of the reign of His Most Sacred Majesty, George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, etc. Anno Domini, 1769.

By order,

STEPHEN HOPKINS, *Chancellor*.
JAMES MANNING, *President*.

Mr. Smith, whose relations with Manning down to the close of life were those of the greatest intimacy, and whose name frequently occurs

throughout these pages, was born in Hampstead, Long Island, New York, on the 21st of April, 1737. In his youth he became pious, and at the age of nineteen joined the Baptist Church in Morristown, New Jersey, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Gano. He commenced his classical learning at the Hopewell Academy, entered the College of New Jersey at Princeton, and was graduated in 1762 in the same class with Manning. After leaving college he travelled through the Southern Provinces, partly in order to recover his health, which had become somewhat impaired by a too close confinement to his studies. In a single year he rode on horseback upwards of four thousand miles, and preached two hundred sermons, often to crowded and deeply affected congregations. He thus laid the foundations of lasting friendship with the Rev. Messrs. Hart, Pelot, and others of a kindred spirit, whose intercourse and correspondence proved a delight to him in his riper years. On Tuesday, Sept. 20, 1763, he was publicly ordained at Charleston as an evangelist, and set apart for the work of the Christian ministry. The Baptist Church in Haverhill, Massachusetts, gathered through his instrumentality, was organized on the 9th of May, 1765, and he was chosen the pastor. Here he labored as an educator, a zealous patriot, and an earnest and effective preacher of the Gospel during a period of forty years, or until his death, which occurred Jan. 22, 1805. During the War of the Revolution he served as Chaplain, and was present at the battles of Bunker Hill, Long Island, and Stillwater, and also at Saratoga, when Burgoyne surrendered to the American forces under General Gates. For a full account of his life, see "Chaplain Smith and the Baptists."

Mr. Smith left home on his important mission for the College, Oct. 2, 1769, and returned June 8, 1770, having been absent from the people of his charge a little over eight months. He travelled extensively through South Carolina and Georgia, preaching as he had opportunity, and prosecuting with energy and zeal the work to which he had been appointed. His fervid piety, his eloquence, his commanding presence and genial manners, made him everywhere a welcome guest, and enabled him to overcome opposition and indifference. He succeeded

in collecting about twenty-five hundred dollars, most of which was expended upon the College building, agreeably to a suggestion made by Manning in his anonymous letter to Nicholas Brown, published in the preceding chapter on the location. In a letter to Dr. Stennett, dated June 7, 1770, Manning writes:—"Our brother, Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, has collected and obtained subscriptions in South Carolina and Georgia, from whence he has just returned, to the amount of about £500 sterling."

The following is from the *Providence Gazette* for Jan. 13, 1770:—

We hear the Rev. Hezekiah Smith has collected three hundred pounds sterling in South Carolina, for the College intended to be erected in this Colony. This sum, we are told, would have been more than doubled, had it not been for a proposal lately made there to found one in Charleston. The high opinion that people abroad entertain of this Institution, which they manifest by their benevolent donations, cannot but excite the same commendable spirit in those of ability in the more adjacent colonies, particularly in this, and stimulate them to imitate actions so truly laudable.

The following, taken from a Charleston paper, dated Oct. 26, 1769, shows that his mission was regarded with somewhat of distrust, and perhaps with disfavor, by not a few of the good people of the South:—

In the sloop *Sally*, Captain Schermerhorn, from New York, who arrived here last Friday, came no less than forty-five passengers; amongst them, John Smith, Esq., and Mrs. Smith, of New York; Capt. Elijah Steel, Mr. Thomas Ivers, of this place; and the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, who, we hear, is commissioned to solicit benefactions towards establishing a College at Warren, Rhode Island Government, while such a necessary institution is entirely neglected here. Surely, charity should begin at home.

According to the account submitted by Mr. Smith to the Corporation, at the annual meeting held in Providence, Thursday, Sept. 6, 1770, he had collected of "sundry benefactors" in South Carolina and Georgia, as per special account rendered and remitted to the Treasurer at various times, £2,523-8-6, South Carolina currency, £5 being equal to £1 sterling. This would be, as already stated, about twenty-

five hundred dollars; a large sum of money in those early days of poverty and distress. While the £888 10s. 2d. sterling, obtained in England and Ireland by Mr. Edwards, was constituted a permanent fund for the support of the President, the money obtained by Mr. Smith was expended in supplying the immediate needs of the College. This we infer from the fact that in 1775, when Colonel Bennet resigned his office as Treasurer, the permanent funds amounted to but £1,349 14s. 8d., lawful money, or about forty-five hundred dollars. Of the balance of subscriptions due, amounting, according to Mr. Smith's report, to £1,316 17s., only a small part was ever collected; the disturbances of the times and the war with England that ensued probably preventing.

A small duodecimo manuscript of twenty-six pages, in the handwriting of Mr. Smith, is on file among the College archives. It is entitled, "An exact list of benefactions, etc., to the Rhode Island College, collected and got subscribed in South Carolina and Georgia, by Hezekiah Smith." It gives not only the names of benefactors, with the several amounts subscribed, but also the names of others upon whom Mr. Smith called, with remarks added, such as, "No money," "Doubtful," "Probable," "Call again," "Out of town," "Go thy way for this time," etc. This interesting document, which the writer published in 1867 in his "Documentary History of Brown University," was obtained through the late Rev. Ebenezer Thresher, of Dayton, Ohio, a graduate of the University in the class of 1827.

The following letter from the Rev. Oliver Hart, shows how Mr. Smith was received at the South, and how he performed the delicate and responsible duties of his mission:—

CHARLESTON, April 17, 1770.

DEAR MR. MANNING:

As our good friend Mr. Smith is now almost ready to embark for your Northern clime, I embrace the opportunity of sending you a few lines, which I hope you will accept as a superadded token of my unfeigned regard. I am sorry that Mr. Smith is obliged to leave us so soon. His labors have been acceptable to my people universally, and many others have constantly crowded to hear him. Some, I trust, have received advantage by his faithful preaching. Two young men were to see him last night under

soul concern. May the good work be carried on in their hearts, and may we yet hear of many more being awakened to a sense of their lost state by nature. As to his endeavors to serve the College, they have been indefatigable, and his success has been more than equal to what could have been expected, all things considered. I am sure he has merited the grateful acknowledgments of the Corporation. No man could have done more, and few would have done so much as he has, to serve the Institution. He has met with much opposition, and borne many reflections, but none of these things have discouraged him. I heartily wish the benefactions of this Province may greatly promote the welfare of the College. Great grace be with you.

I am, yours, etc.,

OLIVER HART.

After the reading of Mr. Smith's account, the Corporation

Voted, That the accounts presented by the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, of the donations and subscriptions by him received in the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia be accepted, and that the Corporation highly approve of his conduct, and return him their hearty thanks for his great and generous services.

Voted, also, That as Mr. Smith was long absent from his people in the service of the Corporation, and his salary in that time would have amounted to sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, that the Corporation would willingly make up that sum to him; but as he generously refuses to receive anything on that account more than a remission of his subscription of forty dollars to the College, the said subscription is accordingly remitted, and the Corporation gratefully consider the remainder of said sum which he would have received for his salary, as a donation to the Institution.

The sum of twenty pounds having been reported as a subscription from Mr. Moses Linds, a Jewish merchant, of Charleston, it was thereupon

Voted, That the children of Jews may be admitted into this Institution, and entirely enjoy the freedom of their own religion without any constraint or imposition whatever. And that the Chancellor and President do write to Mr. Moses Linds, of Charleston, South Carolina, and give him information of this resolution.

We resume now our account of the College building. The names of the Building Committee, as given in the previous chapter, were the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, John Brown, John Jenckes, Sylvester Child, and Capt. John Warren. "The gentlemen appointed for carrying on

the building of the College edifice," says the record, "appeared before the Corporation and generously offered to do the same without charging any commissions therefor." These gentlemen were the "Four Brothers," Nicholas, Joseph, John, and Moses Brown, who, after the final vote on the location, "concluded to take charge of building the necessary buildings, purchasing land for the same, etc." This we learn from the letter from Moses Brown to his "esteemed friend, Francis Wayland."¹ The following from the *Providence Gazette* of May 19, 1770, may be regarded as an official statement of the laying of the corner stone, which, according to Mr. Howland, was at the bottom of the cellar wall, in the southwest corner of the building: —

Monday last (May 14) the first foundation stone of the College about to be erected here, was laid by Mr. John Brown, of this place, merchant, in presence of a number of gentlemen, friends to the Institution. About twenty workmen have since been employed on the foundation, which number will be increased, and the building will be completed with all possible dispatch.

Tradition adds that Mr. Brown, in accordance with the customs of the times, generously treated the crowd with punch, in honor of the joyful occasion. Doct. Solomon Drowne, an early graduate of the College, in his diary, gives one or two interesting items:— "March 26, 1770. This day the Committee for setting the spot for the College met at the new Brick School House, when it was determined it should be set on the hill opposite Mr. John Jenckes, up the Presbyterian Lane. March 27. This day they began to dig the cellar for the College. May 14. This day the first stone was laid for the foundation of the College." The work now proceeded rapidly, and the enthusiasm of the people appears to have been very general and intense. As in the building of the Tabernacle of old, contributions of labor and materials were freely given. The progress of the building was greatly accelerated by the disturbances in Boston, and the consequent interruptions of business, enabling the Committee to secure from that place an ample supply of skilful workmen. As early as June 7, 1770, Man-

¹ See Moses Brown's letter to Francis Wayland in previous chapter, page 137.

ning writes:—“The building proceeds faster than could have been expected, its magnitude considered, which is one hundred and fifty by forty-six, with a projection in the middle of ten feet on each side (east and west sides, ten by thirty feet), for the public rooms. It is to be four stories high, with an entry of twelve feet through the middle of each, and is to be built of brick. The town of Providence itself has nearly provided for the building, as they have raised by subscription near four thousand pounds, lawful money, at six shillings per dollar. The beneficence of a few Baptists in this place, their fortunes considered, is almost unparalleled.”

At the annual meeting of the Corporation, held on Thursday, September 6, 1770, it was

Voted, That the Corporation do approve of what the committee for building the College and the President's house have done in that business. That they be empowered to cause the stones on the College land to be made into a wall; to fill up the holes from whence said stones were dug; to remove and repair the barn on said land; and to make such other improvements thereon as shall be thought by them necessary.

The following vote will be read with interest, showing the great crowd of people that attended the exercises of the first Commencement at Providence:—

Voted, That the thanks of the Corporation be given to the Rev. Mr. Snow and his society, for the use of the meeting-house yesterday, and that they repair all damages that were occasioned by the throng, and that the President and the Committee for carrying on the building of the College edifice do perform the same accordingly.

From the report finally rendered, it appears that Benjamin Mann was paid by the Committee four shillings and eight pence “for setting seven squares of glass in Mr. Snow's meeting-house, broke at Commencement.” The following appeared in the *Gazette* for September 15th:—

The Corporation of the College in this Colony, at their last session, observing the extraordinary forwardness of the College edifice and the immediate necessity of money to defray the expenses, as the timber for the fourth floor is now on, take this opportunity to request the several subscribers immediately to pay their subscriptions to the

treasurer of the Corporation, or the Committee for carrying on the building, or any others who may be empowered to receive the same.

Another notice from the Building Committee appears in the *Gazette* for Jan. 19, 1771:—

The Committee for building the College desire all persons who are subscribers to pay their subscriptions immediately, as the workmen are now daily calling for their money. As advertising is attended with expense to the College, it is earnestly requested that it need not be repeated.

N. B. Some inch and quarter plank and floor boards are yet wanted, and will be received in lieu of money, if brought immediately.

The building had now approached completion, and a full account of the receipts and expenditures up to March 11, 1771, was presented by Nicholas Brown & Co. in behalf of the Building Committee, at the Corporation meeting in September following. The amount expended for the President's house and the College edifice, for the two buildings were carried on together, was according to this account, two thousand eight hundred and forty-four pounds, five shillings, three and one-quarter pence, lawful money, equal to about ten thousand dollars. This original account of "sundry supplies" and "sundry subscriptions" is now on file. It is an exceedingly interesting document, written in a large, plain hand, and filling sixteen pages of folio ledger paper. Some of these items of expenditure are curious and interesting, illustrating the progress of the buildings, and throwing light on the habits and customs of our fathers:—

1770. Jan. 1.	To cash paid Robert Currie, for passage of Joseph Brown, Jonathan Hamman, and Zeph. Andrews to Cambridge, to view the colleges, 12 dollars.....	£3 12 0
" "	To cash, Joseph Brown paid the expenses in said journey	2 16 0
	To John and Moses Brown's horses to Samuel Fenner's to purchase the lot for the College, and from thence to Jonathan Randall, Esq., and then to Fenner's again, in all seven miles	5 3
" "	To John Brown's horse and ferriage to Elisha Burr's, in Rehoboth, to contract for brick, nine miles.....	3 7

1770.	Jan	1.	To Nicholas Brown's horse to Jeremiah Williams.....	1 6
"	"	"	To cash paid for the postage of a letter to the Corporation..	1 6
	April	2.	To cash, Zeph. Andrews paid for expenses in Boston, besides what Joseph Brown paid.....	15 6½
"	"	7.	To postage of a letter from the Architect of Philadelphia..	1 4
"	"	17.	To paid Wm. Compton for calling a meeting of the sub- scribers.....	2 6
"	"	"	To paid ditto for his attendance at a meeting at the Court House, and bill.....	3 00
"	"	"	To refuse boards judged by Hammon to be worth, to stick boards on, etc.....	4 0
"	"	"	To one-quarter-load of wood of N. B. to lay boards on....	1 6
"	May	17.	To 3 qts. rum, allowed Cole & John Jenckes.....	1 8
"	"	24.	To 3 pts. rum allowed John Jenckes for the scow men....	6 10
"	"	25.	To Town scow two days fetching stones.....	6 0
"	May	25.	To one-half day's work of Earle's negro.....	1 6
"	"	"	To cash paid Comstock for one-half day's carting with three creatures.....	3 0
"	June	1.	To paid Henry Paget, Esq., for twelve and one-half days' work of his negro Pero, and bill at 3s.....	1 17 6
"	"	9.	To one wheelbarrow, new, but broke to pieces in the service.	10 6
"	"	19.	To paid James and Abraham Littlehale for one month's work of each at 30s., at the foundation.....	3 0 0
"	"	"	To one pail allowed A. Cole for the people to carry water to drink in.....	1 6
"	"	"	To ½ gall. West India rum for the digging of the well....	1 9
"	"	"	To 1 qt. ditto allowed by John Jenckes.....	1 0
"	"	21.	To ½ gall. ditto at twice for the well.....	2 0
"	"	28.	To ½ gall. rum for the well diggers.....	1 1
"	"	"	To 1 gall. West India rum when laying the first floor....	3 6
"	Aug.	2.	To 2 galls. ditto and 2 lbs. sugar, second floor.....	8 0
"	"	6.	To 3 pints ditto allowed Simmons for "extraordinary ser- vices".....	1 6
"	"	21.	To 2 galls. good rum and 2 lbs. sugar when raising the President's house.....	9 8½
"	"	25.	To 4 galls. West India rum, very good and old, and 1 lb. sugar, third floor.....	15 7½
"	Sept.	14.	To 4 galls. ditto and 1 lb. sugar, fourth floor.....	14 7

1770.	Sept. 14.	To 1 pt. ditto allowed the carpenters gratis.....	0	7
“	Oct. 9.	To 7½ galls. old West India rum and 2 lbs. sugar when raising the fifth floor.....	1	8 4
“	13.	To 3 galls. West India rum when raising roof.....	10	6
1771.	Jan. 7.	To cash paid Oliver Bowen for the College land, the remainder, £30 15s. 7d., paid by John Jenckes, the whole £84..	53	4 5
“	“	To 5 acres land bought of Samuel Fenner, at 90 dollars per acre, is £135; to one year's interest, 8s. 2d.....	143	2 0
“	Feb. 7.	To 1 box glass for President's house.....	3	3 0
“	“	To paid Benjamin Mann, for setting seven squares glass in Mr. Snow's meeting house, broke at Commencement...	4	8
“	March 8.	To paid Ebenezer Leland, for painting the College and President's house.....	9	0 0

From the foregoing account, it will appear, that the amount paid for the original College lands, comprising about eight acres, was two hundred and nineteen pounds, or seven hundred and thirty dollars; being ninety dollars per acre, for what is now valued at one dollar and upwards per square foot. The last item is for painting. It was hoped that the building would be ready for the students in the fall. Dr. Stiles, however, in his diary for November, 1771, thus writes: — “On Monday I went to visit the College, where five or six lower rooms are finished off. They have about twenty students, though none are yet living in the College edifice.”

A few more extracts from the records touching the College edifice, and we pass to other subjects. The auditing committee of the accounts presented by Nicholas Brown & Co. thus reported: —

We, the subscribers, being appointed by the Corporation of the College at their meeting in April last, to audit the accounts of the Committee for building said College: —

Have, in obedience to said order, carefully examined their respective accounts, with the several vouchers thereto annexed; and we find a balance from the subscribers for building said College due to Nicholas Brown & Co., of six hundred and twenty-three pounds, five pence, and one farthing, lawful money, agreeably to the above account current.

And here upon this occasion, we think it our duty to inform all the benefactors to

this Institution, that the materials for said College, appear to us to have been purchased, collected, and put together with good judgment, prudence, and economy; and that this Committee, for this great application, disinterestedness, and activity, are justly entitled to the thanks of every one who wishes well to so arduous and important an undertaking.

NICHOLAS COOKE,
DARIUS SESSIONS,
JOSEPH RUSSELL.

PROVIDENCE, March 11, 1771.

Which report, being read, was unanimously accepted and ordered to be recorded.

Ordered, That the Secretary give a fair copy of the above report to each of the Committee for purchasing materials and building said College, as a testimony of their entire approbation of their conduct.

The Hon. Nicholas Cooke, whose name here appears as chairman of the auditing committee, took his engagement as a Trustee in 1769. Backus states that "he was a Baptist himself, though in communion with a Congregational church." The Rev. Dr. James G. Vose, in his "Sketches of Congregationalism in Rhode Island," says that Mr. Cooke's name appears on the records of "Father Snow's Church," now the "Beneficent Church," in February, 1747. In the account which Backus in his third volume gives of Manning, we find the following, which illustrates the peculiar condition of some of the Providence churches in the early days: — "And when Governor Cooke was chosen member of the College Corporation, and some scrupled whether he could properly be denominated a Baptist, because he was a member of a Congregational church, he informed them that he was ever a Baptist on principle, and was baptized by immersion, and should have joined the Baptist Church in Providence, if such doctrine had been preached therein then as there was now." "Baptism by immersion," Dr. Vose adds, in his history of the Beneficent Church,¹ "was frequently practised by Father Snow; and the Providence River, then much wider and purer

¹ 12mo. Boston, 1894. See page 103.



COLLEGE EDIFICE AND PRESIDENT'S HOUSE.

than now, witnessed many such scenes on either bank, from the shore in front of the First Baptist Meeting-house to that on or near the site of the present City Hall. Many of the early members, and some in later times were thus baptized." Nicholas Cooke's name appears as one of the subscribers for the erection of the College building to the amount of forty-five pounds, or one hundred and fifty dollars.

Thursday Sept. 3, 1772. *Voted*, That the tiles for covering the College edifice shall be retained for that use.

WHEREAS, a sum of money is immediately wanted to defray the expense of slating the College edifice, it is

Resolved, That the Rev. John Gano be appointed to solicit donations for that purpose in this or the other colonies; and that he be requested to proceed upon that business as soon as may be.

Voted, That the sum of five dollars be taken for the use of each room in the College edifice annually, from those who live in them.

Thursday, Sept. 2, 1773. *Voted and Resolved*, That the offer of the Secretary (Doct. Thomas Eyres) be accepted, that he would pay the interest of one hundred dollars for three years to any gentleman who will advance said sum towards finishing the rooms in the College edifice, after the balance in Mr. Howell's hands was expended, the Corporation being security for the original sum.

The accompanying engraving presents a southwest view of the College, together with the President's house and garden. It was photographed from a painting in the possession of the family of the late President Messer. College, Prospect, and Waterman streets were not laid out when the painting was made. The older graduates will remember the well at the southeast corner, from whence such cool refreshing water was drawn. The stone walls on the east and north are the walls to which Manning refers in his "trying experiences," as narrated by Dr. Waterhouse. "I made," says Manning, "my own garden, and took care of it, and repaired my dilapidated walls." The little building south of the house is the barn where he kept his horse, with which he was accustomed to journey during vacations. The little tower on the hill in the distance must be the "signal post," or beacon, erected in 1775, pursuant to the recommendations of Congress, for the purpose of giving

notice to the surrounding country, in case of an attack on the town. It was fired on the 17th of August. Its light, says Staples, was seen in Newport, New London, Norwich, Pomfret, Prospect Hill in Cambridge, and in almost all the towns within the same distance from Providence.

The following extract shows that Mr. Gano, Manning's brother-in-law, was specially active in advocating the interests of the College:—

Thursday, Sept. 8, 1774. *Voted*, That the thanks of the Corporation be presented to the Rev. John Gano, for his having used his best endeavors to promote a subscription for this College in the Southern colonies;—that the manner in which he has proceeded is approved by the Corporation; and he is hereby requested to proceed upon the same business in any other places and methods which he shall judge most beneficial towards the advancement of the College; and the Secretary is ordered to give him a copy of this vote.

One of the characteristic votes passed at the meeting of the Corporation in 1770, reads as follows:—“*Voted*, That the Chancellor, the President, and the Secretary, be a Committee to authorize any gentleman to take and collect subscriptions in any part of the world.” “It is to be hoped,” President Sears playfully remarks, “that the same liberal spirit in regard to receiving subscriptions, will always be manifested in this University.” Perhaps it was this vote that encouraged Manning to secure by correspondence the co-operation and assistance of friends in England. For this purpose the line of packets owned by the Browns, and running regularly to and from London, afforded good facilities. In pursuance of this plan, which he continued through life, he now addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Stennett, whom we shall presently mention, as chairman of the committee to act in conjunction with the Standing Committee on Grievances. Dr. Stennett was for thirty-seven years the faithful and affectionate pastor of the Baptist church in Little Wild Street, London, and was regarded as one of the most eminent ministers of his own denomination. His various connections with Protestant Dissenters generally, and with members of the Established Church, gave him an opportunity to commend Baptists on



SAMUEL STENNETT.

occasions when they required special aid. One of his constant hearers was the philanthropist, John Howard, whom Burke has so highly eulogized. George III., it is said, was on terms of intimacy with him, frequently calling at his house on Muswell Hill. He was remarkable, says his biographer, for the ease and suavity of his manners, for the good breeding, the polished language, and the graceful ways of the true gentleman. As a scholar and an author, he had no small repute. His Works, edited by the Rev. William Jones, were published in 1824, in three octavo volumes. These works, says Ivimey, display the author's proficiency in Greek, Latin, and the Oriental tongues, and establish his reputation for learning and genius. His father, Dr. Joseph Stennett, his grandfather, Joseph Stennett, his great-grandfather, Edward Stennett, his brother, Joseph Stennett, and his son, Joseph Stennett, were all Baptist ministers.

The accompanying portrait is from an engraving in Rippon's Baptist Register.

TO THE REV. DR. STENNETT.

PROVIDENCE, June 7, 1770.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Although unknown to you, I take the freedom to trouble you with reading a letter from an unworthy friend. I was urged to this partly by the desire of our common friend, Mr. Henry Williams, merchant of New York, and partly because I have often heard that you are a lover of our nation, and are engaged to further the interests of the Baptist Society; as also that you may be informed of the state of our College, the interests of which I am told you have at heart. Of this the late very acceptable present of your two volumes of Sermons is an additional proof. I heartily wish that your example may be followed by others of our friends who have written for the public.

It was resolved, after long deliberation, to place the College edifice in the town of Providence, in this Colony, as most conducive to the ends of its institution. This, however, has been attended with considerable difficulty; but I forbear to trouble you with the recital of our little affairs. The foundation of the College is now laid, and the building proceeds faster than could have been expected, its magnitude considered, which is one hundred and fifty by forty-six, with a projection in the middle, of ten feet on each side, for the public rooms. It is to be four stories high, with an entry of twelve feet through the middle of each, and is to be built of brick. It will contain fifty-six rooms in all. The town of Providence itself has nearly provided for the building, as

they have raised by subscription near £4,000, lawful money, at six shillings per dollar. The beneficence of a few Baptists in this place, their fortunes considered, is almost unparalleled. I should rejoice to find many elsewhere like-minded. We should then see the College properly endowed, as well as founded. This we must expect from abroad. Added to the sum collected by Mr. Edwards in Europe, our Brother Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, has collected and obtained subscriptions in South Carolina and Georgia, from whence he has just returned, to the amount of about £500 sterling.

It would be happy for us if we could find in England a family of Hollises¹ to patronize our college; but I fear the Baptists are not to expect such an instance of public spirit in their favor, although I have heretofore indulged such hopes, and am yet unwilling to give them up.

Two young men have already engaged in the ministry who have been assisted by this Institution, and both from their beginnings give promise of usefulness. Their first attempts have thus far been highly acceptable to the public. May the Lord of the harvest thrust out many more faithful laborers. In this part of the world the field for labor is very large, while the faithful and well-furnished laborers are truly few. To my great satisfaction, I lately received certain information of the conversion to Baptist principles of a young Presbyterian minister, eminent for his piety and success as a preacher. The manner in which this was, by Divine Providence, brought about, is somewhat singular. He was preaching upon John xiv. 15, when truth was let into his mind with such vividness as compelled him to open the nature of the ordinance of baptism so clearly as to convince the church, of which he was pastor, that believer's baptism by immersion *only* is a divine institution. In consequence of this, they sent a messenger to me to come and administer the ordinance to both minister and people, the most of whom expect immediately to submit thereto. As they, however, are more than one hundred miles distant from me, and near Mr. Smith,² he has engaged to supply my

¹ Concerning the Hollis family, who for nearly a century continued their benefactions to Harvard College, we may here state in brief, what Pierce and Quincy have given at length in their histories of the University. Thomas Hollis, the father of the "benefactor," was born in 1634, and died in 1718. His son, called, by reason of his donations to Harvard, Thomas Hollis, 1st, died in 1731. A second son, Nathaniel, died in 1738. A third son, John, was a partner in business with his brother Thomas. Thomas Hollis, 2d, son of Nathaniel, died in 1735. The total amount of the benefactions of this family up to this date, "exceeded," says Quincy, "£6,000 currency of Massachusetts, which, considering the value of money at that period, and the disinterested spirit by which their charities were prompted, constitutes one of the most remarkable instances of continued benevolence upon record." Thomas Hollis, 3d, was born in 1720, and died in 1774. His donations to Harvard College during his lifetime exceeded £1,400 sterling. Timothy Hollis died in 1791, at an advanced age. He gave £20 sterling for the library. Thomas Brand Hollis, the last of the benefactors, was born in 1719, and died in 1804. His Memoirs were published in 1808, in two handsome quarto volumes, by his friend the Rev. John Disney.

² Rev. Hezekiah Smith. In his diary, we find the following: "*Wednesday*, June 13th. Went to Deerfield, and preached from Acts xi. 23: "Who, when he came, and had seen the grace of God,

place. I am also told that God is doing marvellous things in Virginia and North and South Carolina amongst the Baptists, bringing multitudes to submit to baptism according to Christ's instructions. And we are not quite forsaken in New England. In several towns on Cape Cod God is at work, although in general we have reason to cry, "Our leanness, our leanness!"

My situation in the centre of American intelligence, especially as I have travelled through, and have correspondents in, most of the principal towns, furnishes me with an opportunity of knowing almost everything interesting to the Baptists, of whose affairs, should you be disposed to hear, you may depend upon receiving the best accounts I can collect, whenever you lay your commands in this way. However agreeable the like from you would be respecting affairs in Britain, yet, amidst your more important connections and engagements, the utmost I presume to ask is your indulgence for interrupting you by this tedious epistle, and beg leave to subscribe,

Dear sir, your most unworthy brother,

JAMES MANNING.

To this letter Dr. Stennett thus replies : —

LONDON, Aug. 10, 1770.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR :

I received your favor of June 7th, and take this opportunity of returning to you my sincere thanks for it, and of assuring you that a correspondence with Mr. Manning, for whose character, before I received this expression of his friendship, I had great respect, will afford me a particular pleasure. I write by Mr. Gordon,¹ a minister of the Independent persuasion of this city, who intends settling in America. He is a very sensible and worthy man, and has ample recommendations with him. His political

was glad, and exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord." After the sermon I examined the Rev. Eliphalet Smith and a number of his hearers for baptism. *Thursday*, 14th, I preached in Mr. Smith's meeting-house from Col. ii. 11, 12. After sermon I baptized fourteen persons, whose names are as follows: Rev. Eliphalet Smith and his wife Nancy, Dea. Wadley Cram and his wife Elizabeth, Samuel Winslow and his wife Jane, James Philbrick and his wife Elizabeth, Jeremiah Present, Moses Clough, William Tirrill, Hannah Polsiper, Nancy Folsom, and Isaac Blasdel, of Chester, the rest of Deerfield, who the same day were embodied into a Baptist church. A good day it was, indeed. The goings of the Lord were very evident." Two days afterwards Mr. Smith baptized seven persons, one of whom was Dr. Samuel Shepard, who, in 1771, was ordained as pastor over the church at Stratham. Mr. Stillman, of Boston, preached the sermon, Mr. Smith gave the charge, and President Manning the right hand of fellowship. Dr. Shepard became a very active and highly honored minister of the Baptist denomination. A sketch of his life appears in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*. He was converted to Baptist sentiments, it seems, by reading Norcott's work on Baptism.

¹ William Gordon, D. D. He settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and afterwards wrote a history entitled "The Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America," published in 1778, in four octavo volumes. For a more extended notice of Gordon, see later on.

speculations in favor of America, and some little misunderstanding with his people, occasioned by his not knowing how conscientiously to baptize *all* the children of those who attended his ministry, have engaged him to leave us, and spend the remainder of his life with you. Where he shall settle I believe he has not himself determined, but I imagine somewhere about Philadelphia or New York. Should he take a tour your way, I have no doubt he will meet with a friendly and brotherly reception at Providence. I was educated at the same academy with him, and have a great esteem and affection for him. Indeed, he is well known and esteemed by all denominations here.

I am glad your College is in such forwardness, and that the design, which is truly important, meets with so much encouragement among our friends on your side of the water. The groundless prejudices which have a long time prevailed among many good people of our persuasion, will, I hope, in time subside; and nothing will contribute so much to the removing of them as the zeal, good behavior, and, with the blessing of God, success of the first young persons you send out into the ministry. I look upon it as a very kind Providence that hath set you at the head of this College; and as I am sensible you must have many difficulties to contend with, so I heartily pray you may have strength according to your day. The success you have already met with is a circumstance which I doubt not affords you no small encouragement, and I hope you will still, my dear sir, meet with a great deal more. I shall rejoice to help forward your design in any way that I am able. But you are sensible we have not a great deal of wealth in our denomination, and few of the Baptists, as I hinted before, are very warm advocates for learning. Dr. Llewelyn is your very good friend, and I am persuaded would be glad of an acquaintance with Professor Manning. I speak not from any intimation on his part, but from the particular knowledge I have of his character, and his good dispositions towards your plan. We have had a great loss in Mr. Roffey,¹ who died in April last, and through whose further good offices I hoped your College would have been considerably benefited. But God will, I hope, raise up friends.

I cannot now be so particular as I wish, as I write in a hurry. By the hand that conveys this I have written to Mr. Stillman, of Boston, whom I have, I fear, wearied with a very long scrawl. I rejoice in the agreeable account you have favored me with, of the success of the Gospel in many parts, and that the truth with respect to baptism prevails. May the knowledge of Christ and of His ways spread far and wide. We are

¹ Mr. Roffey, it appears, was a benefactor of Rhode Island College. From the records we find that at a meeting of the Corporation held at Newport, Nov. 16, 1769, it was voted "That the thanks of this Corporation be transmitted to Mr. Samuel Roffey, for his generous benefaction to this Institution, by the Secretary."

not without some instances of the power and grace of God among us; and I think the interest in many places revives. New associations of ministers and congregations are lately set up in the country where there were none before.

As to Dr. Moore's scheme, he has met with considerable success, though as yet but little has been collected among the Baptists. I believe about £1,000 is raised; we have obtained also £1,000 of the King. Trustees are appointed for the management of the moneys collected, among whom, of the Baptists, are Mr. Stead, Dr. Llewelyn, and myself, who consider ourselves as particularly obliged to look after the interests of our friends in Nova Scotia.

As to political matters, my time will allow me to say but little now. The sovereignty of Parliament over all the British dominions seems to be the great object of Government; and yet I believe they would be glad to have peace and harmony restored. I made use of the argument of policy, as well as of the goodness of the cause itself, in favor of the discussion in Nova Scotia, and it was duly attended to. I hope the discouragements the Baptists have lately met with in America are removed, and their grievances in some degree at least redressed. I am sure, however, it would be good policy, to say no more of it, in the other denominations with you, to treat them well. And our friends, I hope, see the importance and reasonableness of taking every united step that our divine religion teaches, before they proceed further. But I must not run on any further at present.

It will, I assure you, my dear friend, afford me a very sensible pleasure, to hear from you quickly, and often; and you will oblige me much by favoring me with all the news you can. My sincere Christian regards to Mr. Hezekiah Smith, for whose character I have a high esteem, and all inquiring friends. I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend and brother,

SAMUEL STENNETT.

The first Commencement in Providence was held in the meeting-house of the Society, now known as the Beneficent Congregational Society, on the west side of the river. This house, as Mr. Howland states, was the largest in town, and the congregation was largely Baptist in sentiment, two-thirds being Baptist, according to Dr. Stiles, and one-third Presbyterian. The Pastor, Rev. Joseph Snow, had formerly been a deacon in Mr. Cotton's church. In 1743, he with others, constituting at the time, according to Staples, a large part if not a majority of the church, seceded from the First Congregational Society, having become what were termed "New Lights" or Separatists. This was at the

time of the great awakening throughout New England, in consequence of the labors of Whitfield, when multitudes like Backus left the Standing Order, and afterwards joined themselves to the Baptists. A new society was formed, a house of worship was built on the lot where the present house stands, and in 1747 Mr. Snow was ordained as the pastor. This relation he continued to sustain to a beloved and united people for many years. Hezekiah Smith, whenever he visited Providence, was accustomed to preach part of the time for Dr. Manning, and part of the time for Mr. Snow. In 1793 Mr. Snow and his adherents withdrew from the Beneficent Congregational Church and formed what is now known as the Richmond Street Church. He died in 1803 in his eighty-ninth year. Dr. Stephen Gano, of the First Baptist Church, preached his funeral sermon.

All subsequent Commencements were held in Mr. Snow's meeting-house, until the completion of the new Baptist meeting-house, in 1776. At this first Commencement in Providence but four young men were graduated, one of whom, Hon. Theodore Foster, represented Rhode Island for thirteen years in the Senate of the United States, and at his death left many fruits of antiquarian research connected with Rhode Island history. For the following account we are again indebted to the *Providence Gazette* :—

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 8, 1770.

On Wednesday was celebrated here the second Commencement in Rhode Island College. The parties concerned met at the court-house, about ten o'clock, from whence they proceeded to the Rev. Joseph Snow's meeting-house, in the following order: First the grammar scholars; then the under classes, the candidates for degrees, the Bachelors, the Trustees of the college, the Fellows, the Chancellor, the Governor of the Colony, and lastly, the President. When they were seated, the President introduced the business of the day by prayer; then followed the salutatory oration in Latin, by Mr. Dennis, and a forensic dispute, with which ended the exercises of the forenoon.

Those of the afternoon began with an intermediate oration on Catholicism, pronounced by Mr. Foster; then followed a syllogistic disputation in Latin, wherein Mr. Foster was respondent, and Messieurs Nash, Read, and Dennis, opponents. After this, the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on Messieurs John Dennis, Theodore Foster, Samuel Nash, and Seth Read; and the degree of Master on the Rev. Isaac Eaton,

Messieurs William Bowen, Benjamin West, David Williams, Joseph Brown, and Abel Evans; also on the Rev. Messieurs Hugh Evans, Daniel Turner, Samuel James, Benjamin Beddome, Benjamin Wallin, John Reynolds, and Isaac Woodman. To which succeeded a valedictory oration by Mr. Reed, and then a charge to the graduates.

The business of the day being concluded, and before the assembly broke up, a piece from Homer was pronounced by Master Billy Edwards,¹ one of the grammar school boys, not nine years old. This, as well as the other performances, gained applause from a polite and crowded audience, and afforded pleasure to the friends of the Institution. But what greatly added to their satisfaction, was an opportunity of observing the forwardness of the college edifice, the first stone of which was laid not longer since than the latter end of May last, and 'tis expected the roof will be on next month. It is a neat brick building, one hundred and fifty feet by forty-six, four stories high, with a projection in the middle of ten feet on each side, containing an area of sixty-three feet by thirty, for a hall and other public-uses. The building will accommodate upwards of a hundred students. Its situation is exceedingly pleasant and healthy, being on the summit of a hill the ascent easy and gradual, commanding an extensive prospect of hills, dales, plains, woods, water, islands, etc. *Who hath despised the day of small things?*

In a previous chapter an account has been given of the formation of the Warren Association through the agency of Manning, and of the steps taken at the anniversary meeting in 1769, to seek a remedy for the oppressive measures pursued by the Standing Order in Massachusetts and Connecticut. This was to be done by petition and memorial, accompanied by full statements of grievances through a committee, of whom the Rev. Samuel Stillman, of Boston, was the chairman. The next meeting of the Association was to be held in Bellingham, in September, 1770, the Tuesday after Commencement. In accordance with the course now recommended, the following from this committee appeared in the *Providence Gazette* for Aug. 11, 1770. It also afterwards appeared in the *Boston Evening Post*:—

TO THE BAPTISTS IN THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, who are and have been oppressed in any way on a religious account:

It would be needless to tell you, that you have long felt the effects of the laws, by which the religion of the government in which you live is established; your purses

¹ Son of the Rev. Morgan Edwards. He was graduated in the class of 1776.

have felt the burdens of ministerial rates, and when these would not satisfy your enemies, your property hath been taken from you and sold for half its value. These things you cannot forget. You will therefore readily hear and attend, when you are all desired to collect your cases of suffering and have them well attested; such as taxes you have paid to build meeting-houses, to settle ministers and support them, with all the time, money, and labor you have lost in waiting on courts, seeing lawyers, etc. And bring or send such cases to the Baptist Association to be held at Bellingham, the Tuesday next after the first Wednesday in September, when measures will be resolutely adopted for obtaining redress from another quarter than that to which repeated application hath been made unsuccessfully. Nay, complaints, however just and grievous, have been treated with indifference, and scarcely, if at all, credited. We deem this our conduct perfectly justifiable, and hope you will pay a particular regard to this desire, and be exact in your account of your sufferings, and punctual in your attendance at the time and place above mentioned.

At this meeting of the Association in Bellingham, Mr. Smith presided as moderator, and Mr. Stillman acted as clerk, after having preached the Introductory Sermon. The records, which exist only in manuscript, read as follows in reference to the matter of "oppression" and "redress": —

A committee was chosen to seek redress of all grievances of the Baptists, consisting of the Rev. Samuel Stillman, Rev. Hezekiah Smith, Rev. John Davis, Rev. Isaac Backus, Rev. Noah Alden, Philip Freeman, Philip Freeman, Jr., Nathan Plimpton, and Richard Gridley. The Rev. Hezekiah Smith was chosen agent to the Court of Great Britain, to act in conjunction with the Rev. Dr. Samuel Stennett, Rev. Benjamin Wallin, and Thomas Llewelyn, LL. D., of London.

This committee, which was continued from year to year, with changes in the membership, was long known as the Committee on Grievances, or the Standing Committee of the Baptists for New England.

In accordance with the notice in the papers, the following cases of suffering were reported, viz.: From Ashfield; two cases from Princeton, Worcester County; two cases from Berwick, York County; also from Douglass in Worcester County; from Colchester, New Hampshire; from Montague, Hampshire County; and three cases from

Enfield in Connecticut. The Circular Letter¹ for this year reads as follows: —

CIRCULAR LETTER OF THE WARREN ASSOCIATION. 1770.

The Elders and Messengers met in association at Bellingham, September 11th, 12th, and 13th. To the churches they represent, and all others of the denomination of Baptists, send greeting:

We met in peace, and upon reading the letters from the several churches, found that they were generally at peace among themselves, some of them having had considerable additions, — the number of which, in all the churches, amounts to fifty-six. We find that God hath not left himself without a witness, but is still carrying on the work of grace in the churches. We would not despise the day of small things; yet at the same time desire you to unite in solemn prayer to the great Head of the Church, that he would hasten the time when converts shall come as the clouds, and fly as doves to their windows. Oh happy period, which God in his wisdom has given us reason to expect, when the whole world shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord! We have however to inform you, dearly beloved, that some of our churches are sorely oppressed on account of religion. Their enemies continue to triumph over them; and as repeated applications have been made to the courts of justice and to the general courts for redress of such grievances, but as yet have been neglected, it is now become necessary to carry the affair to England in order to lay it before the King. It is therefore warmly recommended to you to endeavor to collect money to defray the expense which will arise from such a proceeding. Should you not contribute to this matter, some of our brethren must unavoidably be ruined as to this world; especially our brethren at Ashfield, some of whose lands have been taken from them and sold for a trifle. Brethren, make the case your own, and then do as you would be done by. We also recommend to you to search for promising gifts among yourselves, and bring them to the trial, as there is a great want of ministerial help in the churches. In fine, brethren, live in love; preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace; keep your garments unspotted by the flesh, and may the God of peace and love be with you.

P. S. — The churches are requested to be expeditious in sending their contributions to the Rev. Samuel Stillman, of Boston, who is appointed treasurer, and to take his receipts. If our agent, Mr. Hezekiah Smith, should not go to England, the money

¹ This letter was found among the Smith papers and printed for the first time in "Life, Times, and Correspondence of Manning." The authorship is not positively known, although it has been ascribed to Manning. It was the custom in the early days before the minutes were printed, for pastors and delegates to secure a manuscript copy of the Circular Letter and read it to their churches on returning from the Association.

will be returned when demanded. It is also requested that the churches will unite in keeping the first Thursday in October next as a day of fasting and prayer, to entreat God to favor our undertaking to obtain liberty of conscience, and to save our property, and consequently our families, from ruin; also that He will be graciously pleased to revive religion, and to deliver our nation from its present difficulties.

Had Mr. Smith gone to London as agent of the Association, he would without doubt have had a cordial reception among his English brethren. His multiplied cares and increasing responsibilities obliged him eventually to decline a service which required so much time and labor; and at the meeting of the Association in 1771, the Rev. John Davis was appointed in his place. That he corresponded with Dr. Stennett, and that the committee of which Dr. Stennett was chairman, succeeded in aiding the cause of truth, and in removing oppression, may be seen from the following taken from "Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," Vol. 4, page 1045:—

Wednesday, May 22, 1771. At a meeting of His Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Present. Mr. Eliot, Mr. Fitzherbert, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Whately. Read a memorial of Dr. Stennett, praying their Lordships to recommend to His Majesty to disallow an Act passed in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in June, 1768, by which the Antipedobaptists and Quakers are compelled to pay to the support of a different persuasion. Their Lordships thereupon read and considered said Act, and it was ordered that the draught of a representation to His Majesty should be prepared, proposing that it may be disallowed.

At the Court of St. James, the 31st day of July, 1771. Present. The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. Whereas the Great or General Court or Assembly of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, did in June, 1768, pass an Act which hath been transmitted, entitled as follows:—viz.: An Act in addition to an Act entitled an Act for creating the New Plantation called Huntstown in the County of Hampshire into a town by the name of Ashfield.

Which Act, together with a representation from the Lords' Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, thereupon having been referred to the consideration of a Committee of the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council for Plantation Affairs, the said Lords of the Committee did this day report as their opinion to His Majesty that the said Act ought to be disallowed. His Majesty taking the same into consideration, was pleased with the advice of His Privy Council to declare his disallowance

of the said Act; and to order that the said Act be and it is hereby disallowed and rejected:—Whereof the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's said Province of the Massachusetts Bay for the time being, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

Backus, in speaking of the rejection by the Legislature of a bill to repeal the Ashfield law, says:—“And what a cloud was hereby brought over an oppressed people! On the side of the oppressors was power, but they seemed to have no helper. But, behold! In a Boston paper of October 21, (1771,) it was declared that the King in Council had disannulled that law. What a surprise did this occasion! How could so despicable a people get access to the throne, and obtain such an act, especially in so short a time!”

The following letter was originally published in Staples's Annals of Providence. It affords a good illustration of the early discipline of the College under the care and management of its first President:—

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 12, 1770.

SIR:—You may think it strange that I, a stranger to you, should address you by this epistle; but you will excuse me when I give the reason; which is, an information that I have received that one Scott, a youth under my tuition, some time ago riding through Smithfield, in company with one Dennis, of Newport, rode up to, and in a most audaciously wicked manner, broke the windows of the Friends' meeting-house in said town, of which meeting I understand you are clerk. Upon the first hearing of this scandalous conduct, I charged him with the fact, which he confessed, with no small degree of apparent penitence; whereupon I thought good to inform you, and by you the meeting, that they shall have ample reparation of damages and such other satisfaction as they shall think proper; being determined to punish with the utmost rigor all such perverse youth as may be intrusted to my care, as I hold such base conduct in the greatest detestation.

You will be so good as to let me know when the first meeting of business is held, that I may send him up to appear before them, and make not only reparation, but such a confession before the meeting as shall be fully satisfactory. I choose to mortify him in this way, and should be very glad that some of the heads of the meeting would admonish him faithfully and show him the evil of such doings, if this would be agreeable to them; but I speak this, not to direct them in the matter, but what would be agreeable to me. When this is settled, we shall discipline him with the highest punish-

ment we inflict, next to banishment from the society, and with that if he does not comply with the above.

The youth has been but few months under my care, is a child of a respectable family in Kingston, Massachusetts Bay, and had his school-learning in New Haven. I am sorry for his friends, and that it happened to fall to my lot to have such a thoughtless, vicious pupil; but I am determined this shall be the last enormity, one excepted, of which he shall be guilty while under my care. I hope the meeting will inform me how he complies with these injunctions, if they think proper to take these or any other methods. Please, by the first opportunity, favor me with a line in answer to the above requests, and you will do a favor to

A real friend,

JAMES MANNING.

Mr. Thomas Lapham, Jr., in Smithfield.

The young man, Judge Staples adds, appeared before the meeting, according to the direction of the President, made a suitable acknowledgment of what he had done, paid the damage done to the windows, received some wholesome admonition and advice, and returned to his College duties, it is to be hoped, a better man. Whether his associate was the Dennis who was graduated the September previous to this occurrence, we are not informed. It is certain that he was not a youth over whom Manning at this time had special control.

Manning thus writes to his friend Smith, of Haverhill. As we have before remarked, he uses not unfrequently the term Presbyterians for Congregationalists. This perhaps was natural, coming as he did from the Jerseys. Edwards and others did the same. The two denominations are far more distinct at the present day than they were a century ago.

NEWPORT, May 1, 1771.

DEAR SIR:

I perceive, by an application made to a neighboring Baptist church, that the people in Richmond, in Hampshire Government (I mean the Baptist church there), are in great distress on account of the taxes for the clergy; and so are the Baptists in sundry other towns thereabouts. The charter gave a farm to the first settled minister in that town; and Mr. Balow, the Baptist minister, was the first, though a Friend speaker was there before him. Now the Friends have united with the Presbyterians, and voted the farm for the use of the town. Upon the whole they seem troubled much, and some are likely to be totally ruined by the Presbyterians. Now if you can lend any aid or assist-

ance, you will do them a singular favor; and I have been urged to write to you, that, if possible, you might make interest with the Governor, or some of the great men, to redress these grievances. I received a letter from Mr. Edwards, dated March, which informs me that he has a law of New Hampshire which obliges the Baptists to pay their ministers, — that is, Presbyterian ministers, — and he is greatly afraid they will fall into the snare. Pray do your utmost to prevent the Baptists from taking the benefit of that law; for the Presbyterians will triumph in that case. Mr. Rogers, the bearer, will give you information of my affairs, and other matters in these parts; so that nothing remains but to desire you with Mrs. Smith to pay us a visit soon, to whom with yourself I give my sincere love, and remain, sir,

Your very loving friend,

JAMES MANNING.

The following letter was the commencement of a correspondence with the Rev. John Ryland, of Northampton, England, a graduate of the Bristol Academy under the care of the celebrated Bernard Foskett, and for many years principal of a flourishing academy. Mr. Ryland was a distinguished scholar as well as a Baptist preacher, and was held in high esteem by Dr. Johnson and other eminent men of his time. He published "Contemplations on the Beauties of Creation," in three volumes octavo, "Essay on the Advancement of Learning," and various sermons and pamphlets. He died in 1792.

PROVIDENCE, June 1, 1771.

REVEREND SIR:

By the Rev. Morgan Edwards, last year, I was directed to draw upon you, the first of June, for five guineas, which you proposed to contribute annually to the support of the President of Rhode Island College during life, if your circumstances would admit of it. I drew accordingly in favor of Messrs. Joseph and William Russell, merchants of Providence; and, according to my instructions, have done the like this year, in favor of the same gentlemen.

Your zeal for the welfare of this young Seminary, discovered in this as well as many other instances, has gained you the high esteem of all the true friends of the College here; but the particular favor done me herein has laid me under the strongest obligations of gratitude, of which I hope not to be unmindful, in any instance, when in my power to express a proper sense of them; and at present I can only do this by the strongest expressions of thankfulness, and fervent prayer to God that he would abundantly reward your beneficence in this and in the life to come.

I was particularly obliged in your favoring me with the patterns of the regular Greek and Latin nouns and verbs, etc., and find it the most easy method of leading boys into a general notion of grammar in a short time. The College in this place consists of twenty-three youths, five of whom are to leave us in the fall; though we hope to have some additions at that time. The Institution calls for the vigorous exertions of all its friends, as well on account of the smallness of its funds as the unreasonable opposition made against it by Pedobaptists; especially the New England Presbyterians in general, who express the greatest bitterness on every occasion. The part I have had to act in the matter has exposed me to numberless difficulties hitherto; although I am cheerful under the hopes of its rising, at some future period, to be the joy of its friends and the denomination, as well as the mortification of its ungenerous enemies. The state of religion in New England is at a low ebb in general, except in a few places, amongst which Mr. Stillman's of Boston is one, where there have been lately large additions to the church. Should there be any gentlemen of your acquaintance in England on whom diplomas might be well bestowed, we should always be glad to be advised thereof, and confer them accordingly. Forgive this unsolicited scrawl, and believe that it had its birth in the unfeigned gratitude and real friendship of, sir,

Your humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

To this letter Mr. Ryland thus replies:—

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND, MR. JAMES MANNING,

PRESIDENT OF RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE:

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:—I received your letter in due course by the post from London, and took care to pay your draft on me for £5 5s. when it came for payment, which it did in the beginning of December. Where it lodged all that time after you drew it, I know not.

Be assured that I have the interests of your College deeply at my heart; and in order to serve it I have picked out the enclosed list of scholars, for whom I solicit some of your academical feathers, to the end that we may attach as great a number of active and learned men to your Seminary as we can. Who knows but some of them may do you more service in the long run than we can at present imagine? I am determined to send over some names every year as long as I live; but be assured I shall not recommend one that shall be a dishonor to your College, if I know it.

Have you had a short account of the ministers and churches of the Baptist denomination in England? If not I shall take care to send it. At present I would just observe that we have about two hundred and fourteen churches and ministers. About twenty-four ministers, perhaps twenty-six, can read the original languages in which

the Bible was written. Amongst them I have a son¹ (John), nineteen years of age, who was called to the ministry last year. He read his Greek Testament into English all through before he was nine years old, and is very ready at Hebrew, Latin, and French. Grace called him at fourteen years of age. I baptized him when he was about fifteen, and we received him into the church. He proves a good, zealous boy, and the people of God love to hear him preach. He has ventured to publish a volume of poems on experimental religion, the whole edition of which, five hundred, has gone off in less than a year. If I can procure a copy, I will send you one for your public library. Perhaps it may be a stimulus to some lazy student on your side of the water. My opinion, I am persuaded, is the same with yours, "that young boys and students need all sorts of motives to keep them in a steady, regular, resolute pursuit of learning and religion," and for this purpose academical honours were wisely instituted; and 'tis for this reason I desire for my brethren in the ministry who desire it the honors of your College, in order to incite others to the same diligence. I am sorry to say it, but 'tis too true, that above one hundred and seventy Baptist ministers in England have been kept from reading the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament more by laziness and cowardice than by the difficulty of attaining it. I want to rouse these sluggards into diligence, and for that purpose I earnestly beg your assistance.

N. B. Out of ten thousand clergy, we have seventy or eighty that preach the gospel. The Presbyterians are almost all gone off to Socinianism. We have a few in London that are excellent men; namely, Dr. Langford, Dr. Trotter, Geo. Stephens, A. M., Mr. Hunter, and the Rev. Mr. Spilsbury. I cannot at present give you an exact list of our Independent ministers in London and the country, but shall try to send you an account. Let me be sure to hear from you four times a year; that is to say, once every quarter.

WORTHY MEN OF LEARNING AND CHARACTER WHO DESERVE THE HONORS OF RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE.

I. OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

These are
most excellent
men as
scholars
and divines.

1. AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE TOPLADY, A. B., Rector of Broad Hemburg, Devon.
2. HENRY FOSTER A. B., Curate to the Rev. Mr. Romaine.
3. JOHN NEWTON, Curate of Olney; a man of uncommon wisdom, and a fine writer.

¹ This son, the Rev. Dr. John Ryland, received the honorary degree of A. M. at the Commencement in 1772. He assisted his father in the management of his school, and eventually became pastor of the Baptist Church in Northampton. In 1792 he became President of the Baptist College at Bristol. For upwards of thirty years he was the most eminent Baptist minister in the west of England. He died May 25, 1825. His funeral sermon, preached by Robert Hall, is regarded as one of the choicest specimens of pulpit eloquence in our literature.

II. INDEPENDENTS.

1. WILLIAM PORTER, minister in Camomile Street.
2. JOHN STAFFORD, successor to Dr. Guise.
3. JOHN PYE, minister at Sheffield, Yorkshire.
4. WILLIAM HEXTALL, successor to Dr. Doddridge, at Northampton.
5. MOSES GREGSON, at Rowell, Northamptonshire.
6. JOSHUA SYMONDS, at Bedford. Preaches in John Bunyan's pulpit.
7. Rev. JAMES JENNINGS, at Islington, near London.
8. SAMUEL WILTON, at Tooting, in Surrey.

III. PARTICULAR BAPTISTS.

1. ROBERT DAY, of Wellington, Somersetshire.
2. JOHN BROWN, of Kettering, Northamptonshire.
3. JOHN ASH, of Pershore, Worcestershire.
4. JOHN POYNTING, of Worcester.
5. BENJAMIN FULLER, of Devizes, Wiltshire. (An old, rich, learned man, that can leave £100 to the college.)
6. JOHN OULTON, of Rawdon, in Yorkshire.¹

The "bitterness of the New England Presbyterians in general" towards the College, and the "unreasonable opposition made against it by Pedobaptists," to which Manning in his letter to Ryland here alludes, are illustrated in the letter addressed to him by his friend Morgan Edwards, which is published in our concluding chapter on the Charter. The writer supposes the President to have expected the friendship and help of the Congregationalists had not the Baptists complained of oppressions and threatened to carry their complaints to the King. He adduces facts to show that their opposition was from the beginning, and not of recent origin. Mr. Edwards has been accused of undue warmth, but the reader must admit that a little severity of expression was justifiable under the circumstances. These ecclesiasti-

¹The seventeen names mentioned in the above list all received the honorary degree of A. M. at the annual Commencement of the College in 1773 and in 1774. (See Triennial Catalogue.) It does not, however, appear that Mr. Ryland's good wishes in regard to the benefit which the College might thereby derive were ever realized, at least to any great extent. The unhappy feeling engendered by the War of the Revolution was, probably, the cause of this apparent neglect or indifference. The College, moreover, was closed from 1776 until 1782, and correspondence between the two countries ceased.

cal oppressions and this sectarian bitterness towards the College were in keeping with the opposition and unfriendliness experienced by Roger Williams and his free Colony in the early days. It is pleasant to note that all this has now passed away;—if recalled to remembrance throughout the pages of the present narrative, it is only in the spirit of kindness, “as impressive admonitions to the fuller exercise of that charity which beareth all things.” As matters of history, they must of necessity appear conspicuous in any faithful account of Rhode Island College, or of the life and times of its first President.

The following letter to the Rev. Dr. Stennett gives a pleasing account of Manning’s feelings in view of the responsibility of his position as head of the College and pastor of the Church:—

PROVIDENCE, June 5, 1771.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Your most agreeable favor of Aug. 10th, 1770, came to hand the 19th of January, 1771, after our ships had sailed for London; and consequently I have had no opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of it before. There are two ships from this town which make two voyages a year to London, besides others from the Colony, by which letters will have a safe conveyance. The captains’ names are Shand and Gilbert. I mention this that there may be the most direct conveyance.

I thank you for the expressions of kindness and respect in your letter, and am as desirous as before to keep up a correspondence as often as opportunity will admit. Mr. Gordon, the gentleman by whom you wrote, has never called on me, nor can I hear any direct account of him since his arrival in America. Your good wishes to the College are very acceptable, and we doubt not your readiness to contribute all in your power to its future growth and increase. The popularity, usefulness, etc., of our first sons, is to me an object truly desirable; but these things I leave to the wise conduct of the supreme Governor of the Church. One of the youth,¹ graduated at our first Commencement, who is thought to be savingly brought home by grace, has joined Mr. Thurston’s church in Newport, and appears eminently pious. As soon as his age will admit, for he is quite a youth, he will be called to the work of the ministry, with hopes of his making a distinguished figure in the pulpit. He bears the greatest resemblance to Mr. Hezekiah Smith of any person I know, and I hope will make such another son of thunder. I am constrained to think that Providence placed me at the head of the

¹ William Rogers.

College; but for what end I cannot divine, I hope for good; for my ease and worldly advantage it could not certainly be, for I have been constrained to forego these, and many more things desirable in life, on this account; and in the discharge of my office here I have found my way strewn with thorns hitherto.

Dr. Llewelyn's friendship for the College is highly satisfactory to us. He has it in his power, and, we have reason to believe, in his heart, to do it great service. I should highly prize a correspondence with a gentleman of his merit, were a door properly open for it; but to address him with a letter, uninvited, and without particular cause for so doing, might be deemed too great forwardness in me. I therefore choose to defer it at present. We were sensibly affected at the news of Mr. Roffey's death, as he promised usefulness to the public; but God can raise up men to carry on his own cause, in an unexpected way. The government is upon His shoulders; therefore we ought to rejoice. But nothing gives one such satisfaction as the account you give me of the success of the Gospel in England. I firmly believe there are yet glorious days for the church militant, and that the doctrine of believer's baptism will prevail in proportion to the prevalence of the religion of the heart. I do not imagine this *only* from my own sentiments that it is an important and glorious ordinance of the Lord Jesus, but from facts; for I have observed for some years past that in this country it has been invariably the case where there has been a powerful moving of the Spirit of God upon the minds of men. I will give you a recent instance. God has been doing wonders in Virginia and North Carolina within these few years past. Thousands have been hopefully converted to God in these two provinces; and my Brother Gano, who travelled through these provinces last summer and fall, informs me that not less than two thousand have been baptized by immersion, upon profession of their faith. And it has been observed there, that persons were no sooner brought into the glorious liberty of the Gospel than they followed the example of their Divine Master by going down into the water; and that, too, where the name of Baptist was scarcely known. This work, I am told, still continues, and extends five hundred miles in length through the country. Truly, light has risen to those who were in the region and shadow of death; for when I travelled through that country about ten years ago, I thought as Abraham did of Zoar, that the fear of God was not in that place.¹ To me it seemed to be the rendezvous of devils. But what cannot God do? This indeed is all my consolation when I view the unpromising appearance of religion in many places,—that God not only can, but will work, and none shall let or hinder it.

¹ As has already been stated, Manning spent the year succeeding his graduation travelling through the colonies, with a view, doubtless, of ascertaining the best place for a college, and on whom he could rely for support. In going to South Carolina, where his friend Hart was settled, he would of course pass through Virginia, as he here states in his letter.

There is a gradual increase of the work of religion in sundry places in New England. Mr. Smith, I am told, is still marvellously owned in his labors, and that he was lately called to administer baptism to numbers at a distance from where he resides, and to constitute two or three Baptist churches. I can say but little of my success in the vineyard of the Lord, although I hope there are some promising appearances of conviction amongst us. The last Lord's Day there appeared an unusual solemnity in the assembly, and I trust God enabled me, though a worm, to speak with some happy degree of zeal and earnestness in warning souls of their danger; and if flowing eyes may be thought a presage of the return of wanderers to God, I am not without hope of some seals of my ministry. But alas my unprofitableness!—my unworthiness to be employed in so sacred a work! If ever one soul is converted by my instrumentality, it will clearly appear that the excellency of the power is all of God.

But I cease to trouble you with my unprofitable complaints, and proceed to give you some short account of the dispute between Baptists and Presbyterians in the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, and Connecticut; in the latter of which, I am told, some of our brethren are now in jail for ministerial rates, and in the other two many are forcibly despoiled of their property for the same purpose. The Presbyterians, I believe, are determined, when they have the power, to use it against us to prevent our growth; for no effectual remedy can yet be obtained, though it has been carefully and industriously sought. They are afraid, if they relax the secular arm, their tenets have not merit enough and a sufficient foundation to stand. This has been so plainly hinted by some of the committees of the General Court, upon treating with our people, that I think it cannot be deemed a breach of charity to think thus of them. However, I will not pretend to justify everything which has been said and done by Baptists during this controversy. I fear there has been too great warmth in some publications; yet it is certain that there has been great provocation to write and speak some bitter things. However, I am far from believing that the cause of God requires acrimony in defending it, especially as the great Example of his people "reviled not again when he was reviled." Upon the whole, it is very uncertain what will be the issue of the matter, whether we must address the throne of our sovereign for relief, or not. The contention has been improved as an argument against sending scholars from that denomination to our College. How long this will continue I know not; but at present the clergy use all their endeavors to this purpose.

I am glad to hear that there are three Baptists in the trust of Dr. Moore's fund, who will see that the money is appropriated according to the original proposal; for our brethren of that denomination need good looking after in these matters, if we may judge from what has happened before.

I suppose you have heard that Dr. Wheelock has obtained a charter for a college in

the province of New Hampshire, and about twenty thousand acres of land as an endowment from the Governor, and other gentlemen who are largely concerned in lands there. He has begun his business, and carried it forward with great rapidity. In short, from what I can gather, it is to be a grand Presbyterian college, instead of a school for the poor Indians. There were but two Indians there at school last fall, and they were Narragansetts from this Colony, brought up like us. Moreover, it is more than a hundred miles distant from any number of Indians. I have conversed with two intelligent gentlemen from that part of the country, and, from what I can gather, the money raised in England by Whitaker and Oakam will be as greatly prostituted as ever the fund for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts has been by another denomination of Christians.

As to political matters, all is peace and quietness with us, though we hear that the city of London and the House of Commons have proceeded to great lengths in opposing one another, and that the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver are committed to the Tower. We are anxious for the result of this procedure; but hope that God will order all matters for the best, and bring good out of evil.

We now proceed slowly with the College, as our succors from abroad fail. I hope we may have some more assistance from Great Britain as soon as may be.

If your patience is not quite gone, permit me to request the favor of a letter by our vessels this summer, in which you need not fear trespassing upon my patience, though I have reason to fear I have upon yours, and therefore subscribe, what I am in truth, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend and brother in the Lord,

JAMES MANNING.

The reader who has followed the narrative thus far, will readily see that Manning, as President of the infant College, had been exposed, as he states in his previous letter to Ryland, "to numberless difficulties hitherto"; and that it was not for his "ease and worldly advantage" that "Providence had placed him at the head." He had "been constrained," as he here writes to Stennett, "to forego these, and many more things desirable in life, on this account; and in the discharge of the duties of his office he had found his way strewn with thorns hitherto." The obtaining of the charter in the outset was a struggle against determined opposition; the settlement of the vexed question of final location caused bitterness of feeling and alienation on the part of some who should have been his friends, which alienation was continued

during his lifetime ; the church in Warren never fully forgave him for leaving it to go with the College to Providence ; his relations with the church in Providence, as we shall see in our next chapter, caused in the outset a division, and led to the establishment of a new Six Principle church in Johnston ; and the College itself was persistently and bitterly opposed by the "Standing Order" in the adjoining States of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Moreover, his salary from the Latin school the College and the church combined, was meagre and insufficient for a generous support. Yet he faltered not in his work, and persevered bravely to the end.

The third Commencement of the College, and the second held in Providence, occurred on Wednesday, Sept. 4, 1771. Among the Fellows present were Smith from Haverhill, Stillman from Boston, and Edwards from Philadelphia. It was at this time that Mr. Edwards, accompanied by Moses Brown, visited the elderly people of the town, and obtained information respecting Roger Williams and the Baptist Church, which he has embodied in his "Materials." Mr. Smith came, as was his usual custom, in his chaise, accompanied by his wife, to whom he had been recently married. The following from his diary may be of interest in connection with this Commencement week : —

Wed., Aug. 28, 1771. Went to Nicholas Brown's in Providence. Lodged two nights there. Fri., 30. Went to Job Bennet's in Newport, where we stayed till Monday. Sat., 31. Preached for Mr. Maxson from John 18:36, and in the evening from John 13:11 in Mr. Thurston's meeting-house. Sab., Sept. 1. Preached for Mr. Thurston from Isa. 44:22. Mon., 2. Went to Warren and preached that evening in Mr. Thompson's pulpit, from 2 Cor. 5:19. Tues., 3. Went to Nicholas Brown's in Providence. Wed., 4. Attended Commencement. Thurs., 5. Met with the Corporation. Preached in the evening, from Rom. 3:25. Fri., 6, Sat., 7. At Providence. Sab., 8. Preached in the forenoon at Mr. Snow's meeting-house, from 2 Cor. 5:19, and in the afternoon at Mr. Manning's meeting-house, from Ps. 19:14. Mon., Sept. 9. Set out for Sutton.

At this Commencement six young men took their Bachelor's degree. Thomas Arnold, who heads the list, became a distinguished lawyer of Providence and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was also a Fellow of the College, and Secretary of the Corporation. Thomas

Ustick became a prominent teacher and preacher, being for twenty years pastor of the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia. Samuel Ward, a son of the Hon. Samuel Ward, served with distinction in the Revolutionary War as Major in the First Rhode Island Regiment, and afterwards, as Lieutenant-Colonel. At the close of the war he settled in New York, and became a prosperous merchant. From 1790 to 1800 he was a Trustee of the College.

From the account of this Commencement in the *Providence Gazette*, we present an abstract from the President's address: —

A concise, pertinent charge was then delivered to the graduates by the President, in which, besides many useful instructions and cautions, he remarked that this Institution, though liberal and catholic in its foundation and government, despising the contracted views of a party, aiming at the good of mankind in general, and always studious to maintain a good agreement and harmony with others of the like nature, had not been so happy as to pass altogether without censure; and that not only from the ignorant and pedantic, but even from some of those whose friendship it has sought, and would highly esteem, could it consistently be obtained. He concluded by requesting their friendship and kind offices to that Seminary of learning in which they had received their education; and with great energy exhorted them that if they could not, by their joint testimony of the generous, free, and impartial manner in which they had been treated in the course of their studies, silence the unreasonable clamors of ignorance and enmity, to give the world the same kind of proof of the usefulness of the Institution which some of its first sons now do, who fill public stations with honor to themselves and advantage to mankind.

One of the "first sons" to whom Manning here alludes was the valedictorian, Thompson, who was now preaching in Warren as his successor in the ministry. Varnum, who had been teaching in East Greenwich, was now practising his profession as a lawyer. Stites was a lawyer in New Jersey, Williams was teaching in Warren, and Rogers was teaching and preaching in Newport. It is worthy of note that the President in a public baccalaureate address, speaks of the College as "liberal and catholic, aiming at the good of mankind in general," and appeals to the graduating class to silence if possible the "unreasonable clamors of ignorance and enmity," and to testify to "the generous, free and impartial manner in which they had been treated."

The following letter, addressed to Thomas Llewelyn, LL. D., presents an idea of the condition and prospects of the College, and especially of the Library, at this time. It affords an illustration of the author's skill in urging the claims of the Institution over which he presided, upon the attention of strangers of reputed benevolence and wealth. Mr. Llewelyn was a distinguished Cambro-British scholar of London. He published, in 1768, a History of the Welsh Versions of the Bible, and, in the following year, "Historical and Critical Remarks on the British Tongue." He died on the 7th of August, 1783, bequeathing to the Bristol Academy, where he pursued his early studies, his large and valuable library.¹ Dr. Gibbons was accustomed, says Rippon, to speak of him "as the first scholar among the Protestant Dissenters."

PROVIDENCE, Feb. 21, 1772.

DEAR SIR:

I am emboldened to address you, both from the recommendation of Dr. Stennett to do so, and from my knowledge of your friendship to the College in this town, of which you would doubtless be glad to know the state.

The College edifice is erected on a most beautiful eminence, in the neighborhood of Providence, commanding a most charming and variegated prospect; a large, neat brick building, and so far completed as to receive the students, who now reside there, the number of whom is twenty-two. We have the prospect of further additions; yet our numbers will probably be small until we are better furnished with a library and philosophical apparatus. At present we have but about two hundred and fifty volumes, and these not well chosen, being such as our friends could best spare. Our apparatus consists of a pair of globes, two microscopes, and an electrical machine; to this we are desirous of making the addition of an air pump, if one respectable can be purchased for £22 10s. sterling; a sum which two young men informed me they intended to give towards an apparatus or the Library. If, therefore, it would not be too much trouble to inform me whether or not that sum is sufficient, I shall receive it as a particular favor; for if not, we shall appropriate it to some other use.

Our whole College fund consists of about £900 sterling, being the whole sum collected

¹ In the second volume of Rippon's Baptist Annual Register, is a history of the Bristol Academy, to which is appended a copy of the table of benefactors in the Museum belonging to the Bristol Education Society. Under date 1784, we find the following:—"Thomas Llewelyn, Esq., LL.D., London (a legacy), consisting of his library, which cost more than £1,500" sterling.

abroad; for no money collected without the colonies is made use of in the building, but solely applied in endowing it, with the strictest regard to the donors' intent. The interest of this sum is quite insufficient to provide for tuition, as two of us are now employed, and we stand in need of further help. May we not expect some further assistance from our friends in England? Or must we conclude that the Baptists only are inattentive to their own cause, while seminaries of other denominations have the highest reason to extol their generosity? Or is it because we use less industry to promote our common cause than others? If so, what might another personal application to England do on this head, could we find a person among us, of public spirit, who could forego the mortification of a beggar, etc.? Mr. Edwards happened in England at a most unfavorable juncture, or we should have expected far better success. If you imagine anything considerable can be done, we shall strive hard to obtain some person for this purpose; if not, permit me to solicit your interest, where you may be able to serve the cause. We have had the earliest proofs of your regard for the infant College, and retain a grateful sense of your unsought favors.

I shall take pleasure in communicating any intelligence in my power, whenever you please to lay your commands. My present situation is such as will furnish me with a general acquaintance with the state of the Baptist society in America, especially as I have travelled through the greater part, and hold correspondence with some in almost all the provinces.

The ship by which this comes is bound directly back to Providence; and being owned by a zealous friend of the College, any books, or other things, should there be anything to send from any of our friends, would not only come directly, but free from the expense which might otherwise attend them.

The jealous eye with which other denominations of Christians behold this infant Seminary, leaves us without hope of any assistance from any but Baptists;¹ and I think if we could but unite, and the whole body lend a helping hand, we should be able, without great difficulty, to rear the tender plant to a degree of maturity which might greatly subserve the cause of religion, especially in our society.

Craving your indulgence for giving you this interruption, and sincerely wishing you every felicity in this and a future world, I remain, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother and servant in the gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

¹The candid reader of all histories of the times in which Manning lived, as well as the pages of Backus, the diary and letters of Hezekiah Smith, and the minutes of the Warren Association, will readily see why even so liberal an institution as the College, was looked upon generally with disfavor by those who were outside of the Baptist denomination.

The following letter from Nicholas Brown to Hezekiah Smith will be read with interest, not only because of the expression of his views and feelings in regard to his own religious state, but because of his allusion to the efforts of the enemies of the College to prevent students from entering it. The letter is preserved among the Smith papers:—

PROVIDENCE, March 30, 1772.

REVEREND SIR:

This may serve to acquaint you and Mrs. Smith that we have not forgotten you. We have received none of your favors since 28th September, by Mr. Manning; yet we have no excuse for not writing to you before, except that of not having any particulars worthy your notice. Mr. Binney,¹ a worthy, humble, and meek young Christian, having been the evening with us, I engaged to forward these to you from Boston, as he is now going home the ensuing vacation. His conversation upon Christianity is really entertaining, and we sincerely wish, while we can say that we take knowledge of him that he has "been with Jesus," that the same might be said of ourselves. This knowledge we are still waiting for. I hope, in the day of God's power, it will be made manifest in us; and I take this opportunity of requesting your fervent prayers that God will remove from us the veil of ignorance and unbelief, and that Christ in his fulness may be savingly applied to our souls through faith, which we believe to be the gift of God, as saith the Scriptures. It is a very dull time in religion here, though we have to rejoice that God has not left himself wholly without a witness. We are informed that in Swansea, among the Baptists in Messrs. Mason's and Martin's societies, upwards of forty have been baptized since January came in. Some additions have been made to the Baptist churches in Newport. We have heard from Philadelphia that Rogers was much liked there, and that his preaching has been blessed. Mr. Edwards has gone to Carolina. I hope he may be able to promote the collection of your subscriptions got there, as they are much needed. There is nothing new here about the College. The lower rooms have been finished, so that the scholars have lived in them this winter. The enemies to the Institution are doing what mischief they can, by discouraging scholars from coming here, which fact ought to stir up every friend to exert himself to the utmost. Should be glad to hear of some boys coming here from your quarter. Mr. President is well, but his wife is poorly, with her old complaints. Pray let us hear of your welfare by every opportunity.

Your most respectful and obedient servant,

NICHOLAS BROWN.

¹ Barnabas Binney, who graduated in 1774.

And now occurred an event known in history as the affair of the *Gaspee*, which, from its boldness and the high character of its actors,—including the leader, John Brown, who laid the corner-stone of the College edifice and superintended the building,—attracted wide attention. As a part of the history of Manning and the College, we have compiled from Staples, Lossing, Arnold, and other writers, the following brief account. To the late Hon. John Brown Francis, grandson of the principal actor, we are indebted for some particulars of this memorable transaction not found in the published narratives.

In March, 1772, the *Gaspee*, a British armed schooner, first appeared in the waters of Narragansett Bay, having been dispatched hither by the Commissioners of Customs at Boston to prevent infractions of the revenue laws. Her appearance disquieted the people, and her interference with the free navigation of the Bay irritated them. Thereupon a spirited correspondence ensued, between Deputy Governor Sessions and Governor Wanton on the one hand, and Lieutenant Duddingston and Admiral Montague on the other. On the 9th of June, 1772, Captain Lindsey left Newport for Providence in his packet, the *Hannah*. The *Gaspee* as usual gave chase, but ran aground on Namquit, since called Gaspee Point, below Pawtuxet; the *Hannah* escaped, arriving safely at Providence about sunset. Captain Lindsey at once communicated the fact of the grounding of the *Gaspee* to Mr. Brown, who thought this a good opportunity to put an end to the vexations caused by her presence. He immediately ordered the preparation of eight of the largest long-boats in the harbor, to be placed under the general command of Capt. Abraham Whipple, afterwards commodore, who was one of his most trusty shipmasters. Information of the enemy's situation was proclaimed by beat of drum; and a man named Daniel Pearce passing along Main Street invited such of the inhabitants as were willing to engage in a perilous enterprise for the destruction of the *Gaspee*, to meet at the house of James Sabin, lately the residence of Richard J. Arnold, Esq. The boats left Providence between ten and eleven o'clock, filled with sixty-four well-armed men, and between one and two in the morning they reached the *Gaspee*. Two shots were

exchanged, one of which wounded Lieutenant Duddingston in the groin. This was the first British blood shed in the War of Independence. The schooner was now boarded without much opposition, and the crew and officers were compelled to leave with their effects, when it was set on fire and blown up. Mr. Brown was the last man to leave the deck, being determined that no one should carry from the vessel anything which might lead to the identification and detection of the parties. By so doing he narrowly escaped with his life, in consequence of the falling timbers and spars.

When the news of this daring feat reached England, the King's proclamation was issued, offering a reward of one thousand pounds sterling for the arrest and conviction of the two leaders of the affair, and five hundred pounds each for any other of the offenders, with a free pardon, in addition, to any one concerned, except the two chiefs, who would implicate the rest. A commission of inquiry, under the great seal of England, was established, which sat from the 4th until the 22d of January, 1773. It then adjourned until the 26th of May, when it assembled and sat until the 23d of June. But not a solitary clew to the identity of the perpetrators of the deed could be obtained, notwithstanding they were well known to the people. The price of treachery on the part of any accomplice would have been exile from home and country; and the proffered reward was not adequate to such a sacrifice. Moreover, those whose weak moral principles or strong acquisitiveness might have tempted them into a compliance with the terms of the proclamation, were bribed, it is said, to silence, by Mr. Brown and some of his associates. The principal actors, besides Mr. Brown, were Capt. Abraham Whipple, John B. Hopkins, Benjamin Dunn, Doct. John Mawney, Benjamin Page, Joseph Bucklin, Turpin Smith, Ephraim Bowen, and Capt. Joseph Tillinghast. Mr. Brown, says Governor Francis, afterwards deeply regretted this affair, so foolhardy in itself, and resulting in so much needless apprehension to himself and family. For a long time he was accustomed to sleep away from home, lest he should be arrested during the night. The first booming of the guns at Lexington and Concord filled his mind with

gladness. He was a stranger himself to fear, but he rejoiced when the anxieties and fears of others were merged in the open contest now commenced. History has given to the leader in this Rhode Island enterprise the fame which he so richly deserves.

Notwithstanding these disturbances, the President continued his correspondence with his English brethren, and addressed the following letter to his friend Ryland. He had reason to know, as subsequent events proved, that among the Dissenters in England the Baptists especially were friendly to America, and heartily sympathized with the Americans in their seven years' contest with British power. This we shall see later on.

TO THE REV. JOHN RYLAND.

PROVIDENCE, May 19, 1772.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

On the 5th ult. I received your letter, as I judged from the contents, for it had neither your name nor any date to it. The contents gave me very great pleasure on various accounts,—as a testimony of your regard for me, the College, and the cause of religion in general, and especially for the zeal you discover in promoting the Baptist interests. The list of names you sent me shall be laid before the Faculty next September, and without doubt they will receive the honors of the College. We shall also be obliged to you for your proposed favor of sending us some names every year, and such, too, as are worthy of honor. I saw a paragraph in a letter to Rev. Isaac Backus, from Rev. Benjamin Wallin, of London, in which he intimated we had conferred degrees on some on your side of the water who would not do us honor. I shall therefore rely on you to pay particular regard to the literary qualifications of those whom you recommend, in order that our enemies may not have it in their power to reproach us on this head. I thank you for the hint given me concerning the number of our ministers and churches in Britain, and your offer of sending me a short account of them, which I have not seen. If there should be more than one on hand, it would gratify some of our friends if I could supply them. The present of the volume of poems will be very acceptable. Please to give my cordial love to the author, of whom I shall be mindful amongst others who deserve the honors of the College. I hope you will be happy in seeing him not only a faithful but successful laborer in Christ's vineyard. You may assure yourself that I will contribute all in my power to assist in "rousing the sluggards," etc. If the Presbyterians have let go the faith, I hope it is to promote the primitive ordinances of the Gospel under the direction of a wise

Providence. I think this has been and now is the case in New England; for many of the good people are following Christ into the water, who before quieted their consciences by the example of the fathers now with God; but they cannot find the same reason when they view the clergy of the present age. In short, if you hear of a work of God's Spirit among the Presbyterians of New England, you will soon hear that a Baptist minister is applied to to baptize them. God has been and is still doing marvelous things, in the outpouring of his Spirit on some of our churches; especially in Boston, Dighton, Rehoboth, Swansea, in the Bay Government, and in Warren, of this Colony, under the ministry of Mr. Charles Thompson, one of the first class that graduated at this College. I am told that near three hundred have been baptized in these places since last September. Mr. William Rogers, a member also of the same class, about twenty-one years of age, has been called to the ministry, and is preaching in Philadelphia, where God appears to own his labors to admiration. He is a pious, warm Christian, and a very popular preacher in that city. All these things encourage me to believe that God regards this College with a favorable eye; especially as I have reason to hope that he has called by grace some who are now in College, since they came here, while others appear to be hopefully anxious about their salvation.

I shall make free to draw on you again the 1st of June, by Mr. Edwards's instruction, and continue to do so yearly until you forbid me. What think you of an application to England, by some suitable person, in order to augment our little and insufficient fund, as Mr. Edwards made but a partial application; or would a well-concerted scheme of a lottery¹ to raise £1,000 or £2,000 sterling meet with encouragement by the sale of tickets in England? Some method must be adopted, unless some generous, able benefactors should arise to assist us. I shall write frequently and long; and if you will do the same to me, you will greatly oblige,

Yours, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

From the following notice, which was published in the *Providence Gazette*, it appears that President Manning still retained charge of the

¹ Suggested perhaps by Mr. Manning's familiarity with the history of the College of New Jersey, the funds of which institution had been increased by lotteries which the legislatures of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey had granted for this purpose. Harvard and Yale Colleges, it may be added, were also aided by lotteries, the former even as recently as the year 1808. To show how common were lotteries in Rhode Island at this time, it may be stated, that, in the space of twenty-seven years, from 1752 to 1779, no less than fifty-four were granted by the General Assembly for the building of churches, parsonages, school-houses, bridges, streets, wharves, etc., as we find by looking over the "Colonial Records." See account of lotteries on page 72.

For a very interesting account of lotteries in behalf of the Rev. Dr. Hopkins's church in Newport, the reader is referred to Professor Park's *Memoir of the Life and Character of Dr. Hopkins* pp. 113, 114.

Latin school, it being without doubt the same which he commenced at Warren eight years previous to this date. Thus, in addition to his labors as Pastor of the church and President of the College, he was engaged in teaching lads, directly or otherwise, the elements of knowledge, and in furnishing them, as also the College students, with school books, "at the lowest rate."

Whereas several gentlemen have requested me to take and educate their sons, this may inform them, and others disposed to put their children under my care, that the Latin school¹ is now removed, and set up in the College edifice; where proper attention shall be given, by a master duly qualified, and those found to be the most effectual methods to obtain a competent knowledge of grammar, steadily pursued. At the same time, spelling, reading, and speaking English with propriety will be particularly attended to. Any who choose their sons should board in commons, may be accommodated at the same rate with the students,—six shillings per week being the price. And I flatter myself that such attention will be paid to their learning and morals as will entirely satisfy all who may send their children. All books for the school, as well as the classical authors read in College, may be had, at the lowest rate, of the subscriber.

JAMES MANNING.

PROVIDENCE, July 10, 1772.

Another Commencement was now at hand. The following from Smith's diary will be read with interest:—

Mon., Aug. 31, 1772. Set out for my journey to New Jersey. Got the first night to Ames's in Dedham. Tues., Sept. 1. Got to my good friend's Nicholas Brown in Providence, where I stayed till the Monday following. Attended the Commencement on Wednesday. Thursday met with the Corporation of the College. Friday 4, and Saturday 5. Among my friends. Sab., 6. Preached in the forenoon in Mr. Manning's

¹ Where the Latin school was kept previous to this date we cannot positively state; it is, however, more than probable that it was in one of the chambers of the brick school-house on Meeting Street. The other chamber, as has already been stated was occupied by the officers and students of the College. This school-house, as appears from Staples's Annals of Providence, was built during the year 1768, partly by the town, and partly by subscription. By this compound arrangement the town owned the lower story, while the upper story was owned by the subscribers, among whom the friends and guardians of the College were largely represented. As we have remarked in a previous chapter, this school, commenced by Manning at Warren in 1764, was for a long time connected with the College or University. In 1810 the corporation erected a brick building for its accommodation, at an expense of fifteen hundred dollars.

meeting-house in Providence, from Prov. 1: 29, and in the afternoon from Luke 16: 31, in Mr. Snow's meeting-house. In the evening preached in the Baptist meeting-house at the Mills, which is about eleven miles from Providence, from Phil. 1: 21. Mon., 7. Set out from Nath'l. Green's in Coventry, where I lodged, and got that day to Obadiah Stark's in Colchester, where we lodged, viz.: David Howell and myself, who is going with me to the Jerseys. Tues., 8. Went through Haddam, Durham, and to Wallingford, where we lodged at Mr. Johnson's, the tavern keeper. Wednes., 9. Attended Commencement in New Haven, when and where we had Master's degrees conferred upon us by President Daggett.

The *Providence Gazette* gives the following account of this Commencement: —

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 5, 1772.

On Wednesday, the 2d instant, was celebrated the anniversary Commencement of the College in this town. The gentlemen concerned in the business of the day, walked from the College Hall to the Rev. Joseph Snow's meeting-house. After prayer by the President, a Salutatory oration was pronounced, in Latin, by Mr. Russell; next the Intermediate oration, by Mr. Howell, upon History, and then a Soliloquy by Mr. Appleton, on Solitude; which was succeeded by an oration on Agriculture, and the Pleasures of a Country Life, by Mr. Harris; and an oration, the subject, Pride, by Mr. Greene, concluded the exercises of the forenoon.

Mr. Varnum, one of the candidates for a Master's degree, first spoke in the afternoon, upon the Origin, Nature, and Design of Civil Government. Then followed a Latin Exegesis, by Mr. Howell, in support of this Thesis:—"Miracula extitisse humano testimonio probari potest;" which was opposed by Messrs. Appleton, Greene, and David. Next, Mr. Stites, another candidate for a Master's degree, spoke an oration, the topic, Female Education:—After which the following young gentlemen were admitted to the degree of A. B., viz.: Joseph Appleton, Ebenezer David, Benjamin Greene, Joseph Harris, Elias Howell, and Joseph Dolbeare Russell.

Ad eundem, Jonathan Williams, of Harvard College. To the degree of A. M., were admitted Joseph Eaton, William Rogers, Richard Stites, Charles Thompson, James Mitchel Varnum, and William Williams. Ad eundem, the Rev. Erasmus Kelly, of Philadelphia College; and the Rev. John Ryland, Jr., of Northampton, in England, to the honorary degree of A. M.

After the degrees were conferred, Mr. David pronounced the Valedictory oration, upon the Incomparable Advantages of Religion. The President then gave the Bachelors a charge, with great solemnity, and concluded with prayer.

During the exercises, a profound attention was given by a sensible, crowded, and polite assembly. The candor and satisfaction which appeared in every countenance,

animated the young performers emulously to contend for that universal applause which they had the honor to receive.

Concerning the members of this graduating class but little is now known. Appleton was from Ipswich, Massachusetts. He became a clergyman, and died in 1795. Greene was from Bristol; he died in 1824. Harris was from Smithfield; he died in 1823. Howell was from Egg Harbor, New Jersey, being a relative of Hon. Judge Howell. Russell was from Providence. His father, Joseph Dolbeare Russell, appears under date of Newport, May, 1771, as a donor of books to the College Library. David, the valedictorian, was from Philadelphia. While a student in college, he was converted. After graduating he lived in Newport where he joined the Seventh Day Baptist church, and the year following he was ordained as a minister of that faith and order. During the war he was a Chaplain in the American Army, and was highly esteemed for his talents, piety, and zeal. He died in Pennsylvania while in the service, on the 19th of March, 1778.

At the meeting of the Corporation, which was fully attended, it was

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Corporation that some suitable application be made to Great Britain for further assistance for this Institution.

Voted, That the Honorable the Chancellor, Honorable Darius Sessions, the Reverend President, Doct. Jabez Bowen, and Mr. Nicholas Brown, be a committee to consider who may be a proper person to solicit donations in Europe; and if the Reverend President should be thought most suitable for the purpose, then to consider by whom the place of President may be supplied during his absence, and to consult such person upon the affair, and to lay their proceedings before the Corporation at their adjournment.

The need of funds must indeed have been urgent to have suggested the temporary absence in England of the head of the College, and the Pastor of the church at this juncture of affairs.

The following letter, addressed to the Rev. John Ryland, gives an account of the greatest donation the Library had at that time received; namely, the works of the Rev. Dr. John Gill, the distinguished commentator, and fifty-two folio volumes of the Fathers, presented through

Dr. Gill's executors. From this letter we learn that Manning was now receiving from the College a salary of £67 13s. 6d. The Corporation, it will be remembered, at the special meeting held in Warren, April 2, 1770, voted him a salary of £100 lawful money. The church in Providence also voted him a salary of £50; thus making a total of \$500. In addition to this he had the use of the "President's House," which was built in connection with the College edifice, and also what he could realize from his "Latin School."

PROVIDENCE, NOV. 12, 1772.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

I have not received an answer to mine of May 19th, 1772, yet am not willing to let this opportunity pass without a line. The Faculty conferred the degree of A. M., at our last Commencement on your son, the Rev. John Ryland, Jun.; but through my hurry, and absence from home since Commencement, I have not got his diploma written, and must therefore omit sending it until my next. Those other gentlemen you mentioned did not receive their degrees; the Faculty chose to know whether they have been consulted personally, and wish to receive the honors of our College; otherwise it might do us hurt instead of service. What suggested this reflection, in part, was a paragraph in a letter from Mr. Wallin of London to Mr. Backus, which I saw, in which he seemed to insinuate that we had been too lavish of our honors. If these gentlemen would accept diplomas from us, we should give them with pleasure; but we do not choose to give them to those who would not thank us for them, as I think has been the case with some even on your side of the water.

With this I send you a catalogue¹ of those who have received the honors of the College from the first. Our last Commencement, I believe, acquired us considerable reputation amongst the *literati* in New England; and had we not to combat with the inveterate enmity of the New England clergy, it would have added to the number of our scholars; but they take unwearied pains to prevent any from coming if possible, and do not stick at the method of carrying their points; but, thank God, *they* don't govern the world.

Last month I returned from a journey through the western provinces, as far as Philadelphia. I found religion at an ebb in those churches in general, as is the case through the most of New England. Virginia is still in a flame, and hundreds are hopefully turning to God. I attended the Association at New York, and we had a very comfortable season. I herewith send you an Association letter.

¹ This was the first "triennial catalogue," to which Dr. Stiles alludes in his diary. No copy of it, to the writer's knowledge, has been preserved.

I should be glad to know in what sense you give the five guineas which I have been directed to call upon you for annually. The reason is this: I have always rendered an account of it to the Corporation as a part of my salary from the College, which is £67 13s. 4d. sterling, annually, and some of the members have found fault with me for so doing, alleging that, as my salary is inadequate, I ought to consider it as a free gift, or so much over the above sum; but this I would by no means do without an explicit account of your intention in the donation, according to which I shall be governed, and therefore I pray you to resolve me in this matter.

By the last ship we received the works of the great and good Dr. Gill, with fifty-two folio volumes of the Fathers, etc., the gift of Messrs. George Keith and John Gill, the Doctor's executors. This is by far the greatest donation our little Library has yet had; but I hope their generous example will be followed by others on your side of the Atlantic. Do you think it would be worth while for an American Indian, as we are generally deemed, to visit England, on the errand of collecting some more money for our College? For we really need it. I have been mentioned, if my place in the interim could be supplied, for this purpose, provided the prospect promised anything worth while.¹ But the inattention of the Baptists to their own interests disheartens me greatly.

I have written two letters to Dr. Stennett since I have had an answer, and I am afraid I have tired that good man with my nonsense, and that my letters have been mislaid or intercepted. Pray, have you heard of the Doctor's being addressed by Dr. Chauncey, of Boston, with a design to alienate him from the cause of the New England Baptists, by sending him reproachful accounts of them? I was told by one of our brethren this was suspected to be the case, from some extraordinary steps taken by that society. If that should be the case I should be glad to know; and if you are intimate with the Doctor, you may probably know through him. A minister of reputation gave me this hint but a few days past, or I would not have mentioned it, supposing them incapable of so low an artifice. I am told another² of my first class is to preach on trial next Lord's Day, which will make three of that class in the ministry.

With great respect, I am, sir, yours to serve,

JAMES MANNING.

The President again alludes to "the inveterate enmity of the New England clergy" towards the College, who, he states, took "unwearied

¹ The President here refers to the vote of the Corporation passed at the recent meeting in September.

² William Williams, now teaching at Warren.

pains to prevent scholars" from entering the Institution, and did not "stick at the method for carrying their points." But, he adds in righteous indignation, "THANK GOD, THEY DON'T GOVERN THE WORLD." The following is another letter to the Rev. Dr. Stennett:—

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 13, 1772.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

As I have sent two or three letters since receiving one from you, I should not now write, as I have nothing of importance to communicate, had not the Rev. Isaac Backus, of Middleborough, requested me, on the following account: He has been up to Ashfield not long since, and found that the Congregational clergy there, as well as elsewhere, have been very busy in collecting all the scandalous reports they can hear of; and as they think, from some circumstances, sending them to Dr. Chauncey, of Boston, in order to transmit the same to you, to prevent you from interesting yourself in their cause. I confess this is a suggestion which would seem to flow from a bad heart, destitute of charity, to a person who is acquainted only with the fair side of their character, but to those who are conversant with them in New England, that they should conceive such a design is far from being a thing incredible. Now if this is the case, I have authority from Mr. Backus, a man of unblemished reputation, to inform you that, so far as he could judge, from being on the spot and viewing the lands, etc., wrested from those poor Baptists, he verily thought their complaints were lighter than their grievances, and that their sufferings have been extremely great. And as Mr. Backus is appointed by the body of the Baptists in New England to collect materials for their history, he prays and doubts not but you will, through my hands, favor him with intelligence respecting this matter, by the first opportunity, that he may have it in his power to undeceive you if they have sent you these accounts.

The state of the College is much the same as when I wrote last, as to numbers, and still wants powerful friends to patronize and endow it. Messrs. Keith and Gill, the Doctor's executors, by the last ship have sent us a set of the Doctor's works, and fifty-two volumes of the Fathers, etc.; which is the greatest donation our little library has yet had.

I have visited the western provinces this fall, and find there but dead times in religion, except in Virginia, where God still continues to do wonders amongst the people; though, as of old, by instruments to the eye of human reason very weak; but God clothes them with power. I attended the Philadelphia Association, held in New York this year, and was very agreeably entertained with the company of a number of my fellow-servants, who seem zealous to promote the Redeemer's kingdom. One of them, Mr. David Jones, has been the last summer visiting and preaching to the western tribes of Indians between the Ohio and Mississippi; and, like an apostle amongst the

Gentiles, was to set out on the first of this month, at his own charges to pay his interpreter, and spend the winter among the natives. He says they give ear to the Gospel, and importuned him to come again. He thinks there is a great prospect of many turning to God amongst them; and who knows but they may? I believe it is the first instance of the Baptists going among them for that purpose. The Association was highly pleased with the accounts he gave, and recommended it to the churches to set on foot a collection for him; but I fear he must exhaust his own little pittance, notwithstanding what they will do; for public spirit is a virtue rarely found in this country amongst good people. But lest I weary your patience, I subscribe myself, sir,

Your friend and servant,

JAMES MANNING.

We close this chapter with an account of a remarkable funeral which Mr. Manning attended in Swansea, which account he himself prepared and published:—

Last Friday departed this life, in the ninety-fifth year of his age, Esek Brown, Esq., of this town. As he lived beloved he died lamented by every one who had the honor of his acquaintance. In his long and painful illness, which he bore with truly Christian fortitude and patience, his constant prayer to Almighty God was that he might enjoy the exercise of his reason, and maintain under his change a true Christian magnanimity and patience, and that God in His infinite mercy would grant him a comfortable passage from this to a life of blessedness—in all of which, we have reason to believe, God answered his requests and prayers. He has left to mourn his loss, his widow, the only wife he ever had, aged ninety-one years, and with whom he had lived sixty-nine years in happy wedlock, besides a numerous offspring, the greatest part of whom attended his funeral. He had descended from him, eleven children, one hundred and twenty-two grandchildren, one hundred and seventy-seven great-grand-children, and three great-grand-children's children, in all three hundred and thirteen. He was upwards of sixty years a regular member of the Baptist church, and a member of the House of Commons of Massachusetts Bay forty-one years. He also sustained several other offices in the town with great fidelity and honor, and among all his connections in business through life, which were numerous and remarkable, he never had an action at law either for or against him. Remarkable to relate, the coffin in which he was buried was made out of whole boards sawed out of a black cherry tree which he brought in his own hand, on horseback, from Rhode Island, and set it out in the road before his garden wall with his own hands. He was an affectionate husband, a tender parent, a kind master, a good neighbor, and what crowns all, a pious Christian. He died on the 6th, and was interred on the 10th day of December, 1772. His funeral was attended by a vast concourse of friends, old and young, and by upwards of two hundred of his offspring.

CHAPTER V.

1770-1775.

Manning's connection with the Baptist church in Providence—Oldest Baptist church in America—Founded by Roger Williams—Claims to priority of the church in Newport—Historians of the church; Stanford, Hopkins, Edwards, Hague, Caldwell, King—Erroneous statements of Dr. Whitsitt in Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia—Settlement of Providence in 1636—Winthrop's record of the baptism of Williams—Ezekiel Holliman—Church founded in 1638—Williams's baptism was by immersion—Coddington's statement to this effect—First church or society in Rhode Island Congregational—Hopkins's statement—Winthrop's reference to early religious meetings at Providence—Statement of Dr. Stiles—Hopkins's account of the formation of the Baptist church—Letter of Hugh Peters giving notice of the exclusion of the members from the church in Salem—Hopkins's account authoritative—Roger Williams minister of a Congregational church, and then of the Baptist church, from which he soon withdrew—Statements of Stanford, Edwards, Backus, and Scott—Williams's change of views—No change in his views on baptism—Believer in and earnest advocate of the distinguishing doctrines of the Baptists throughout life—Absorbed in the grand idea of founding a free colony, and in the work of converting the Indians to Christianity—Growth of the church—Chad Brown—Early controversy respecting the doctrine of Laying on of Hands—Williams, and Elders Brown, Wickenden, Dexter, and Tillinghast on one side, and Elder Olney on the other—Olney, with a few others, withdraws and founds a "Five Principle Church"—Statements of Edwards, Callender, and Backus—Account of Pardon Tillinghast and his statements—Controversy revived and compromise made in 1732—Samuel Winsor—Condition of the church in 1770, when Manning came to Providence with the College—Howland's recollections—History of the church from this time on as compiled by Stanford—Manning invited to preach for the church—Elder Winsor objects to his views in regard to Laying on of Hands and Singing in Public Worship—Views on this subject that then prevailed—Winsor withdraws with others and forms a Six Principle church in Johnston—Church applies to Gardner Thurston and Job and Russell Mason for advice—Manning appointed to preach and administer the ordinances—General meeting decides that the church in Providence, and not the seceding church in Johnston, is the original church—Manning's preaching followed by a revival—Meeting-house too small for the increased congregation—Steps taken to build a new one on a large scale, "for the public worship of Almighty God, and also for holding Commencement in"—Successive steps in the progress of the enterprise—Extracts from the records—John Brown the committee-man on building—Expense in part defrayed by a lottery—House dedicated May 23, 1775—Description of the building—Changes and additions down to the present time—Inscriptions on the bells—Engraving taken from Rippon's Register—Extract from Dr. Caldwell's Historical Discourse—Formation of the Charitable Baptist Society—Preamble by

Manning embodying the Baptist sentiment in regard to "Believer's baptism by Immersion"—Benjamin S. Stelle clerk—Statement of principles—Closing extract from Arnold's Centennial Address, delivered May 28, 1875.

THE connection of President Manning with the Baptist church in Providence was a most important event in his life, and in the history of the church, to which he gave a new and lasting impulse. It was likewise an important event in the history of the College. On this account, therefore, we devote to it a special chapter of our present work. This church, which was founded by Roger Williams, has always been regarded as the oldest Baptist church in America. Its priority in age, "has been asserted by the unanimous voice of Baptists and of others. The story has been told by father to son, and handed down, through thousands of the families of this State and land, without change. The earliest chronicles have recorded it. It has been woven into every history which was ever written of the State or of the denomination."

Such is the language of a report prepared by a committee consisting of the Rev. Dr. James N. Granger, pastor, the Rev. Dr. Alexis Caswell, afterwards President of Brown University, and Professor William Gammell. The report was read in church meeting August 25, 1850, and to the Warren Association, September 12, 1850. It was a review of a report presented to the Association in 1849, claiming for the First Baptist Church in Newport the priority in age.

On the 22d of November, 1850, the Rev. Samuel Adlam, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Newport, published a most remarkable pamphlet, entitled, "The First Church in Providence, not the oldest of the Baptists in America." In this pamphlet, and in the Associational letter of 1847, from the church of which the writer was pastor, it is claimed, that when Clarke, Coddington, and sixteen others, all Congregationalists, and most of them members of Mr. Cotton's church in Boston, settled at Portsmouth, seven miles from Newport, in the spring of 1638, they founded a Baptist church; and that this therefore is the oldest Baptist church in America. The fact that this church in Portsmouth was regarded by Cotton's church as composed of "our members," so the record reads, and that the Boston church sent a deputation

of three members¹ in 1640, remonstrating with them for communicating with Anne Hutchinson, "an excommunicated person," sufficiently disproves this claim. Newport, moreover, was not settled until May 1, 1639. The earliest date given for the Newport church by Callender, Stiles, Edwards, Backus, and others, is 1644.

The history of the First Baptist Church in Providence during the first century of its existence, is involved in more or less of obscurity, there being no contemporaneous records. It has been preserved by tradition, and by such incidental statements and allusions as come to our knowledge by accident, rather than by any special care on the part of the church itself. More than a century ago the Rev. John Stanford, then acting as pastor, gathered such minutes as at that time could be found, and incorporated them in what is called the Book of Records. This account, from 1639 to the death of Manning, written by Mr. Stanford, was published by Dr. Rippon in his Baptist Register for 1801 and 1802, with an engraving of the meeting-house. It was afterwards incorporated by Dr. Benedict in his Baptist history. On the 20th of October, 1762, the Hon. Stephen Hopkins published in the *Providence Gazette* the first number of his remarkable series of articles on "The Planting and Growth of Providence." In this number, and in succeeding numbers published in 1765, he gives a brief account of the origin and growth of the church. Being a direct descendant of William Wickenden and Thomas Hopkins, two of the original members of the church, and intimately associated with the direct descendants of Roger Williams, who died only twenty-four years before the writer of the articles was born, his statements have been accepted as authoritative. In the year 1771 the Rev. Morgan Edwards, accompanied by Mr. Moses Brown, visited all the elderly people of the place, gathering

¹The three brethren sent by the church in Boston to the Portsmouth church, were Capt. Edward Gibbons, Mr. Hibbins, and Mr. Oliver. These commissioners made their return to the church in Boston, March 16, 1640. A full account of their report is preserved in a thick quarto MS. of great value, belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was written by Capt. Robert Keyne, the founder and first Captain of the famous Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He gives the report which the several Commissioners made, in their own words. Large extracts from this MS. are published in Ellis's *Life of Anne Hutchinson*. See Sparks's *American Biography*, Vol. 16, page 328.

information and facts which he afterwards incorporated in his "Materials for a History of the Baptists in Rhode Island." This history, which now forms a part of the Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, includes an account of Roger Williams, and the church which he founded. In the year 1839, two centuries after its foundation, the Rev. Dr. William Hague, then the pastor, collected into an elaborate discourse the principal facts in regard to the origin and growth of the church, and its successive pastors. This was published, making a duodecimo volume of one hundred and ninety-two pages. It is now a rare book. In 1877 the Rev. Dr. Samuel L. Caldwell, and Prof. William Gammell, were appointed by the church a committee to prepare a sketch of its history for publication by the Warren Association. This, with illustrative notes, makes a pamphlet of twenty-three pages. Sunday, April 28, 1889, was the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the church. The discourse in the morning by the pastor, the Rev. Dr. T. Edwin Brown, the historical discourse in the afternoon by the Rev. Dr. Samuel L. Caldwell, and the other exercises, were afterwards printed, making a handsome volume of one hundred and twenty-two pages. While these sheets are passing through the press, another history appears from the ready pen of the present pastor, the Rev. Dr. Henry M. King. It is published by the American Baptist Publication Society, and is entitled, "The Mother Church." The most that can be expected of us in a work like the present, is a brief narrative from the sources here enumerated of the early history of the church, with a continuation during the ministry of President Manning.

And in the outset we allude to an article in the new edition of Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia, which a writer in the *Examiner* terms "Astonishing Baptist history," being utterly at variance with the most important facts and statements in the histories above enumerated. In an article on Baptists by the Rev. Dr. William H. Whitsitt, President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, under the division "Baptists of America," the author thus writes:—

In 1636, Roger Williams, who had been banished from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, established a community at Providence, and set up a church. He preached with

zeal and regularity until March, 1639, when it was decided to make a new departure. Williams, having become convinced of the error of Infant Baptism, concluded to obtain a rebaptism. Eleven others joined him in this step. Ezekiel Holliman baptized Williams, and then Williams baptized the rest of the company. The ceremony was most likely performed by sprinkling.¹

Dr. Whitsitt further adds : —

In 1644 Williams returned from England with a charter for the colony. It is believed that Mr. Mark Lucar came over with him. . . . In 1644 the church in Newport was organized with him as one of the most important members. This is believed to signify that they then received immersion at the hands of Lucar, and became for the first time a regular Baptist church in the sense now accepted. Probably the immersion of the Providence men followed in a short while.

Under the division "First Period of American Baptist History," Dr. Whitsitt writes : —

The earliest churches of Providence and Newport were both of the Particular Baptist persuasion, but the General Baptists shortly appeared upon the scene. In 1652 a General Baptist Church was formed at Providence by Chad Brown, Gregory Dexter, and William Wickenden, and in 1656 a similar church was established at Newport. . . . About the year 1718 the First Church in Providence, of which Williams was the founder, became extinct, and the General Baptist Church of the Browns triumphed over it.

Speaking of the General Baptists and the Particular Baptists, and the gradual triumphs of the latter over the former, Dr. Whitsitt adds respecting the First Baptist Church of Providence : —

The Gibraltar of the General Baptists, however, still held out; the church in Providence had not yet been directly assailed. In 1770 the labor of taking this stronghold was begun. Manning succeeded to admiration; in due time Samuel Winsor retired to Johnston with the original church, and the present First Baptist Church of Providence was founded in 1771.

The generally received date of the settlement of Providence is June, 1636. The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the planting of the

¹ This statement of Dr. Whitsitt is simply an inference, of course, from the alleged later introduction of immersion among the English Baptists.

town was celebrated June 24, 1886, when an historical discourse was delivered in the First Baptist Meeting-house by the Honorable Judge Durfee, a graduate of Brown University, in the class of 1846.

The first distinct record of any organic action as a church, appears in Winthrop's Journal, to which authoritative reference is made in all matters pertaining to early New England history. The writer was a warm personal friend of Williams, and a frequent correspondent after his banishment; he knew therefore the facts in the case. Under date of March 16, 1639, we find the following:—

At Providence things grew still worse; for a sister of Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of Scott, being infected with Anabaptistry, and going *last year* to live at Providence, Mr. Williams was taken (or rather emboldened) by her, to make open profession thereof, and accordingly was rebaptized by one Holyman,¹ a poor man late of Salem. Then Mr. Williams rebaptized him and some ten more. They also denied the baptizing of infants.

The exact date of this important event is not known. It is generally given as "some time earlier than March, 1639." The term *last*

¹ The name is usually spelled Holliman. Why Winthrop should call him "a poor man late of Salem," and Hubbard "a mean fellow," does not appear. Probably it was on account of his so called heretical opinions. In the Records of the General Court of Massachusetts for the year 1638, are the following words, as quoted by Backus:—"Ezekiel Holliman, appearing upon summons, because he did not frequent the public assemblies, and for seducing many, was referred by the Court to the ministers for conviction." This was the year when he came to Providence and became one of the original thirteen proprietors. This, too, was the probable year of the formation of the Baptist church. Evidently he was a man of ability and influence, or he would not have been appointed by the Providence brethren to take the initiatory step in so important a matter as this new baptism. An ordinary man would hardly have been accused by the Massachusetts Court of "seducing many." Mr. Holliman eventually removed to Warwick, where he held positions of trust, being for many years Commissioner from that town. He was born, according to Savage, in Tring, Hertfordshire, England. He married for his second wife Mary, widow of Isaac Sweet. She was a member of the church in Salem, from which she was excluded, as appears from the letter of Hugh Peters, pastor, dated July 1, 1639. He was one of the founders of Dedham, Massachusetts. Winthrop's Journal, under date of September 1, 1635, states that a town was then begun above the falls in Charles river. That was the day when twelve persons assembled for the first time as a town meeting. That town was Dedham. The next year, November, 1636, their numbers had increased to nineteen. They then formed the town Covenant, so called, and petitioned the General Court for an enlargement of their former grant. Worthington, in his history of Dedham, gives the names of these nineteen petitioners, among whom was Ezekiel Holliman. The next year, 1637, he obtained leave to sell his lots. His name does not appear again upon the Dedham town records.

year used by Winthrop, strictly speaking, would be the year between March 25, 1637, and March 25, 1638, as the year then commenced on the 25th of March, and Winthrop's entry is dated March 16, 1639. Mrs. Hutchinson, according to the statement of Dr. Ellis, her biographer, was excommunicated from Mr. Cotton's church on the 22d of March, 1638. She left Boston on the 28th of the month for Braintree, and from thence proceeded to Providence, where she joined Clarke, Coddington, and others, for their new destination at Portsmouth, near Newport. The year 1638, therefore, may fairly be assumed as the date of the founding of the church, although 1639 is the date which the church has been accustomed to take.

That this rebaptism of Williams and his associates was IMMERSION has never, to the writer's knowledge, been questioned, except in the case of Dr. Whitsitt, who states that "the ceremony was most likely performed by sprinkling." Governor Coddington, who was the leading man among the Newport colonists, was at Providence with Clarke and others in 1638. It was through the influence of Williams with the Indians that he was enabled to obtain from them a deed of Aquidneck, now the Island of Rhode Island. Coddington was at that time a prominent member of the Boston church. Eventually he joined the Quakers; and he was hence displeased with Williams on account of his controversy with George Fox. In a letter dated June 25, 1677, and published in "New England Fire Brand Quenched," he thus writes concerning the founder of the Baptist church:—"I have known him about fifty years, a mere weathercock, constant only in unconstancy. . . . One time for water-baptism, men and women must be PLUNGED INTO THE WATER; and then throw it all down again."

It is stated by Dr. Caldwell and others that there was no organization for religious purposes until more than two years after the date of the first settlement. Hopkins, however, who was in a position to know the facts, states to the contrary. In his first article on Providence, after speaking of the landing of Roger Williams and his companions on a neck of land lying between the mouths of Pawtucket and Moshassuck rivers, he thus writes:—

Upon this neck of land, given them by the beneficent Sachem (Canonicus), they settled themselves in the best manner their very poor, and truly deplorable circumstances would admit of; being quite destitute of every necessary, as well as conveniency of life, and entirely cut off from all communication with every part of mankind, except the savages. Even those with whom they had so lately left their native country for the same cause of religion, were now become their greatest persecutors and most cruel enemies. This settlement was the feeble beginning of the third New England colony, first planted in the year 1634,¹ by the renowned and worthy Mr. Roger Williams and his twelve poor suffering companions, namely, John Throckmorton, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukely Westcott, John Greene, Thomas Olney, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston, and Ezekiel Holliman.

This small company Mr. Williams formed into a church, and on that occasion piously observed to his brethren, that the Providence of God had found out a place for them among savages, where they might peaceably worship God according to their consciences; a privilege which had been denied them in all the Christian countries they had ever been in. In thankfulness for this greatest of blessings, he named the place where they were settled, PROVIDENCE. As they were all fully sensible of the horrid mischiefs and atrocious sin of persecution, they established an universal liberty of conscience, as well for all others who should come and settle with them, as for themselves. And this natural right of all mankind has been inviolably maintained throughout the Colony to this day. Liberty of conscience being settled in this, and denied in the two neighboring colonies, soon brought more of those to join with them, whose faith did not exactly agree with the fixed standards there; and in a short time afterwards there were added to the church at Providence, Robert Williams, John Smith, Hugh Bewit, William Wickenden, John Field, Thomas Hopkins, and William Hawkins.

The little church which Mr. Hopkins here states Williams formed, was of course a Congregational church. No records, if they had any, have been preserved. Most of the company were members of the church in Salem, and they still considered themselves, says the historian Upham, "the minister of the Salem church, and a chosen band of his

¹ This date should be 1636. Consequently the Colony was the fourth, and not the third. The same mistake was made by Callender, and also by Hubbard. These writers were misled doubtless by the language of Williams in his deed of 1661, in which he speaks of negotiations with the Narragansett Sachems in 1634, and in 1635. Theodore Foster, whose "Materials for a History of Rhode Island" are published in the seventh volume of the "Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society" together with Hopkins's "Historical Account of the Planting and Growth of Providence," gives the true date of the settlement.

faithful flock." Winthrop in his journal for December, 1638, speaks of "religious meetings" held at Providence "upon the week days," as well as on Sunday. These meetings were held at Roger Williams's house. The Rev. Dr. Stiles, who was pastor of the Second Congregational church in Newport from 1755 until 1776, in a paper on file in the archives of the church, entitled "Memoirs of transactions in procuring a charter from the General Assembly, 1771," thus writes respecting this church and its successor:—

The first church in Rhode Island was Congregational, and settled here in 1636, under Rev. Roger Williams, who administered the Lord's Supper and the Baptism of Infants by sprinkling for the first three years; till in 1639 he and his church renounced their baptism, and were baptized by plunging, Brother Holliman first plunging Mr. Williams, and then Mr. Williams in turn the rest, or most of them.

Concerning the formation of the Baptist church, Mr. Hopkins writes in the columns of the *Providence Gazette* for 1765 as follows:—

The first church formed at Providence by Mr. Williams and others, seems to have been on the model of the Congregational churches in the other New England colonies. But it did not long continue in this form, for most of its members very soon embraced the principles and practices of the Baptists; and some time earlier than 1639, gathered and formed a church at Providence of that society, the principal members¹ of which were William Wickenden, the first elder, Chad Brown, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, Ezekiel Holliman, Stukeley Westcott, etc. That this church was begun as early as I have placed it, is evident from a letter of the famous Hugh Peters, minister of Salem, to the church at Dorchester, dated the first of the fifth month (July 1st), 1639, in which he writes:²—

REVEREND AND DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD:

We thought it our bounden duty to acquaint you with the names of such persons as have had the great censure passed upon them in this our church, with the reasons thereof. . . . Roger Williams, and his wife, John Throckmorton, and his wife, Thomas Olney, and his wife, Stukeley Westcott, and his wife, Mary Holliman, and

¹ Mr. Williams's name is not here mentioned by Governor Hopkins. It was taken for granted, of course, that he was the leader in this movement. Governor Winthrop so states it in his Journal. So also Callender, Stiles, Edwards, Backus, and other early writers.

² This letter is published in full in Knowles's "Memoir of Roger Williams," pages 176 and 177.

widow Reeves. These wholly refused to hear the church, denying it, and all the churches in the Bay, to be true churches; and except two, are all rebaptized.

Yours in the Lord Jesus,

HUGH PETERS.

There seems to have been but one society or meeting of the Baptists, formed in the English nation, before this at Providence, and that was in London, under the pastoral care of Mr. John Spilsbury, on the 12th of September, 1633. The second in England was in 1639, gathered by Mr. Greene, and others. This first church at Providence, hath from its beginning kept itself in repute, and maintained its discipline, so as to avoid scandal, or schism, to this day; hath always been, and still is a numerous congregation, and in which I have with pleasure observed, very lately, sundry descendants from each of the above named founders, except Holliman.

Statements like these respecting the origin and continuity of the First Baptist Church, made by the leading man of his time, and a member of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, must have weight in the minds of all thoughtful readers. When he published his "Historical Account of the Planting and Growth of Providence," he had nearly reached the age of three-score years. He himself, as has already been stated, was a direct descendant of Wickenden and Hopkins, the former an elder in the Baptist church, and the latter a member of the original Congregational church. The pastor of the Baptist church, Samuel Winsor, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, was the great grandson, on his mother's side, of Roger Williams. The idea that this church seceded in 1652, on account of the doctrine of Laying on of Hands, and that the original church founded by Williams, under the leadership of Thomas Olney, afterwards "went to pieces," according to the fanciful theories of some recent writers, would seem in view of Hopkins's account simply preposterous. In point of fact, Olney and a few others withdrew from the original body about the year 1654, as we shall see further on.

Roger Williams, it will thus be seen, was the minister of the Congregational church in Salem, and the minister of those who came with him from Salem to Providence. He organized a Baptist church some two or three years after the settlement of the town, and is therefore

justly regarded as its founder. How long he retained his connection with the church can never, from the want of records, be definitely determined. Stanford, who in 1788 made up what are called the RECORDS, says that he "held his pastoral office about four years, and then resigned the same to Mr. Brown and Mr. Wickenden, and went to England to solicit the first charter." Morgan Edwards says the first minister and founder of the church "was Roger Williams. He became their minister at the time they were settled in 1638, but in a few years resigned the care thereof to Rev. Messrs. Brown and Wickenden."¹ Mr. Edwards, it may be observed, gives 1638 as the date of the formation of the church. Backus, in his "History of the Baptists in New England,"² says, "But the unruly passions of some among them, with other things, caused such scruples in Williams's mind, in about four months, that he refrained from administering or partaking of special ordinances in any church ever after, as long as he lived, though he would preach the gospel, and join in social worship with such as agreed with him, all his days." This is more in accord with the statement made by Richard Scott, a neighbor of Williams for more than forty years. He was at first a Baptist, but afterwards joined the Quakers. In a somewhat unfriendly letter,³ growing out of the George Fox controversy, he thus writes:—

I walked with him in the Baptist's way about three or four months, in which time he brake from the Society, and declared at large the ground and reason for it; that their baptism could not be right because it was not administered by an apostle. After that he set upon a way of seeking, with two or three of them that had dissented with him, by way of preaching and praying.

Winthrop, under date of July, 1639, writes that Williams soon "came to question his second baptism, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles, otherwise than by the ministers of England, whom he judged to be ill authority."

¹ Materials for a History of the Baptists in Rhode Island. See "Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society," Vol. VI., page 316.

² Edition of 1871, Vol. 2, page 490.

³ See "New England Fire Brand Quenched," Part II., page 247.

From these various testimonies, and the sentiments expressed in his "Hireling Ministry," a little work published in 1652, it is evident that Williams, soon after the organization of the Church, experienced a change in his religious views. He became, in the language of Scott a Seeker; "a term," says Professor Gammell,¹ not "inaptly applied to those, who, in any age of the Church, become dissatisfied with its prevailing creeds and institutions, and seek for more congenial views of truth, or a faith better adapted to their spiritual wants. He regarded all the churches of Christendom as, in some sense, in a state of apostasy, and the clergy of every name, as having fallen from their priestly office, and lost their true apostolic authority, and he looked for a new commission to be given from Heaven, to restore the sacred succession of apostles, and re-establish on their primitive basis, the ordinances of the gospel." His mind, like the minds of many other good men of his day, became blind, as Professor Knowles expresses it, "by excess of light," while gazing at the glorious vision of the Apocalypse; and he formed the conclusion that in the disastrous Antichristian apostasy, the general turmoil of the times, and the upheaval of the foundations of government and institutions, the true ministry and the whole organization of the church had gone to ruin; from which, however, he believed they would be restored, and the Savior's Kingdom would come on earth. Such also were the views of his friend, Sir Henry Vane, the great English statesman.

Notwithstanding this change in his religious sentiments, Williams still believed in the doctrine of "Believers' Baptism by Immersion." In his "Christenings make not Christians," a discourse published in 1645, he speaks of a "baptism or washing in rivers, as the first Christians and the Lord Jesus himself did." And in a letter to his friend, Governor Winthrop,² dated December 10, 1649, more than ten years after his immersion, he thus writes: —

At Seekonk a great many have concurred with Mr. John Clarke and our Providence men about the point of a new baptism, and the manner by dipping; and Mr. John

¹ Life of Roger Williams, page 200. See Sparks's American Biography. 2d series, Vol. IV.

² Publications of the Narragansett Club. Vol. VI., page 188.

Clarke hath been there lately (and Mr. Lucar), and hath dipped them. I believe their practice comes nearer the first practice of our great Founder Christ Jesus, than other practices of religion do; and yet I have not satisfaction neither in the authority by which it is done, nor in the manner, nor in the prophecies concerning the rising of Christ's Kingdom after the desolations of Rome, etc.

In regard to the other great doctrines held by the Baptists of his day, Liberty of Conscience, or Soul Liberty, the entire Separation of Church and State, the Supreme Headship of Christ in all spiritual matters, Regeneration through the Agency of the Holy Spirit, and a hearty belief in the Bible as God's Divinely inspired and miraculously preserved Word, and an all sufficient Rule for Faith and Practice, he was throughout life a sincere believer in them all and an earnest advocate of them, as his letters and published works abundantly show.

In point of fact Williams was too much absorbed in the grand idea now growing in his mind, of founding a Colony, the first in the civilized world on the principles of civil and religious freedom, to give that attention to the church as pastor and preacher which he had been accustomed to give. Moreover his great mission, the one in the outset prominent in the minds of the early settlers of Massachusetts Bay, as their charter and other documents show, was the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. For this he labored for more than half a century, with a perseverance, a disinterestedness, and a zeal, almost without a parallel in the annals of missionary effort.¹ By the whole tenor of his life and conduct, says Callender,² "he appears to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, and a most pious and heavenly minded soul." In view of all the facts here stated, the First Baptist Church may justly pride itself on its early origin, and on its connection with the illustrious Williams as its founder and first pastor.

But though Williams soon relinquished the pastoral oversight of the church, devoting himself mainly to missionary efforts, and the develop-

¹ See the writer's address before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, delivered in Philadelphia, May 27, 1892, and published in the Home Mission Monthly for October, 1892. The address is entitled, "Roger Williams, the Pioneer Missionary to the Indians."

² Century Discourse, delivered March 24, 1738. See "Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society," Vol. IV.

ment of a Colony or State, the original members, most of them, remained, and others were from time to time added to their number. The names of Chad Brown, William Wickenden, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, and Pardon Tillinghast, have come down to us as those who served as elders. They were an unpaid ministry having gifts of "prophesying;" and they fulfilled the conditions required of them. The town was for many years a poor, straggling hamlet, consisting of less than one hundred houses or log cabins even as late as 1676, when all but five were burned by the Indians during King Philip's war.¹ Among these elders, tradition has given to Brown the priority, though the others were contemporaries with him. He was unquestionably a man of superior abilities, professing practical wisdom and plain common sense; and he served as arbiter in many of the difficulties occurring in the town. His house-lot, as has already been stated, included a part of the present College grounds. Many years after his death, which the colonists regarded as a public calamity, Williams wrote of him as "that noble spirit now with God." In the writer's former life of Manning, thirty-three pages are devoted to an account of him and his descendants, one of whom, James Brown, was also an elder in the church.

During the eldership of Chad Brown, there appears to have originated a religious controversy, which was long agitated in the town, and indeed throughout the Colony. It had reference to the "Laying on of Hands," mentioned in the Sixth Chapter of Hebrews; a doctrine which prevailed in the Providence church for more than a century. Roger Williams was a believer in the doctrine, referring to it in his published works² as a "light of the first institution," and "one of the foundations of the Christian religion." The principal leaders in this controversy were Brown, Wickenden, Dexter, and Tillinghast, on the one side, and Olney, who favored giving up the doctrine altogether,

¹ Theodore Foster in his "Materials for a History of Rhode Island," states "that when the war of 1675 broke out, there were near an hundred houses in Providence, which were destroyed, except five which were garrisoned, when the town was burnt, in the war, on the 29th day of March, 1676."

² Bloudy Tenent, 1643, page 21. Hireling Ministry, 1652, page 6.

on the other. Not succeeding in carrying his point, he with a few others withdrew from the church and formed a new one, calling it the "Five Principle Baptist Church." There are no records extant upon the subject, and our only sources of information are the statements of Comer, Callender, Edwards, and Backus. Edwards thus states the case, as he received it from Elder Winsor and others in 1771: —

Some divisions have taken place in this church. The first was about the year 1654, on account of the Laying on of Hands. Some were for banishing it entirely, among whom Rev. Thomas Olney was the chief, who, with a few more, withdrew and formed themselves into a distinct church, distinguished by the name of Five Point Baptist, and the first of the name in the Province. It continued in being to 1715, when Mr. Olney¹ resigned the care of it, and soon after it ceased to exist.

It is not certain when the active ministry of Pardon Tillinghast commenced. He was born in England in 1622, and admitted to citizenship in Providence, January 19, 1646,² receiving twenty-five acres of land. He was then in his twenty-fifth year. He lived to be ninety-six, continuing his ministry until his death in 1718. A fine monument has recently been erected to his memory on his burial lot on Benefit Street, near the corner of Transit Street. Roger Williams speaks of him in 1672 as "a leading man among the people called Baptists, at Providence."³ Gov. Joseph Jenckes writes of him in 1730 as "a man exemplary for his doctrine, as well as of an unblemished character."⁴ An original letter of his, dated July, 1681,⁵ shows that the church of which he was the elder, was at that time "Six Principle." It was during his ministry, and after the church had lived without one for

¹ Thomas Olney, Jun. He died, it is stated, "June 11, 1722, and was buried in his own field." His father, who was one of the original members of the church, died in 1682. Callender, writing in 1738, gives substantially the same account of this division. His statement is as follows:—"About the year 1653 or 1654, there was a division in the Baptist Church at Providence, about the rite of Laying on of Hands, which some pleaded for as essentially necessary to church communion and the others would leave indifferent. Hereupon they walked in two churches, one under Mr. Chad Brown, Mr. Wickenden, etc., and the other under Mr. Thomas Olney; but Laying on of Hands at length generally prevailed." The churches holding to this rite were called "Six Principle Churches," and they are so called to this day.

² Staples. *Annals of Providence*, page 61.

³ Geo. Fox. *Publications of the Narragansett Club*. Vol. V., page 320.

⁴ Backus. *History of the Baptists*, edition of 1871, Vol. II., page 23.

⁵ Guild. *Documentary History of Brown University*, page 208.

more than sixty years, that we first hear of a meeting-house, which was built at his expense, and given by him to the church in a deed dated April 11, 1711.¹ This house stood on the west side of North Main Street, near Smith Street, and is said to have been "in the shape of a hay-cap, with a fire-place in the middle, the smoke escaping from a hole in the roof."²

It was during the ministry of Ebenezer Jenckes, a brother of the Governor, and James Brown, a grandson of Chad, that the more liberal sentiment of the church asserted itself in regard to Laying on of Hands, about which there had been in previous years so much controversy. A revival of religion was in progress in Newport, and Mr. John Walton, a young minister of liberal education, and a physician, had been invited to preach in Providence, with the hope of promoting one here also. He accepted the invitation; but he was found ready not only to receive contributions for his support, as Governor Jenckes recommended, but he was also found guilty of the innovation of the "singing of Psalms," and the heresy of receiving to communion those who were "not under hands." Samuel Winsor, a grandson of Roger Williams and a deacon in the church, was the leader of the rigid party. At first, according to Backus,³ there was a separation. A compromise was finally effected, and an agreement was signed by twenty-four of the prominent members of the church allowing the "Six Principles" to be the bonds of communion. This was May 25, 1732. Elder Brown died in October following, and Winsor's party ordained him as Brown's successor in the ministry. An account of the revival of the old controversy, with the names of those who signed the covenant, is given in the writer's sketch of James Brown.⁴

Such was the Baptist church at the time of Manning's arrival in Providence, May 4, 1770. It was one hundred and thirty-two years

¹ The deed was not recorded until April 22, 1749. In a note or memorandum the donor, referring to the doctrine of Laying on of Hands mentioned in the deed, states that "the church of which he was the Elder was Six Principle." Mr. Tillinghast appears to have been a strenuous advocate of this doctrine.

² Knowles. *Memoir of Roger Williams*, page 175.

³ *History of the Baptists*. Edition of 1871, Vol. II., pages 22-23.

⁴ *Manning and Brown University*, 1864, pages 152-155.

old dating from 1638; and yet, in a population of four thousand inhabitants, with no other rival church or society for nearly a century,¹ it had but one hundred and eighteen members, many of them living in Johnston, Pawtucket, and other places remote from their house of worship. It had never paid its ministers for their services, and on principle was opposed to such a procedure. It was still vigorous for the doctrine of Laying on of Hands, in accordance with the views of its elders or pastors from the beginning; and it refused communion to those who did not practice such doctrine. It held those liable to discipline who should "join in prayer without the bounds of the church," in accordance with the "agreement" of May 25, 1732. It discarded singing and music in public worship after the manner of the Quakers, and the early Baptists in England. And it was Arminian in sentiment, holding with the General Baptists to the doctrine of universal redemption.

The celebrated antiquary, John Howland, came to Providence in April, 1770, just one month before Manning. He was then in his thirteenth year. Here he spent the remaining years of his protracted and useful life, dying in 1854, at the age of ninety-seven. He was always a keen observer of men and things, and in his "Life and Recollections" are recorded many events of local interest and value. Concerning the house and worship of the Baptist church at this time, he thus writes:—

When I came to Providence there were five religious societies here. One was the old Arminian Baptist. Their meeting-house was about forty feet square, and stood on the lot now forming the corner of North Main and Smith Streets. At high water the tide flowed nearly up to the west end of the building. There were no pews.² From the front door opening on Main Street, an aisle extended to the pulpit, which was raised three or

¹ The Society of Friends in Providence, according to Staples, was organized about the year 1704, when a meeting-house was erected for their worship. The First Congregational Society was formed about the year 1720; in 1723 their house of worship was erected on the corner of College and Benefit Streets. St. John's Episcopal Church was formed about the year 1722; in 1723 a house of worship was erected on the spot where St. John's Church now stands. Mr. Snow's meeting, now the Beneficent Congregational Church, was formed in 1743, by a separation [from Mr. Cotton's church, or the First Congregational.

² This statement appears to be true only in part. There are papers, says Dr. Caldwell, among the files of the church, showing that in June, 1759, eleven years previous to the time Howland describes, there was an appraisal or sale of seventeen pews valued at £1,357.

four steps from the floor. On each side of the aisle benches extended north and south to the walls of the house, and there were benches in the gallery, which was entered by narrow stairs from a door on the south side of the house. It appears that it never had been the practice to settle an ordained minister over any particular church or society.¹ In this they resembled the Quakers. As settlements extended into the country, and other places had been procured where the neighbors could attend, one of the elders nearest the place usually preached. The elders were generally farmers, and had no salary or any other means of support but their own labor. They officiated in any place where there was a gathering, and the people did not know who was to speak till they saw one begin. They did not approve of singing, and never practised it in public worship. When more than one elder was present and the first had exhausted himself, he would say, "there is time and space left if any one has further to offer." In that case another and another would offer what he had to say; so there was no set time for closing the meeting. As Elder Winsor's home was in Providence,² he generally appeared in his place every Sunday, so that this came to be called Elder Winsor's meeting. The house could not contain a large congregation, nor did the number present seem to require a larger house as they were not crowded, though many of them came in from the neighboring towns on horseback with women behind them on pillions.

The time had now come for advance and enlargement. "A new life within the church," says Dr. Caldwell, "responded to a new life outside; the old period closes and a new one begins; the church of Manning and his successors take the place of the church of Winsor and his predecessors. And that means a great change."

The regular church records begin in April, 1775, preceded by a list of members admitted from December, 1774, during the great revival, to June 30, 1782. Prefixed to these records is a "History of the Baptist Church of Christ in Providence, Rhode Island, being the oldest Baptist Church in America." This is a brief summary of such events as could be collected respecting the history of the church for one hundred and fifty years from its foundation. It was prepared in 1789, as has already

¹ Mr. Howland is in error so far as relates to the Baptist church in Providence. Their pastors, or elders, were severally ordained, the dates of their ordinations being given in the records and history of the church. The pastor in 1770, Samuel Winsor, Jr., was ordained June 21, 1759.

² His home was really in Johnston, three miles from the place of meeting. This was formerly a part of Providence, but it was incorporated as a separate township in March, 1759. See Rhode Island Census for 1885.

been stated, by the Rev. John Stanford, a preacher from England, who served as temporary pastor from March, 1788, to September, 1789. Mr. Stanford's original manuscript of twenty folio pages is preserved in the archives of the Society. That portion of the narrative which gives the details of Manning's connection with the church, we shall now freely use without apology, interweaving it with the present narrative in such form as may seem desirable.

Rev. Samuel Winsor, Jr., was born November 1, 1722, in the township of Providence, and was ordained June 21, 1759. He continued his office with ease and some success till towards the year 1770, when he made repeated complaints to the church, that the duty of his office was too heavy for him, considering the remote situation of his dwelling from town. He constantly urged the church to provide help in the ministry, as he was not able to serve them any longer in that capacity, without doing injury to his family, which they could not desire."¹

Divine Providence had so ordered, that the Rev. James Manning, President of the Rhode Island College, was likely to remove from Warren to settle with the College in this town; and which was esteemed favorable to the wishes of Mr. Winsor and the church. However, at this juncture, Mr. John Sutton, minister, on his way from Nova Scotia to the Jerseys, arrived at Newport; when Mr. Winsor and the church invited him to preach as an assistant for six months; which he did to good acceptance, and then pursued his journey.

It must have been in November, 1769, when Mr. Sutton arrived at Newport on his way to Nova Scotia, and was invited by Mr. Winsor and the Church to preach as an assistant. A special meeting of the Corporation was held at Newport on the 14th of this month, when it was voted, "that the College edifice be at Providence." President Manning was at this meeting, as also Samuel Winsor, and the brothers, Nicholas and Joseph Brown. As a matter of course, it was expected from the vote, that the College would now be removed from Warren, and that Manning would accompany it to Providence. Mr. Winsor was anxious to be released from his pastoral duties, and the Browns and

¹ Mr. Winsor appears to have been a farmer in comfortable circumstances. At the meeting of the Corporation in Warren on the final location of the College, he gave security for seventy-five acres of land, valued at £45, or \$150, towards the erection of the College edifice. For this he was requested to give a deed "duly executed and recorded" to the treasurer."

Jenckes were equally desirous to secure the services of Manning. Meanwhile Mr. Sutton was secured as a substitute. We learn from Cathcart, that "Rev. John Sutton, with a company of emigrants from New Jersey, settled at Newport, Nova Scotia, in 1760, and there preached and baptized converts." He was a member with Manning of the Scotch Plains Church, and accompanied him, it will be remembered, in the summer of 1763, on a voyage to Halifax, during which they stopped at Newport, and made the motion for a college. Edwards states, in his "Materials for the History of the Baptists in New Jersey," that Mr. Sutton was afterwards settled in Nova Scotia from 1766 to 1770. This would include the six months that he was in Providence. Manning in a letter to Smith, under date of Nov. 18, 1790, alludes to "Our friend Mr. Sutton settled nearly in the centre of Kentucky, and, in regard to worldly prospects more happy than ever he was," having purchased two hundred acres of good land, etc.

The attention of the church and Mr. Winsor was now directed to Mr. Manning; and at a church meeting held at the beginning of May, 1770, Daniel Jenckes, Esq., Chief Judge of the Inferior Court, and Solomon Drown, Esq., were chosen to wait on Mr. Manning upon his arrival, and, in the name of the church and congregation, to invite him to preach at the meeting-house. Mr. Manning accepted the invitation and delivered a sermon. It being Communion day, Mr. Winsor invited Mr. Manning to partake with them, which the President cordially accepted. After this several members were dissatisfied at Mr. Manning's partaking of the Lord's Supper with them; but, at a church meeting appointed for the purpose, Mr. Manning was admitted to communion by vote of the church. Notwithstanding this, some of the members remained dissatisfied at the privilege of transient communion being allowed Mr. Manning; whereupon another meeting was called previous to the next communion day, in order to reconcile the difficulty. At said meeting Mr. Manning was confirmed in his privilege by a much larger majority. At the next church meeting Mr. Winsor appeared with an unusual number of members from the country, and moved to have Mr. Manning displaced, but to no purpose. The ostensible reason of Mr. Winsor and of those with him for objecting against President Manning was, that he did not make Non-imposition of Hands a bar to communion, though he himself had received it, and administered it to those who desired it. Mr. Winsor and the church knew Mr. Manning's sentiments and practice for more than six years at Warren; those therefore who were well informed, attributed the opposition to the President's holding to singing in public worship; which was highly disagreeable to Mr. Winsor.

On this point the sentiments of the Friends or Quakers appear to have prevailed in the church, and singing was discarded as unauthorized by the New Testament. The same was true with other Baptist churches in Rhode Island. What diversity of opinion once existed touching that which is now regarded as an essential part of worship, and of universal practice, may be seen by reading the pages of Backus and Edwards, and by consulting the controversial works on this subject of Claridge, Keach, Marlow, Allen, Russell, and others, which were published in London at the close of the seventeenth century, all of which may be found upon the shelves of the College Library.¹ It was about this time that singing was introduced among the English Baptists. Probably persecution had much to do with its general omission in their earlier religious assemblies. The Rev. Benjamin Keach, a celebrated writer and preacher, introduced it in his church, and in 1691 published a work advocating the singing of "Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs." It met with bitter opposition. Some of his people on this account withdrew and founded the Maze Pond church, and prohibited singing in their worship.

The difficulty increasing, it was resolved to refer the business to the next Association (Yearly Meeting of the Six Principle Baptist Churches) at Swansea. But when the case was presented, the Association, after a full hearing on both sides, agreed that they had no right to determine, and that the church must act for themselves. The next church meeting, which was in October, was uncommonly full. All matters relative to the President were fully debated, and by a much greater majority were determined in his favor. It was then agreed that all should sit down at the Lord's Table the next Sabbath, which was accordingly done. But at the subsequent communion season, Mr. Winsor declined administering the ordinance, assigning for a reason, that a number of the brethren were dissatisfied. April 18, 1771, being church meeting, Mr. Winsor appeared and produced a paper signed by a number of members living out of town, dated Johnston, Feb. 27, 1771, in which they say:—

Brethren and Sisters: We must in conscience withdraw ourselves from all who do

¹ The curious on this subject may be interested in reading the titles of some of these works:— "Answer to Richard Allen's Essay to prove that Singing is a Christian Duty." By Richard Claridge. 12mo. Lond., 1697; "Singing proved to be a Holy Ordinance of Jesus Christ." By Rev. Benjamin Keach. 8vo. Lond., 1691; "The Controversie of Singing brought to an End." By Isaac Marlow, 12mo. Lond., 1696; "Brief Animadversions on Allen's Essay on Singing." By William Russell, M. D. 12mo. Lond., 1696.

not hold strictly to the Six Principles of the doctrine of Christ, as laid down in Hebrews vi. 1 and 2.

At a church meeting held May 30, 1771, Mr. Winsor made a second declaration, that he withdrew from the church at Providence, and that he should break bread in Johnston (an adjacent town), which he accordingly did the first Lord's day in June, and continued so to do.

In the language of Knight, he, with Deacon John Dyer, and others, withdrew "and set up a separate church and communion." The number of original members is stated to have been eighty-seven. These could not all have withdrawn from the Providence church, as that would have left but a small minority of thirty-one. Backus, who was intimate with Manning, and knew all the facts, thus states the case:—"Samuel Winsor succeeded his father in the care of the church, from 1759 until 1771, when he and a minor part of the church drew off, on account of differing sentiments concerning the doctrines of grace, and singing in public worship then introduced (which was a return to the first principles of the church), and he and his followers formed another church in Johnston." This church has long ceased to exist, but the records are preserved, and the building where they worshipped is still standing.

The church remaining in Providence applied to the Rev. Gardner Thurston, of Newport, for advice. In consequence of advice received, it was resolved to apply to the Rev. Job and Russell Mason, of Swansea, to come and administer the Lord's Supper. Accordingly a letter was sent signed by Daniel Jenckes, Esq., Deacon Ephraim Wheaton, and others, bearing date June 10, 1771. To this letter the following answer was received:—

SWANSEA, June 28, 1771.

To the Brethren and Sisters in the town of Providence, not long since under the care of Elder Samuel Winsor, but now forsaken by him, we send greeting, wishing all grace, mercy, and peace may abound toward you all, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Whereas you have sent a request for one of us to break bread among you, we laid your request before our church meeting; and there being but few members present, and we not being able to know what the event of such a proceeding might be at this time, think it not expedient for us to come and break bread with you. And whereas you have

received Mr. Manning into your fellowship, and called him to the work of preaching (he being ordained), we know not but by the same rule he may administer the Lord's Supper. But whether it will be most expedient for you to omit the administration of the Lord's Supper, considering the present circumstances of the case, until the Association (Yearly Meeting), we must leave you to judge. No more at present, but desiring you would seek God for wisdom to direct you in this affair, hoping you will have the glory of God, the credit of our holy religion, and the comfort of his children at heart in all your proceedings. Farewell.

JOB MASON,
RUSSELL MASON, } *Elders.*

In consequence of the above advice, the church appointed a meeting to consider the propriety of calling President Manning to administer ordinances to the church; whereupon the following resolution was formed:—

At a meeting of the members of the Old Baptist Church in Providence, in church meeting assembled this 31st day of July, 1771, Daniel Jenckes, Esq., moderator: Whereas, Elder Samuel Winsor, now of Johnston, has withdrawn himself, and a considerable number of members of this church, from their communion with us who live in town; and we, being destitute of a minister to administer the ordinances amongst us, have met together in order to choose and appoint a suitable person for this purpose. Upon due consideration, the members choose and appoint Elder James Manning to preach and administer the communion according to our former usage.

To the above resolve Mr. Manning returned the following answer:—

As the church is destitute of an administrator, and think the cause of religion suffers through the neglect of the ordinances of God's house, I consent to undertake to administer *pro tempore*; that is, until there may be a more full disquisition of the matter, or time to seek other help; at least, until time may prove whether it will be consistent with my other engagements, and for the general interests of religion.

This answer being accepted, Mr. Manning was appointed Pastor of the church *pro tempore*. The salary at first was £50. In 1786 this was doubled, to provide a temporary supply, Mr. Manning being this year in Congress. In 1788 the salary was increased to £150, one-third to be raised by pew tax, and the remainder by assessment on the private property of members of the church and society.

At the General Meeting (Yearly Meeting) held September 20, 1771, a question was put, "Whether those members who withdrew with Mr. Winsor, or those in Providence,

be considered the Old Church," whereupon the brethren meeting in Providence were acknowledged the Old Church; but it was agreed that the Association (Yearly Meeting) would hold communion with both churches so long as they walked agreeably to the Gospel.¹

Thus commenced a relation, which, through various vicissitudes and trials, incident to the disturbed times that soon followed, continued, with credit to the Pastor and with great advantage to the church and congregation, down to a short period before Mr. Manning's death, in 1791. At first his preaching was not attended with marked results. But in 1774 a remarkable revival of religion attended his labors, as the fruits of which one hundred and four persons were added to the church in the course of fifteen months. "It is delightful," says the Rev. Dr. Hague in his Historical Discourse, "to place ourselves in imagination amidst the scenes of that year,—to picture before us the able and faithful preacher who then officiated here as he stood up amidst the large assemblies of the people who thronged around him, listening, as they did, to the gospel with intense attention, as a message from the skies—the very word of God, which worketh effectually in them that believe,—to mark the lively interest which was kindled in every bosom and beamed from every eye, as one after another came forth 'on the side of the Lord,' and professed his faith in public baptism,—to contemplate the fresh springs of spiritual life which were then opened in many a house when the family altar was first erected there, and parents and children bowed together to worship the Common Father and Redeemer in spirit and in truth."

And now the little meeting-house, erected in 1726, was too small to accommodate the crowds that flocked to hear the "New Light" preaching of the eloquent and accomplished President of the College. A new house of worship was needed. The age of progress and improvement had indeed commenced. The resolute and enterprising spirit of

¹ The appointment of Manning as pastor *pro tempore* of the church, and the formation of a new church in Johnston, naturally resulted in the alienation of Elder Winsor from the College over which Manning presided. He continued a trustee until 1791, although his name does not appear in the records of the Corporation as an attendant upon the meetings after 1770. He died in 1803.

the Browns had prevailed in the erection of the College building on the hill, and the same spirit was now manifest in the church. It was determined to build another house, and with a view to the accommodation of the College, to construct it in such a style of elegance, and of such dimensions, as should surpass any edifice of the kind connected with the Baptist denomination throughout the country.

In looking over the records of the Baptist Society we find that at a meeting held at the house of Mr. Daniel Cahoon, on Friday evening, February 11, 1774, it was

Resolved, That we will all heartily unite, as one man, in all lawful ways and means to promote the good of the Society; and particularly to attend to and revive the affair of building a meeting-house, for the public worship of Almighty God, and also for holding Commencement in.

“That we will all heartily unite as one man.” An enterprise commenced in this spirit could hardly fail of success. From the tenor of the resolution it appears that they had previously made a movement for a new house. According to Staples, the town in January, 1773, had granted the Society a lot, sixteen rods by twenty, to be laid out on the site opposite Steeple Street, where in later years the Cove was located. It is very doubtful, Staples adds, whether the Society had any intention of occupying this lot. The tradition is that it then had in view the lot on which the present house stands, which belonged to John Angell, being improved by him as an orchard. Angell was a rigid “Gortonist;” and it was thought that he would not sell the orchard to be used as a site for a Baptist meeting-house, upon any consideration. After the aforesaid grant of the town, the Society employed William Russell, who had been a prominent attendant upon the Episcopal worship, to purchase the orchard with the ostensible purpose of erecting upon it a private mansion. Mr. Russell afterwards conveyed it to the Society, who thus obeyed the injunction, “Be ye wise as serpents.”

The next meeting was held three days later at the house of Joseph Brown, at which Manning was chosen moderator, and James Arnold clerk. At this meeting it was

Resolved, That a new lot be procured on which to build a new meeting-house, provided one can be had on suitable terms; that Mr. William Russell be requested to purchase a lot for the above purpose; that this Society will abide by and perform whatever contract or contracts the said Mr. Russell shall make, respecting a lot or lots, for the purpose aforesaid.

Mr. Russell lost no time in executing his commission. The orchard was purchased at once and conveyed to the Society. Two days later, February 16th, another meeting was held at the house of Joseph Brown, Manning being moderator, at which it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Mr. William Russell, for his very acceptable and important services to the Society in purchasing a lot of land of Mr. John Angell for them.

The old house and lot were sold at public auction to John Brown for £420 lawful money. Of this sum £200 were paid to the new church in Johnston as its "rightful share" of the proceeds. The new and spacious lot, bounded by what is at present Thomas Street on the north, Benefit Street on the east, Waterman Street on the south, and North Main Street on the west, was in the very centre of the population of the town on the east side of the bridge at that time. Meetings in succession were now held, at which Manning continued to preside. A committee of two persons, Messrs. Joseph Brown and Jonathan Hammond, were appointed to go to Boston "as soon as may be to view the different churches and meeting-houses there, and to make a memorandum of their several dimensions and forms of architecture." Mr. Nicholas Brown was appointed to procure of Mr. Russell a deed of the lot. Mr. Joseph Brown, Jonathan Hammond, and Comfort Wheaton were appointed to make a draft of the house; Messrs. John Jenckes, Nicholas Brown, Joseph Brown, and others to procure oak timber; and John Brown was to buy for the society the whole or a part of Mr. Amaziah Waterman's land adjoining the society's premises. At a meeting held in the meeting-house, at which Mr. Manning was moderator, and Benjamin Stelle served as clerk, it was

Resolved, That a petition be presented to the Honorable General Assembly, praying that a charter containing certain privileges and immunities may be granted to said society.

That the Rev. James Manning, Ephraim Wheaton, Nicholas Brown, David Howell, and Benjamin Thurber, be a committee to draft a plan of a charter, and present the same to the society for approbation, as soon as may be.

That Mr. John Brown be the Committee man for carrying on the building of the new meeting-house for said society.

That Messrs. John Jenckes, Daniel Cahoon, Ephraim Wheaton, Nathaniel Wheaton, Daniel Tillinghast, Joseph Brown, William Russell, Edward Thurber, Nicholas Brown, Christopher Sheldon, and Benjamin Thurber, they or the major part of them, be a standing committee, to assist and advise with Mr. John Brown, in locating and carrying into execution the building of the new meeting-house, and any other business that may be thought necessary during the recess of the society, and that said committee meet every Monday evening.

Thus, while a large committee of eleven was chosen for assistance and advice, the carrying on of the building and the execution of the plans was wisely left to a committee of one. There was hence a unity of purpose, and a success in the final results, which a large and divided committee could never have attained. In this matter our fathers have left on record an example which societies of the present day may do well to imitate. It is pleasing to notice, in this record, the unlimited confidence reposed in the abilities and discretion of Mr. Brown. Had there been informers in those days of trial and peril, the large reward offered by the British government for the apprehension of the author of, or leader in, the destruction of the *Gaspee*, two years previous, might have seriously interfered with the plans of the society.

In order to defray the additional expense of purchasing a lot and of building a house sufficiently large to accommodate the College, recourse was had to a lottery. This, as we have already remarked in a previous chapter, was in accordance with the universal practice of religious societies, in Rhode Island and elsewhere, at this period.¹ The lottery was

¹ It may be interesting to note the following items respecting lotteries, taken from Arnold's History of Rhode Island:— June 23, 1732, Lotteries suppressed by statute. Reason: "By these unlawful games called lotteries, many people have been led into a foolish expense of money." Nov.

divided into six classes, and the time and place of drawing each were notified in the *Providence Gazette*. Eleven thousand nine hundred and seventy tickets were sold, at prices ranging from two and one half to five dollars each. The sum proposed to be raised by this scheme was two thousand pounds lawful money, or about seven thousand dollars. The managers appointed by the General Assembly were Nicholas Brown, John Jenckes, William Russell, Benjamin Thurber, Edward Thurber, Nathaniel Wheaton, Daniel Tillinghast, William Holroyd, James Arnold, and Nicholas Power. In their announcement of June 25, 1774, they ask for the "cheerful assistance and encouragement of the public, especially when it is considered that this is the first time the Baptist society have solicited their assistance in this way, which they can assure them would not now have been the case had they not purchased as much more land, and designed a house as much larger than the society required for their own use (purposely to accommodate public Commencements), as will amount to the full sum proposed to be raised by this lottery."

On Monday, August 29th, was the "raising" of the new meeting-house, due notice of which had been given in the papers. A large crowd assembled, and the occasion seems to have been a general holiday throughout the town,

During the following year the house was so far completed that it was occupied by the society. It was opened for public worship on

28, 1744. Lottery system denounced by the legislature in 1732, now legalized. Scheme of £15,000 allowed for Weybosset bridge in Providence. Feb. 28, 1748. Lottery granted by General Assembly for paving streets of Newport. Jan. 3, 1749. For relief of Joseph Fox, a prisoner for debt in Newport. Feb. 24, 1752. For paving streets of Newport. Oct. 28, 1753. For finishing and furnishing court-house at Greenwich. Aug. 23, 1756. For repairing Fort George. Dec. 24, 1758. For rebuilding court-house at Providence, and for the public library. June 11, 1759. For erecting a Masonic hall at Newport. Feb. 23, 1761. For paving streets in Newport, and in Providence. Oct. 28, 1761. For building a meeting-house in Johnston, and for making a passage around Pawtucket Falls. March 29, 1762. For rebuilding stores on Long wharf, Newport. June 8, 1767. For a new steeple on Trinity church, Newport. Aug. 19, 1771. For a market-house in Providence. "This mode of raising money for all purposes, civil and religious," says Arnold "had now become so common, that scarcely a session of the General Assembly occurred without one or more of these grants being made." Oct., 1772. Lotteries for churches, including St. John's, Providence. June, 1774. First Baptist Church, Providence. March 24, 1777. In addition to the loan office, Congress had established lotteries to raise funds to sustain the credit of the Continental bills.

Sunday, May 28, 1775, when President Manning preached the dedication discourse, from Genesis xxviii. 17,—“And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.” On Tuesday, June 6th, following, the raising of the steeple, which occupied nearly four days, was finished. The plan of this most elegant piece of architecture was taken from the middle figure in the thirtieth plate of Gibbs’s “*Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*,¹ representing the steeple of St. Martin’s in the Fields, one of the finest churches in London. It measures one hundred and eight feet from the top of the tower, and one hundred and eighty-five feet from the ground to the top of the vane. The total height of the steeple is one hundred and ninety-six feet. The house itself is eighty feet square. The roof and galleries are supported by twelve fluted pillars, of the Doric order. The weight of the original bell was two thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds, and upon it was the following historic inscription:—

For freedom of conscience the town was first planted;
Persuasion, not force, was used by the people;
This church was the eldest, and has not recanted,
Enjoying and granting, bell, temple, and steeple.

The significance of the concluding line of this quaint inscription is apparent, when we remember that in England the Chapels of Dissenters were not, until within a recent period, allowed to have either bell or steeple. In the spring of 1787 this bell was broken in ringing, and was recast by subscription. The work was done at the Hope Furnace, and on the new bell, which weighed two thousand three hundred and thirty-seven pounds, was inscribed:—“This church was formed A. D. 1639, the first in the State, and the oldest of the Baptists in America.” “For fifty-seven years,” says Arnold, in his one hundredth anniversary address, “this bell continued on every week day to sound its peaceful

¹ An old copy of this work, stated to be the one used in building the church, was lately in the possession of the Messrs. Tingley. The writer has been permitted to examine it at their marble works on South Main Street. James Gibbs was the most eminent successor of Sir Christopher Wren as a church architect, and St. Martin’s is one of the most celebrated of his works. For an account of this church, see Knight’s “*London Illustrated*,” Vol. V., page 105.

reveille at sunrise, to signal the hour of noon, and at nine o'clock, like the English curfew, it 'toll'd the knell of parting day,' while on Sundays it called the people to the house of prayer and praise. It was remarkable for the clearness and sweetness of its tone." In March, 1844, it was broken and recast. The work was poorly done, and in September following it had to be again recast. There are two inscriptions on the bell at present. The first reads as follows:—"This church was founded in 1639, by Roger Williams, its first pastor, and the first asserter of liberty of conscience." On the opposite side is inscribed:—

This bell was imported from England in 1775.

Recast at Hope Furnace, R. I., in 1787.

Again recast, in Boston, 1844,

By Henry N. Hooper & Co.

With the first bell came also a clock, which, for generations, was to hold the position of "the town clock," for such it soon became. In May, 1786, Mr. John Brown was appointed a committee, as appears from the records, to apply to the Town Council for an allowance to the sexton for winding the clock. After having done service for a century it was stopped at noon, May 2, 1873, the black wooden dials with gilt figures were taken down, and a new clock with illuminated dials, the gift of Henry C. Packard, took its place.

The main or front entrance of the building is on the west facing North Main Street. A door also opens on the north side, and another on the south, while fronting Benefit Street are two entrances. Thus on Commencement days and on other public occasions when the house is crowded, it can be readily and easily vacated. Mr. Joseph Brown, one of the "Four Brothers," and a member of the church, was the principal architect, and Mr. James Sumner superintended the erection of the steeple.¹ The entire expense of the house and lot was a little

¹ Howland, in his *Life and Recollections*, states that in consequence of the Boston Port Bill, no vessel could enter the harbor. "The trade and business of the place of course was at an end, and hundreds of the inhabitants had to leave the town to seek a living elsewhere. Many of the mechanics and merchants came to this town, and a number of the carpenters and masons were employed to work on the First Baptist meeting-house, which was then building. One of them, Mr. Sumner, was the chief engineer in erecting the high steeple of that house, which has been much admired, and yet stands firm, though it quivered and trembled in the great September gale."

over £7,000, lawful money, or about twenty-five thousand dollars. When we consider the value and scarcity of money in those days, the perils and dangers of a war with the mother country then impending, and also the small population of Providence, we are amazed at the genius which could conceive, and the energy, enterprise, and skill which could successfully complete so great an undertaking. Even at the present day, after the lapse of nearly a century and a quarter, and the increase of the population to one hundred and sixty thousand, the venerable structure, with its tall, graceful spire, and its spacious enclosure, shaded by stately elms, constitutes one of the chief attractions of the city. In the beginning and progress of this enterprise, we have an illustration of the remarkable influence which Manning must have exerted over the people of his care.

We may here note in passing some changes which have been made. For many years the basement was let as a cellar, and the house was a long time in reaching a finished condition. In 1787 the steeple was painted, and three years later sixty pews were put in the galleries. In 1792, the Hon. Nicholas Brown, then a young man, gave two thousand dollars for a lot and parsonage, and his sister, Hope, gave the painting of the interior of the house, with the glass chandeliers. In 1802 the basement ceased to be let as a cellar, and was fitted up by the church for its use in worship. In 1807 a singing school was formed, and the next year the west gallery was altered so as to accommodate a choir. In 1834 the organ, which for seventeen years had been desired by many of the Society, was obtained through the munificence of Mr. Brown, who also presented the handsome clock which hangs below it. In 1832 the one hundred and twenty-six original square pews and the aisles that crossed from door to door were removed, and the present long pews, one hundred and forty-four in number, were constructed. The sounding board was taken away, and the high, old-fashioned pulpit gave place to one of modern style. Rooms were also made in the southeast and northeast corners of the basement for the infant school and Bible class. In 1837 the vestry was reconstructed. But by far the greatest improvement was in the years 1857-1858, when the grounds

were excavated and the lecture room was enlarged at a cost of twelve thousand dollars. Recently, during the ministry of the Rev. Dr. T. Edwin Brown, an addition was built on the east side of the house. Great changes have also been made in the grounds. The original lot was an apple orchard, to which was added the land adjoining on the south, belonging to Amaziah Waterman. In 1791 the whole land, which until then had remained open, was enclosed with a fence. In 1793 ten feet were thrown out on the east side to widen Benefit Street. For this the Society was allowed by the town two hundred and fifty dollars. In 1830 elm trees took the place of the poplars. In 1809 the yard was paved on the south side from the door to the gate. In 1852 a brick sidewalk was laid on the west front. In 1857 ten feet were taken from the south side to widen President, now Waterman Street. A strip was also taken from the west front on North Main Street. The straightening of North Main Street in 1868, led to a further alteration of the west line. The unsightly wooden buildings at the southwest corner of the lot, which had stood for nearly seventy years, were in 1857 taken down, and a broad, brick sidewalk was laid on the south line.

The accompanying engraving, taken from Rippon's Baptist Register, represents the church as it was in 1789, before any material alterations had been made in the grounds or building. It first appeared in the Massachusetts Magazine for August, 1789. The dwelling on the north was the house of the first Nicholas Brown,¹ with whom Manning held such intimate relations. The lane as represented in the engraving is now Thomas Street. A fine steel engraving in the "Documentary History of Brown University," represents the church as it appears today.

Sunday morning, May 28, 1865, just ninety years after the dedication of the house, the late Rev. Dr. Samuel L. Caldwell, then pastor of

¹ From the Record of Deeds at the City Hall, it appears that the Nicholas Brown dwelling, after the owner's decease, came into the possession of his brother, Moses, who in turn deeded it to his son, Obadiah, for a dwelling. It is now owned by Mrs. Thomas, widow of Hiram H. Thomas, and is occupied by the "Providence Art Club."



FIRST BAPTIST MEETING-HOUSE.

the church, preached an historical discourse which was afterwards published in pamphlet form. An extract from this discourse may fitly close the present account : —

You can follow the eighty-two Commencements with which this house is associated in the memory of so many children of the College; you would like to review the great public events which have here been commemorated,—the treaty of peace in 1783, the adoption of the Constitution in 1790, the death of Washington in 1800; the civic and religious occasions, when, in praise and prayer, when, in jubilee or humiliation, the people have here, as in some common temple, acknowledged the God of power and mercy.

There are the common as well as uncommon days and Sabbaths; the words of how many lips, once eloquent with authority and persuasion, now hushed in death. What a history is enclosed within these walls! What a shadowy procession of persons and events going in and out here,—funerals and weddings and baptisms; sermons whose memory lingers yet, whose influence will never die; and then the more spiritual and interior events and experiences which have passed through the souls of these three generations; the souls which have here bowed to the authority of God, and melted into love before the Savior's cross here lifted up to faith; the vows, uttered and unuttered, in which they have given themselves to God and to duty; the viewless winds of the Spirit breathing here, and leaving blessed fruits which ripen glorious and abundant in the house not made with hands!

At a meeting of the Society held on the 2d of May, 1774, a committee, of which Manning was chairman, presented a draft for a charter, which was adopted, and officers were elected, viz. : Moderator, Nicholas Brown; Treasurer, Daniel Cahoon; Clerk, Benjamin Stelle.¹ The General Assembly met two days later and incorporated the petitioners as "The Charitable Baptist Society." This was the fifth church charter granted in the history of the Colony, the others being Trinity Church, Newport (1769), First Congregational, Providence

¹ Mr. Stelle, as has already been stated, was the son of the Rev. Isaac Stelle, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, and in 1766 the teacher of a Latin School in Providence. His daughter, Mary Bowen, was the second wife of Hon. Nicholas Brown, his first wife, Annie Carter, having died June 16, 1798. The following, which we copy from the *Providence Gazette* for Aug. 25, 1770, is interesting as a part of the record of those early days:—"Benjamin Bowen and Benjamin Stelle continue to make and sell chocolate by the pound, box, or hundred weight, etc. At the well known Apothecary's shop, just below the church, sign of the Unicorn and Mortar."

(1770), Second Congregational, Newport (1771), and St. John's, Providence, (1772). The preamble to this charter describes the petitioners as "being the oldest Christian church in the State or Colony, and professing to believe that water baptism ought to be administered by immersion only, and that professed believers in Jesus Christ, and no others, are proper subjects of the same." In this preamble, in which we see the guiding hand of Manning, are embodied two of the distinctive dogmas of Baptist faith, viz.: the mode of administering the ordinance of baptism, and the qualifications essential in its candidates. The question as to priority of date, which we have discussed in the first part of this chapter, would seem to be settled so far as the belief of the Charitable Baptist Society, as here expressed, is concerned.

At the first meeting of the Charitable Baptist Society after its incorporation, held on the 13th of June, there was presented a statement of principles deserving of notice. It is contained in the preamble to the "form of subscription for the purpose of raising a fund," and reads as follows:—

Said charter doth not empower them to raise any monies for the uses specified otherwise than by voluntary subscriptions, contributions, legacies, and donations, which clause in said charter is most especially agreeable to the minds and principles of said Baptist church and congregation, they being the successors and descendants of the first Christian inhabitants of this Colony, who flee hither to enjoy, and to secure to themselves and posterity, Religious, as well as Civil Liberty, more fully and amply than they could in any other part of the British dominions; and being desirous therein still to continue and preserve inviolate that Religious Liberty, not only procured at so dear a rate for them by their pious ancestors, and transmitted down through many generations unto the present day, but also authorized and established by Jesus Christ, the Head and only Law Giver to His Church, and, being a natural right, which God himself, the Creator and Governor of the Universe, has bestowed on every individual of the human race, most fully, freely, and amply to enjoy the liberty of conscience and private judgment in whatever refers immediately to His worship, in that He hath assured us that each one must give an account for himself unto God.

Here then, says Arnold, whom we gladly quote in conclusion:—

We have a declaration of principles which, at this day, are readily enough assented to by nearly all the Christian churches, but which, a century ago, were no less distinctly

Baptist than are the doctrines referred to in the preamble of the charter. The voluntary system, the support of public worship by free gift or self-imposed taxation, in contrast with the legal obligations elsewhere enforced, is here clearly set forth as a fundamental principle of the Baptist church. The doctrine of Soul Liberty, the crowning dogma of the Reformation, which came from Wittemberg to Rome, in the cloister and the camp had roused the spirit of all Europe, while yet its true significance was but dimly understood, is here declared to be a natural, God-given right, to enjoy which the ancestors of this church had fled from Puritan persecution, and which their posterity are pledged to preserve. This broad doctrine, in its theological aspect, belongs to the Baptists as a church, as, in its political application, it pertains to Rhode Island as a State.¹

In the clear and positive enunciation of these distinctive principles, Manning shows himself to have been a not unworthy successor of the immortal Roger Williams.

¹ Address delivered before the Charitable Baptist Society on the one hundredth anniversary of the First Baptist Church, May 28, 1875. By Hon. Samuel Greene Arnold, president of the society.

CHAPTER VI.

1773-1774.

Manning's correspondence resumed—Letter from John Ryland—Augustus Toplady—Letter from Rev. Isaac Woodman—Request for a narrative of the College—Playful letter to Smith—Letter to Rev. Benjamin Wallin—Wallin's reply—Presents his works to the Library—Letter to Ryland—Detail of facts and instances of the ill-will of Congregationalists to the College—Ryland's memoranda and hints for Manning's use—Commencement for 1773—Objections to—Remonstrance of the Senior Class—Diary of Solomon Drowne, a member of the class, beginning July 2, 1770, and giving detailed account of the Commencement exercises—Manning's charge to the graduates—Smith's diary—Meeting of the Corporation—David Howell elected a Fellow—Extract from Backus giving reasons why the Baptist churches refused to give any more Certificates to the power that oppressed them—Meeting of the Warren Association in Medfield—Circular letter on certificates—Memoranda of Manning's journey during vacation—Letter from Oliver Hart respecting his son in College—Letter to Ryland—Letter to Wallin—Letter to Rev. Abraham Booth—Letters to Wallin.

WE now resume Manning's correspondence. The following is Ryland's reply to his letter of Nov. 12, 1772. It will be found interesting for the account which he gives of the Rev. Augustus Toplady, a distinguished divine of the Established Church, and for the suggestions which he makes in regard to the honors of the College:—

NORTHAMPTON, Feb. 9, 1773.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

I have enclosed a few hints for your notice and consideration. If they are of any service to you, or to the cause of religion and to your College of learning, I shall be glad.

I have, in the midst of the cares of a family of about sixty persons, thrown out some thoughts concerning matters before us; and as you know I bear you a hearty good-will, I am not in any pain how you may receive and relish them. If you are that man of sense and honor I conceive you to be, you will like my blunt friendship better than drivelling flattery and nauseous palaver. (*Verba sit nenia*; for it is not in Dr. Sam. Johnson's Dictionary.)

I have filled a whole sheet of post-demy paper, so that you have rough and enough. The pamphlets and sheets which accompany this are a present to yourself, unless you

think it worth while to put them in your college library, or in the fire, just as you please.

If you like my mode of correspondence, and take everything in good part, I shall soon hear from you. I am to you, and to the interests of religion and learning under your care,

A hearty and zealous friend,

JOHN RYLAND.

RYLAND'S HINTS FOR PROFESSOR MANNING'S USE.

1. In January, 1772, I sent a box of twenty-five books to the Rev. Morgan Edwards, at Philadelphia, by the favor and care of Mr. Daniel Roberdean, merchant, who was then in London, and abode at my old lodgings, Mrs. Stephens's, No. 11, in Great St. Hellen's; and was about to return to America. In a letter to Mr. Edwards I desired him to present some of those books to Rhode Island College, but have heard nothing from him, nor have you mentioned one word about the books:

2. Mr. Wallin had no right to reproach your College as being too lavish of its honors, unless he meant himself, and himself only.

3. For me to ask any of those gentlemen I nominated in my letter, whether he would please to accept of a degree from your College, would spoil all the honor and delicacy of conferring it. Its coming *unsought*, yea *unthought* of, constitutes its chief excellence and acceptableness to men of fine feelings. For my own part, I would not have given you a single farthing, or so much as a thanks, for a feather, if I had it not in my power with the utmost truth to say, "I neither sought it, nor bought it, nor thought for a moment about it." (Dr. Gill's saying on having his diploma from Scotland.)

4. By your withholding these honors from the men I so well knew to deserve them, and not one would have refused them, you have done your College damage in its temporal interests. My design was to serve you by attaching men of grace, learning, property, and influence to you. But if you do not choose it in my way, it shall be let alone; for I assure you I never will ask one man whilst I live to accept of a degree.

I could find men enough in Britain that have learning sufficient, who would snap at your honors for the sake of some low ends and purposes; but their characters as divines, or their capacity or will to serve you, is nothing. In truth, I keep no such company. I form no connection with them, nor will I whilst I live. On the other hand, the Rev. Augustus Toplady is the first divine of the Established Church, or indeed of any church in England or in Europe. He is a man of fortune, of high genius, and learning. He is my intimate friend; and let me tell you, as a secret, of a mark of his regard for me. He put it to my choice, in case of his death before me, which part of his library

I would have, the English, or the Latin and learned part. I chose the latter, and it is accordingly fixed. But I hope I shall never have the pain to accept them. He is a man of a prodigiously high spirit by nature, but 'tis so tempered and moderated by grace, and a noble and generous disposition, as renders him one of the boldest champions for the sublime truths of the gospel in the world. We have no writer amongst all our divines that comes near to him in energy and grandeur of thought, rich and daring imagination, masculine judgment, and glowing colors of style. He is about twenty-nine or thirty years old, but has been educated, from sixteen years of age, in all the grand essentials of the gospel. He had his classical education at Westminster School, and his academical at the University of Dublin; owing to an estate falling to his mother in Ireland, and she being obliged to go over and possess it, she took her only son, at sixteen, with her. Dr. Thomas Leland was his tutor. But he had the good sense and piety to go to the Baptist meeting on Lord's Days to hear an able preacher, now dead, his name Rutherford; and every year, when Mr. Toplady came over to England, he had the boldness and wisdom to sit under the stated ministry of Dr. Gill. He is a generous friend to Dissenters, especially to us poor Baptists. He commenced A. B. at Dublin. He scorns all honors, unless conferred like grace from heaven,—“unthought of, unimplored.”

My other friends are of the same complexion; therefore I will never ask one of them to accept of a feather from your College. Mr. Isaac Woodman, of Sutton in Leicestershire, is a prince in his spirit and conduct. He is the father of our Midland Association, and a wise counsellor to us all. He has such a degree of modesty that he will not wear the feather you sent him, and wishes not to have it known on this side of the water. But what then? Has he done you any damage or dishonor? No. All that know him will revere him as a man of wisdom, benevolence, and learning in the Greek language and philosophy. As to damage, I will tell you. He is a man of substance, and has a fine library; he has no children; and you will have half, if not the whole, for your College when he dies. Will this hurt you? Perhaps some money into the bargain. And thus I should have attached others to your interests; but you would not let me, in your wisdom. Just as if you knew men here better than I do, who have lived forty years amongst them. As to the five guineas I pay every year, 'tis for yourself and nobody else. 'Tis because I like your character, spirit, and principles. If you die, and another succeed you whom I should not approve, I will stop my hand.

As to raising money by a lottery, I dislike it from the bottom of my heart. 'Tis a scheme dishonorable to the supreme Head of all worlds and of the true church. We have our fill of these cursed gambling lotteries in London every year. They are big with ten thousand evils. Let the devil's children have them all to themselves. Let us not touch or taste.

I sent two books to the Rev. Mr. Stillman, at Boston, last summer, by Mr. Story, of Boston. One of the books is a present to the library of your College. It is entitled "An Easy Introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy." It was written by one of the clearest and most condescending good-natured philosophers in the world for the use of my School, Mr. James Ferguson, Fellow of the Royal Society. It is adapted to your school-boys and junior students, to prepare them for larger treatises on the same subject. I should be glad to find it meet with the approbation of your learned Professor of Philosophy.

Agreeably to Ryland's suggestion, the College conferred on the Rev. Augustus Toplady the honorary degree of A. M. at the Commencement ensuing. In Manning's reply to Ryland, he speaks of Toplady's Treatise on Predestination, with his letter to John Wesley, deeming them "masterly performances." Mr. Toplady's works have been published in six octavo volumes, with an account of his life. These are to be found in the College Library. To the Christian public he is best known as the author of "Rock of Ages Cleft for Me," and "Deathless Spirit, now arise," regarded by many as two of the finest hymns in the English language.

The Rev. Mr. Woodman, whom Ryland describes as "a man of wisdom, benevolence, and learning," "a man of substance," with a fine library which he would probably bequeath to the College, now begins a correspondence with Manning, declining the honor conferred upon him at the Commencement in 1770, and discouraging him from coming to England to solicit funds:—

REV. ISAAC WOODMAN TO MANNING.

THORP, NEAR LEICESTER, Feb. 20, 1773.

REVEREND SIR:

By the favor of Mr. Ryland I have seen the New York Association letter, and have had some account also of yours to him. I am glad Christ's interest under our denomination has such a respectable footing in your parts, but sorry for the languor of religion in some places, whilst glad 'tis otherwise elsewhere. Amongst other things at the Association, the respectful notice of Mr. Edwards gives me pleasure.

As I am a well-wisher to the prosperity of the College, I would, if I could, advise to anything for its furtherance. If you were to come over, I fear your compass or scope

for soliciting visits would be very narrow. There is no reasonable hope of success where congregations are unable to support the interest at home, and where there may be a prejudice against literature: a common but not universal case amongst us. I think it would be in vain to attempt it, unless you have encouragement from London, Bristol, and a few more of our opulent congregations.

But whether you come or not, I have long thought that a good printed narrative of the state of the College sent hither, to be disbursed by its friends, would be of service. I doubt not some fruit would spring from such seed scattered by skilful hands.

You will be able, I hope, to let us know that our denomination in the Island, and especially the College, is loyal and obedient, disapproving the opposition made to Government in your neighborhood, if public reports of such opposition made, be indeed true. I am for liberty, regularly maintained.

Should any such narrative be sent, or brought by yourself, it is to be hoped the list of those you have honored with degrees will not be put into every hand, or at least that those who particularly desire it may have their names omitted. I esteem the honors of the College, and am obliged to the Faculty for putting my name amongst your worthies; pray please to present my grateful compliments; but I must not own the title. 'Tis an honor I cannot support. For your sakes, therefore, as well as for my own, I must decline it. I ought to say indeed, in favor of my friends, whoever recommended me to your regards, they verily believed, I doubt not, that I was qualified; and it might have been so had I prosecuted my beginnings; but an inveterate headache, of above thirty years' standing, has disabled me from making much addition to what I set out with when I left Bristol. I am a hearty friend to your cause. My silence has not been from carelessness or ingratitude, and much less from contempt. I desired Mr. Ryland to make my excuse. I am not able to show the regards I wish to discover; howbeit, I have friendly designs. But the honor you have done me would, if known, as it is not in my neighborhood, block up my way to serve you, which I have much at heart to do.

I congratulate you upon your correspondence with and interest in Mr. Ryland. He is, I may say from long acquaintance with him, a worthy man, and a warm friend of the cause which he espouses. I do not know that you could have one more zealous in your affairs in all Old England. With sincere and hearty wishes that the honorable and important institution over which you preside may have its worthy ends answered in the furtherance of knowledge, virtue, and true religion, and yourself be greatly helped and blessed with all needful assistance in the good work of forming the minds of youth, I rest, esteemed and dear sir,

Yours, affectionately,

ISAAC WOODMAN.

MANNING'S REPLY.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 26, 1773.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Yours of Feb 20, 1773, came to hand last week, in company with several other agreeable letters from friends in England, to whom I write by this opportunity. I am heartily glad to hear your favorable disposition towards the College, and could heartily concur with you in your wishes for greater abilities to serve its interests; though we have for our encouragement the commendation of the poor widow's contribution. I should think it a prodigy if all you English Baptists were friends to literature, while the case is so far otherwise in America. But I think your good, zealous people are mistaken in striking against it, when kept in its proper place,—I mean in making it an handmaid to religion.

I am sorry you are so scrupulous in point of confessing the honor we mean to confer on you, though you must be a better judge of the expediency of this, in your situation, than I can possibly be. But the infant state of literature in this new world, and the usages of the College here, lead us to conclude, from your known character, that you need not be so diffident of your abilities as to decline the feather, as our common friend, Mr. Ryland, calls it.

The history of the rise, present state, etc., of the College, will be done in some manner, and sent to England next spring, unless Providence should prevent it; but I wish it could be done by an abler hand, or that I had more leisure than my present circumstances will afford for it. I know how to sympathize with you in your inveterate complaint (of the headache); for, while I write, I am distressed with this pain.

I highly prize Mr. Ryland's friendship, because I have found him a friend indeed. I revere his character, and place the highest confidence in him. The very small number of friends and the great number of enemies the College has, requires the greater exertion of the few friends of which it can boast, in its favor. I hope to see it on a more respectable footing, should I live to an advanced age; and if not, I hope posterity will reap great advantages from it. With the most hearty wishes for your highest welfare, I am,

Your friend and servant in the gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

N. B.—I hope those who know the little Colony of Rhode Island, and especially the Baptist society in it, will find that, though firm in the cause of constitutional liberty, we are as loyal subjects as any of which his Majesty, King George, can boast. I wish I could tell you more agreeable news of the state of religion among us, but it is indeed a dark day. Enclosed I send you a form of bequeathment, which we make use of this way. At Newport I find one of which I had no knowledge before.

J. M.

Concerning Mr. Woodman, and his suggestion in regard to a narrative of the College, Mr. Ryland, under date of Feb. 9, 1773, thus writes to Manning: —

My good father in the ministry, and counsellor, Mr. Isaac Woodman, is earnestly desirous (and with him I concur) to hear from you. A clear narration of the rise, progress, and present state of the College at Rhode Island, with an account of the methods of education in the languages, sciences, and divinity; the exercises of the students, and the character of those who have distinguished themselves by their diligence, improvement, and piety, — this we think to reprint and disperse through all England amongst our best and richest friends of all denominations, in order to solicit subscriptions and donations. Had you done this already, and sent about twenty honors to the men I named, a way would have been paved for your coming over and making your appearance and personal applications this next summer. But for want of these two preliminaries, you have prevented yourself from coming with a good prospect of success for this year. If you take our advice, and put it in our power to serve you by conciliating men's esteem and affection to your person and college, perhaps we can pave the way for you by next May come twelve-month, 1774; and may do Rhode Island some service.

Among the Manning papers is one with the heading, "Rhode Island College. By President Manning." This we have published in our *Documentary History*.¹ It is not such a "narrative" as Woodman and Ryland in their correspondence suggest, being very brief. Most likely it was prepared for the *Almanac and American Register*, a little work published in New York, in the pages of which it appears. A copy of this Register for 1776, containing the account of the College, is in our possession.

The following playful letter to his intimate friend, the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, shows that Dr. Manning could be merry, as well as serious. Indeed, he was noted above most men for his genial companionship and rare social qualities.

PROVIDENCE, May 5, 1773.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

This is to give you the reason why I did not visit you at Haverhill, and invite you to come to Providence. I set out from Providence, intending to spend a week at Boston

¹ *Documentary History of Brown University*, pages 19-20.

and Haverhill. We (for Mrs. Manning accompanied me) arrived at Boston Friday evening, and proposed to set out for Haverhill on Monday; but that and several succeeding days proving rainy, and Mrs. Manning being very poorly, to our very great disappointment, mortification, etc., we were obliged to return to Providence without going further. Now, therefore, as I am tied to College, pray take Mrs. Smith, and the heir apparent,¹ and the new chaise,² and come and take your station for a week or two on the hill of Providence, where I will insure you excellent water, the best my house affords, and our good company. Pray, what more would you have? If anything is in my power to render the visit still more agreeable, depend on it, you sha'n't be wanting it.

I have made a tour into the hither parts of Connecticut this vacation, and preached fifteen times in fourteen days; seven of them in Presbyterian meeting-houses. What do you think of that? See what it is to be catholic like me, while you, with brandishing weapons, take the field of Mars like an old veteran that scorns to let his sword rust. Good success to you, if you must draw. I have received a packet from England, and our good friend Rev. John Ryland is angry enough because we did not give degrees to the gentlemen he recommended, and says that we have lost by it greatly. How happens it that not one scholar, through your influence, comes from you to our College? I fear you don't exert yourself. We have no late news from the westward. Friends here are generally well, and very desirous to see and hear Mr. Smith, as are your good friends at New London. Mrs. Manning joins in love to you and Mrs. Smith, as, also, to all our good friends at Haverhill, with, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother,

JAMES MANNING.

Dr. Manning now begins a correspondence with the Rev. Benjamin Wallin, a prominent Baptist minister of London, and a gentleman of reputed wealth. He was also a religious writer of some note. "The Christian Life Described," "Discourses on various subjects," "Parable of the Prodigal Son," "Evangelical Hymns and Songs," and various other works by him are to be found upon the shelves of the College

¹ Their infant son, born March 12, 1772.

² It is said that Mr. John White, a wealthy merchant, was the only person in Haverhill in 1764, when Mr. Smith first went there, who owned a chaise. It was a large, heavy-wheeled, square-topped vehicle, used only "to ride to meeting in" on Sundays, and on great and important occasions. Later on Mr. Smith being a man of means and consequence, had a chaise, in which he was accustomed to journey from Haverhill to Providence and the Jerseys. Hence the allusion.

Library, a gift from the author. Under date of May 18, 1773, Manning thus writes : —

DEAR BROTHER :

From Mr. Philip Freeman, of Boston, I received your agreeable present on the third inst., and having perused with much satisfaction the several pieces, especially the Tribulation, I am rejoiced to find that it is not “ another gospel.” Had I capacity, to which I make no pretensions, to examine Mr. Wallin’s productions with the eye of a critic, I feel no disposition, be assured, to do it. I import annually a few books from London, principally for the youth under my care, and should have sent for some of your publications; but as Mr. Backus has them by him, I have thus far deferred doing this, not wishing to interfere in any way with him. I should be glad to know whether you designed the books as a present to me personally, or to the College Library, that I may return you thanks in a proper manner. In either case I am greatly obliged, and heartily thank you therefor.

The executors of Dr. Gill have followed the laudable example of Dr. Stennett, and made us a present of his works, which we deem a most valuable donation. These acts encourage us to hope for similar favors from our friends in Europe. Should any benevolent person be disposed to make a useful donation to our Library and at a loss to know what books to choose, allow me to suggest the works of good Mr. Bunyan, than which none would be more acceptable.

Mr. Edwards has been your substitute for the gentlemen as desired. Through Messrs. Stillman and Backus I learn that the Lord has visited you sorely in the loss of your only daughter. But you need not be told by me that God is a portion infinitely preferable to that of sons or daughters. I doubt not but you find already a strong attachment to this earth broken, and that God leads by the right way. The discipline of the rod is often necessary, at least to such perverse hearts as mine.

Mr. Backus informs me that he has lately written to you, thus removing the necessity of my giving you a recital of affairs amongst us, or of detaining you longer than to crave your indulgence for obtruding upon you this letter, which assures you, dear sir, of the unfeigned affection of your unseen but very much obliged

Friend and servant,

JAMES MANNING.

P. S. — This day received letters from several of the western provinces. Find that religion is at a low ebb in general there, as, alas, it is too generally amongst us. If business would permit, should rejoice to see a line from Mr. Wallin, by our fall ships.

Mr. Wallin's reply is so excellent in spirit, that no apology need be offered for its introduction into our present work :—

LONDON, July 30, 1773.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR :

Your respectful lines by Mr. Keith very much obliged me; nor am I less indebted to your candor in perusing my endeavors, being sensible that they will not bear the eye of a critic. The disadvantages under which I was at length brought into a service conscientiously declined in the very early part of my life, in consequence of which I deprived myself of an intended more liberal education, might plead some excuse; and were you to know by what sollicitation and management I was prevailed on to repeat my visits to the press, you would rather pity than blame me, and cover my numerous defects with a mantle of love.

I thought it a venture to possess one of your character with such feeble and imperfect attempts, — they are at best only fit for children in Christianity, — how, then, could I think of proposing them to the most infant seminary of learning? Indeed, sir, they were intended only as an instance of respect to yourself, to be glanced at with the friendly disposition you express. It would have impeached your last, had not the ingenious discourses of my much esteemed brother, the Rev. Dr. Stennett, been universally admired among you. As to the works of that great man, the late Dr. Gill, who was truly a father, they may justly be accounted a considerable acquisition. I know not, upon the whole, an author more judicious and consistent. The compass of his writing is astonishing, from the labors of which he now rests until the Chief Shepherd comes, when it will appear that our endeavors for his name shall not be in vain.

But seeing you intimate that it may not be unacceptable, I presume, though with some reluctance, to send all I can collect of my publications, which together make ten little volumes, and possibly five entire pieces, and five of sermons, addresses, etc. Also the ordination of Rev. A. Booth, who sends a volume of the sermons of his predecessor, the late Mr. Wilson, and his own "Reign of Grace," etc. These will not be the less welcome for being accompanied by all the works of Mr. Bunyan, agreeably to your suggestion. These I present, with my most respectful compliments, to every member of the College, including their worthy President, the Rev. James Manning. Have you, sir, any stated form of bequeathment? If not, permit me to move for a concise account of your institution, with a direction how to describe you in a will. Such a paper, neatly printed and disposed, may be useful. Be not sparing of copies to your friends. The difference in point of expense between one or two thousand is but trifling.

As to my own works, most of them have been out of print for some years. They are chiefly practical, and all very plain. The hymns, more especially, need an apology.

They are no other than artless compositions, in which the substance of occasional discourses was drawn up in a suitable form. Such a one did not occur in our stated collection. At the time they were sung with peculiar satisfaction, the people being unacquainted with the author; but at length many of them were stolen and mangled, which induced me, at the instance of some, to print them, and so obviate any apprehension of a conceit that they were deserving of public notice. It is my study, both in preaching and in writing, to lead to those inexhaustible treasures of wisdom and comfort, the Holy Scriptures; hence the tone of my naked lines. I must observe further, that in order to make up the set, I was obliged to put in a volume containing my sermon on the experience of the saints, which was bound up in another. You will therefore excuse a duplicate of them.

It is long since I have heard from my very worthy and agreeable correspondent, the Rev. Mr. Backus. He usually much entertains me. I have often rejoiced at his accounts of the success of the gospel in your world, and am sorry to hear that at present in general it seems rather low. May the Lord of Jacob revisit it! Two things are threatening with us, — the growth of Anti-Trinitarians, in a variety of forms, for they cannot agree; nor can I forbear to say that I think a dereliction of, or indifference to, the divine Sonship of our glorious Redeemer, has greatly contributed to the insolvency of men against that foundation of the gospel. The other is a popular ignorance of the authority of Christ, in particular church fellowship, which some are bold enough to put on the footing of prudence and convenience among the disciples of Jesus. The one strikes at the doctrine, the other at the discipline of the gospel. But Zion is insured against the gates of hell.

I am now in the eve of my ministry and life; childless, and in a manner destitute of natural relation, having lost an excellent wife, two sons, and three daughters. It is good to be weaned from an undue attachment to the present state, but afflictions alone will not do it. My heavenly Father has been very gracious in helping me, I trust, to receive not only good at his hand, but also evil. He has given me a name and a place in his house better than that of sons or of daughters, and some spiritual children who are exceeding affectionate and dutiful.

May your valuable life be long spared, and all your instructions succeed to the advantage of mankind, and especially to the spread of the truth and the prosperity of Jerusalem. I remain, reverend and dear sir,

Your obliged and truly affectionate brother,

BENJAMIN WALLIN.

TO THE REV. JOHN RYLAND.

PROVIDENCE, May 20, 1773.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Yours of Feb. 9, 1773, came safely to hand, by the Charlotte, Capt. Jno. Rogers, about the 20th of April, containing your agreeable present of pieces, letters, etc., for all of which I scarce need tell you I heartily thank you. You need not for the future hesitate about sending anything to me in that way, or writing with the utmost plainness to one who believes not in the use of ceremony, even if he were master of it. To convince you that I am entirely suited with your plain dealing, I have embraced the earliest opportunity of returning an answer.

Your friendship to the interests of the College and religion here is very cordially accepted by many besides myself; and though you thought we slighted your friendship, I can assure you it was not so meant; I shall be glad to gratify you, and testify our respect for any of your friends, on every occasion. But I come to particulars.

The books ordered here from Mr. Edwards have not come; neither have I heard of them, except by your letter, though I saw Mr. Edwards at Philadelphia last October. He must surely have forgotten it entirely.

I have seen Mr. Backus since I received yours, and he thinks I mistook Mr. Wallin's meaning, and that he intended only himself. If so, I am sorry I mentioned anything of the matter. Indeed, Mr. Wallin, in his last letter, which I have seen, intimated as much.

I entirely agree with you respecting academical honors, and the mode of conferring them on gentlemen of taste; and as you are fully satisfied that the gentlemen mentioned would cordially accept them, you may be assured we shall take proper care of that matter next Commencement, and forward the diplomas as soon as possible. If we have been tardy, I know you will forgive us. An unforgiving friend is not worth having. Such I do not deem my very good friend, Dr. Ryland. I am heartily sorry that the College should sustain damage, through what we meant only for precaution, and hope, if so, that it will be only temporary. We beg you not to remit an iota of your zeal in attaching gentlemen of grace and learning, property and influence, to the College. For amongst all our good friends in Britain, we consider your opportunities in this way, together with your zeal, as placing you foremost.

The character of the Rev. Mr. Toplady, which you have enlarged upon, is truly a rare one, and I shall think the College highly honored in his accepting a feather, and indeed in the least expression of his friendship.

I am sorry to hear that pious Mr. Woodman is so exceedingly modest as not to choose to wear his feather; but am glad to hear such a worthy character of him, and that he is so well disposed towards the College as to think of providing for it. May the

Lord possess many others with the same spirit! I hope you may have it in your power to put many more in the way of leaving us some love tokens, when they are better employed than in enjoying terrestrial goods. This is what I have hoped for, though hitherto I have not seen cause to expect much from it soon.

I am much obliged to you for the annual contribution of five guineas. I have made free to draw a bill for them in favor of Mr. George Keith, of London, hoping that the Lord may enable me to conduct worthy the Gospel, so that you may not repent the donation.

Your opinion of lotteries coincides with mine; but some of our friends urged me to mention the subject, as they could not see a prospect of supplies in any other way. Besides, I believe there have not been such iniquitous methods used in this matter, with us, as in the State lotteries at home. They have been used to promote good designs.

The book from Mr. Stillman we have received, though lately, as Mr. Story did not do his errand to Mr. Stillman faithfully.

I have written to Mr. Edwards respecting the books in his hands, and expect an answer soon. Perhaps you may meet this in London. If so you need not mention the hint relative to Dr. Chauncey; for I believe he has not yet forwarded anything of that nature.

To give you a full detail of facts and instances of the ill-will of persons to the College¹ would require "*centum ora et ferrea vox*," as sung the poet. Dr. Stiles, of Newport, gave as a reason to the Corporation for not accepting a place in the Faculty, the offense he should give his brethren should he accept it. The manner of obtaining the Charter, has, by the clergy of the Congregational society, been represented as highly iniquitous. (But the particulars of this affair you shall have as soon as the College history can be completed and sent to you, together with other particulars which you request.) Those gentlemen of that denomination who have spoken favorably of the Institution have been reprimanded, as I have been credibly informed, and that by a convention; for showing us so much countenance as to attend the Commencement. I was lately told by a worthy minister of that order in Connecticut, that one of the same order in this town, a sour man, had done the College amazing damage by representing us as bigots, and our sole design to be that of proselyting to the Baptist sentiments; and that if they sent their children here they never could get into any employment in that Government; so that he had it not in his power to send us the scholars to whom he taught grammar,

¹ Mr. Ryland, in a letter to Manning, under date of Feb. 9, 1773, thus writes:

"I wish you would give me a full detail of facts and instances of the ill-will of men to your Seminary. I would make use of them for its benefit and advantage, without hurting you in the least."

though he chose it. The same zeal has been used in the neighboring provinces, both by him and others; and both parents and tutors have repeatedly told me that everything except violence has been used, and almost that in some instances, to prevent them from sending their children here. Some of them have boasted that they have prevented persons from coming who designed it; and few scholars come but say every obstacle has been laid in their way to prevent them. The characters of the teachers, their abilities, and the character of the place even, have been aspersed to the highest degree for the same purpose. But I should tire you to recite a small part of our ill-treatment. They know that the low state of the College fund requires considerable tuition money to support the teachers, and that that depends on the number of scholars. If, therefore, they can prevent them from coming, they know they distress us. But, notwithstanding what I have said of our enemies, there are many valuable men in that society in these parts, some of whom are friendly to the College; but through their connections, or want of ability, few of them have it in their power to express their friendship.

You may expect a particular account of our mode of education, and of the students, their characters, proficiency, piety, etc., when we send you an account of the rise, progress, and present state of the College, which I intend to draw up as soon as I can, and forward it by the first opportunity. Our number of scholars is thirty, and amongst them are many pious, promising young men. Take them together, they are a set of well-behaved boys. I have a Latin school under my care, taught by one of our graduates, of about twenty boys. Amongst those who have left us are three eminent Baptist ministers, their age considered, and another just entered on the work, who, I am told, promises as fair as any of the others; one attorney-at-law, the most eminent at the bar in this Colony, etc., etc.

I thank you for the list of ministers of the Church of England, and shall be glad to see that of the Calvinist Baptist ministers.

What treatise upon fluxions do you deem the best? The state of religion is generally at a low ebb amongst us. May the Lord revive it! Would your English people be scared at an American Indian? I remain, dear sir, your unworthy friend and brother in the Gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

RYLAND'S MEMORANDA AND HINTS FOR PROFESSOR MANNING, AT RHODE ISLAND.

1. The Calvinistical Baptist ministers in England and Wales are about two hundred; but I have given away my printed lists, and forgot to ask Mr. Wallin for some more. Be so good as to mention it to him.
2. I cannot yet procure a complete list of the Independent ministers and churches.

You know there are about thirty-two in London, and we have twelve or fourteen more in Northampton.

3. I suppose you know that it was Dr. Stennett that procured an order from Government to put a stop to the oppression of the Baptists near Boston. I have not a perfect idea of that affair.

4. Two young men, of good parts and sound knowledge of the learned languages, and men of eloquence and piety, are lately come into the ministry from Mr. Evans's academy in Bristol; namely, Mr. Biggs, just going to be ordained over the Baptist church at Wantage, in Berkshire, and Mr. Dunscombe, at Coat in Oxfordshire, whose ordination is to be at the same time. You will do well to mark them down as men of uncommon merit, worthy of your feathers in a year.

5. The sooner you send over a clear, short, printed account of your College, in its rise and present state, the better. I beg you would pay due and equal attention to our leading men, in presenting each with a copy, that no jealousy or pique against you may arise. You know our chief ministers. We have about thirty or forty that can read Greek. Let not one be forgot. If you know not all of them, I will inform you, or take the trouble of giving them a copy in your name.

6. As to your visit to old England, I shall be glad to see you, and will do you all the service I can; but I wish you to attach some more of our ministers to your interest by your *pretty baubles* first, and also let your account of the College come six months before you.

7. As to your worthy mathematical professor, I wish him all possible success; but I must not presume to assist or direct him with respect to the best book on fluxions. The students at our Cambridge use chiefly an abridgment of Sanderson's Algebra, an octavo, price six shillings; and then we have such a number of books on fluxions, so good that 'tis hard to say which is the best. There are four of great note; namely, Maclaurin, Ditton, Thomas Simpson, and Emerson last of all, who is now living. He has published a noble course of mathematical learning, in about ten or twelve octavo volumes. He is an amazing genius in the north of England. His Mechanics, quarto, fourteen shillings, and Astronomy, six shillings, I have in my study. But the lovely humane philosopher, and my intimate friend, is James Ferguson, F. R. S. He has just now assisted me to complete my optical cards, which are engraving on copper plates. You will, I hope, approve of them, as the easiest introduction to Optics ever seen in the world. By the way, Ferguson drew up the book you have in your hands with my name to it; for I could not persuade him to put his own, for fear of appearing ungrateful to Andrew Miller, bookseller, who had been his friend in time of need.

CALVINISTIC BAPTIST MINISTERS IN ENGLAND WHO CAN READ THE GREEK
TESTAMENT, ETC.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|----------|
| 1. SAMUEL STENNETT, D.D., | } | London. |
| 2. BENJAMIN WALLIN, | | |
| 3. WILLIAM CLARK, | | |
| 4. JOHN REYNOLDS, | | |
| 5. ABRAHAM BOOTH, | | |
| 6. DR. GIFFORD, | | |
| 1. HUGH EVANS, | } | Bristol. |
| 2. CALEB EVANS, | | |
| 3. MR. NEWTON, | | |
1. BENJAMIN BEDDOME, Bourton, on the water, Gloucester.
 2. JOHN ASH, Preshore, Worcestershire.
 3. JOSHUA SYMONDS, of Bedford, who has lately altered his sentiments from a Pedobaptist, and honestly is come into and submitted to believer's baptism; for which he is abhorred and despised by the Independent ministers. Give him your best honors.
 4. DANIEL TURNER, Abingdon, Berkshire.
 5. MR. ROBINSON, of Cambridge.
 6. PHILIP GIBBS, of Plymouth.
 7. MORGAN JONES, of Hampstead, Hertfordshire.
 8. SAMUEL JAMES, of Hitchin, Hertfordshire. Now dying.
 9. ISAAC WOODMAN, of Leicestershire.
 10. JOHN BROWN, of Kettering, Northamptonshire.
 11. BIGGS and DUNSCOMBE; excellent scholars.
 12. ROBERT DAY, Wellington, Somersetshire.
 13. BENJAMIN FULLER, Devizes.
 14. JOHN POYNTING, Worcester.
 15. JOHN OULTON, of Rawden in Yorkshire.
 16. JOHN FAWCETT, of Wainsgate, Yorkshire; now keeps a seminary.
 17. JOSEPH JENKINS.
 18. BENJAMIN DAVIES, in Wales, keeps an academy at Abergavemry, about ten pupils. Give him a feather.
 19. MR. JOHN RIPPON, at Dr. Gill's meeting-house.
 20. RYLAND, Sen.
 21. RYLAND, Jun.

Among the papers on file in the College archives is one entitled, "A Remonstrance of the Senior Class of Rhode Island College to the respectable the President and the Professor of the same," bearing date Feb. 19, 1773. From this it appears that serious objections had been made to a Commencement for this year, on the ground mainly that the members of the class to graduate were not "orators." This objection was finally overruled, and the anniversary exercises of the College were held as usual. The following account from the diary or journal of the valedictorian, Doctor Solomon Drowne, is kindly furnished us by his grandson, the Rev. Dr. Thomas S. Drowne, of the class of 1845. The author was throughout life an intimate friend of President Manning, and as a physician, attended him in his last sickness. We shall make frequent mention of him in succeeding chapters. He served as surgeon in the Continental army from 1776 to 1780. From 1783 to 1834, a period of fifty-one years, he rendered his Alma Mater good service as a member of the Board of Fellows; and from 1811 to 1834 he was the Professor of *Materia Medica* and Botany in the University. He delivered numerous addresses, some of which attracted attention, especially a funeral oration on Gen. James Mitchel Varnum, a eulogy on Washington, and an oration in 1824 in aid of the cause of the Greeks. The accompanying likeness is from a photograph of a painting in the collection in Sayles Memorial Hall. The diary begins with Drowne's examination for entrance into College. He was a native of Providence, it may be observed, his father, Solomon Drowne, being one of the committee to wait on President Manning upon his arrival from Warren, and invite him to preach for the Baptist church: —

July 2, 1770. After examination in June, by the Rev. James Manning and Prof. David Howell, entered Rhode Island College. Began Horace, Longinus, and Lucian in October, and French in December. 1771. Recited with the first class that recited in the new College Building. Commenced Geography in January; Xenophon in February; Watt's Logic in May; Ward's Oratory in June; Homer's Iliad in July; Duncan's Logic in August; Longinus in October; Hill's Arithmetic same month; Hammond's Algebra and British Grammar in December. Appointed by his fellow students President of a Society for mutual improvement, styled the "Pronouncing Society." 1772. Pronounced an eulogy on a fellow student. Began Ethics in January; Euclid's Ele-



SOLOMON DROWNE.

ments in February, also Metaphysics, Trigonometry, and Cicero's *De Oratore*; Martin's Philosophy in May; Martin's Use of the Globes in August; Hebrew Grammar in December. 1773. During the latter part of March and beginning of April accompanied the President on a tour to New London. Went by way of Plainfield, and returned by way of Stonington and Westerly, the President preaching in various places both going and coming.

This is the tour to which Manning alludes in his letter to Smith under date of May 5, 1773:—"I have made a tour into the hither parts of Connecticut this vacation, and preached fifteen times in fourteen days, seven of them in Presbyterian meeting-houses." Both he and Smith were accustomed throughout their lives to make tours of this kind.

Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1773. At length the day, the great, the important day, is come. O may it prove propitious. Now we must pass from easy College duties into the busy, bustling scenes of life. At about ten o'clock, the Corporation being assembled, we walk in procession from the College Hall to the Rev. Mr. Snow's meeting-house, where the President introduces the business of the day by prayer, after which Nash addresses the assembly in a Latin Salutatory oration; then follows an English oration, pronounced by Mr. Foster, upon the discovery, progressive settlement, present state, and future greatness of the American colonies; which is succeeded by a syllogistic disputation in Latin, wherein Litchfield is the respondent, and myself, Padelford, and Tillinghast, the opponents. After this, Tillinghast delivers an oration on politeness, which finishes the exercises of the forenoon.

The afternoon exercises begin with an English oration for the Master's degree upon civil liberty, by Mr. Dennis. The degree of A. B. is then conferred on myself, Joseph Litchfield, Jacob Nash, Philip Padelford, and Henry H. Tillinghast; and the degree of A. M., on Messrs. John Dennis, Theodore Foster, Samuel Nash, and Seth Read; also on Doct. Thomas Eyres, Secretary of the Corporation, and late of Yale College; to which succeeded my valedictory oration; and then a most solemn and pathetic charge by the President, to our class. The whole is concluded by prayer.

To this account by Drowne we may add the following from the *Providence Gazette*:—

The young gentlemen performed their respective parts with great propriety, which justly procured them the universal applause of a judicious and candid audience.

This charge of President Manning, for which we are indebted to Henry T. Drowne, Esq., of New York, also a grandson of Doct.

Drowne, we are happy to be able to present to our readers. It shows the author's excellent good sense, and the value he put upon religion as the chief concern in life. It was first printed in the Documentary History of Brown University.

MANNING'S CHARGE.

You will naturally expect that I should express the same affectionate regard for your welfare, as for that of those who have before shared the honors of this College, by giving you a parting charge. But if I thought you would expect and imagine I would give it as a mere thing of course, and with unfeeling formality, I should either entirely omit it, or endeavor to conceive it in such terms and utter it with such tones as would convince you of my earnestness. But even to suggest that you were all capable of such unaccountable insensibility, would be highly injurious to your character, for which I publicly profess the most tender concern.

With you I consider the scene now shifted, and you to have exchanged the retirement of a College, for the clamorous, or at least busy, scenes of life; — for that agitated ocean on which, unless Providence is distinguishingly propitious, you may expect to find full exercise for all your abilities, and at last perhaps scarce weather out the storms, with honor and advantage, which will gather and thwart even a virtuous course.

To lay down general rules and useful maxims for your future conduct, is a matter extremely easy; for you to adopt and apply them, untutored by experience, is not so easy. Experience is a kind of knowledge that is purely personal, and hence arise the numberless mistakes of inadvertent youth; yet, from an attentive view of life, much may be learned from others, for causes similar will be productive of similar effects. The same course of action which has brought infamy on others, will involve you also; and the virtuous, useful life of others points you directly to that reputation which they have acquired. So far, then, success may be hoped for from wholesome lectures read to docile minds, and a suitable charge given to those who aim to tread the path of virtue and climb to solid reputation.

The sagacious public will not only discern your quantity of capacity, but decide who of you have exerted yourselves to improve in knowledge; and, small as this class is, and numerous as the disadvantages under which it has labored are, I am not without hopes of seeing at least some of its members distinguish themselves amongst the sons of science. If a proper foundation has not been laid in your first studies to initiate you into the knowledge of letters, I believe you will do your instructors the justice to impute it to something else as the cause, rather than to their inattention to your interest or their duty.

And though a course of four years in College without forfeiting a standing by vicious conduct is generally thought sufficient to entitle to a degree, yet something more than possessing a diploma must prove that you merit it. I, therefore, charge you to press forward with hasty steps in the road to knowledge, and if an immature age, a fickle and indolent temper, or but a moderate capacity has distanced you in the race, let more confirmed age, future activity and redoubled diligence urge you on with a noble ambition at once to even outdo yourselves, and agreeably disappoint the expectations of your friends.

In forming your connections, as well as in all your undertakings, proceed with the utmost caution. The neglect of this has proved the ruin of thousands. Be slow to speak and swift to hear; be angry only when absolutely necessary, and then you will not be likely to exceed due bounds. Despise the narrow, contracted principle which actuates the selfish, and only think you deserve the character of men when you affectionately love and glow with ardor to promote the happiness of all mankind. Your personal wants are few, unless unnecessarily multiplied by yourselves, and consequently you may expend much on the public.

Remember that the lowest calling in life may be honored by a proper attention paid to the duties of it, and that the highest may be degraded by the neglect of them. Aspire not, therefore, to an exalted station without conscious worth to entitle you to it, and an unshaken resolution to support it. Despise as well those fetters of the mind forged by devoted bigots to opinion, as those for the body by tyrannic princes and legislatures. Challenge the glorious prerogative of thinking for yourselves in religious matters, and generously grant to others without a grudge what you yourselves deem the dearest of all blessings.

I have a right to expect your friendship for this College, and your strenuous exertions in its just vindication, while I interdict an ungenerous partiality. Make religion your first, your great, your only concern. Converse intimately with death by devout meditation. Read with the closest attention the Scriptures of God, and by their aid realize the awful realities of eternity. Make them alone the standard of both your faith and your practice. Refute the daring, licentious infidel with a holy life, without which the most holy profession is both utterly incredible and unavailing.

And should any of you assume the character of a Christian preacher, I warn you to beware of touching this sacred ark with unhallowed hands. Remember the awful, ever memorable fate of those who offered strange fire; such will yours be, except your hearts are purified with the faith of the Gospel. Finally, we must all meet at the tribunal of the Supreme Judge, to hear the decisive sentence according to our characters. May this, my dear pupils, be to you an introduction into everlasting joy.

Smith in his diary, writes thus of this Commencement week. He preached, it will be observed, the usual sermon Wednesday evening:—

Mon. Aug. 10, 1773. Set out for Providence in Rhode Island Government. Got there on Tuesday. John Duncan went with me. Wed. Sept. 1. Attended the Commencement. Five took their degrees. Preached a sermon in the evening from Titus ii. 14. Thurs. 2. Met with the Corporation of Rhode Island College. Sab. 5. Preached a sermon in the Baptist meeting-house, from Luke iv. 18, and in the afternoon at Mr. Snow's meeting-house, from 1 John iii. 2. It was a funeral discourse. Mon. 6. Went to Attleborough. Tues. 7. Went to Medfield and met in Association, when it was determined by a great majority not to carry in any more certificates.

At this meeting of the Corporation, which was attended by fourteen Trustees and six Fellows, Prof. David Howell was elected a Fellow in the room of the Rev. John Davis, deceased. This position he held until his death in 1824, a period of fifty-one years. During a part of this time, from 1780 until 1808, he served as Secretary. Among the votes passed, was one directing Edward Thurston, Jr., to procure from England a copper plate, agreeable to a form prescribed by the Fellowship for conferring degrees by diplomas, and that one hundred of said diplomas be struck off at the same time from said plate. From the records it appears that Capt. William Rogers, of Newport, father of the "first student," had bequeathed to the College the sum of £200, lawful money. The salary of Professor Howell was increased to £90, lawful money.

In regard to "certificates," to which Smith in his diary refers, Backus, in his Church history thus states the matter:—

In September, 1772, the author was chosen an agent of the Baptist churches in Mr. Davis's room; and the following events took place among them. Though their church in Chelmsford had given in certificates according to law, yet they were all taxed to parish teachers; and in a cold season, Jan. 26, 1773, three of their society were imprisoned therefor at Concord, one of whom was eighty-two years old; and they commenced a suit in law for recompense; but their cases were long delayed. In Bellingham equal liberty was enjoyed, because there was none but a Baptist minister in the town; but a number of his hearers who lived in Mendon were so much oppressed with taxes to other ministers, that in the three preceding years they estimated their damages at that

account at near fifty pounds. And these and other things being laid before the Baptist Committee, May 5th, they advised their agent to write to all the churches, to consider whether it was not their duty to refuse to give any more certificates to the power that oppressed them, and to bring in their conclusions upon it to their next Association.

The Association met in Medfield on the 7th of September, and continued in session three days. Ebenezer Hinds, of Middleborough, was chosen Moderator, and William Williams, of Wrentham, Clerk. Eighteen churches were represented by pastors and delegates, and three more churches were added to their number. The debates upon the great questions of the day must have been full and spirited, although the meagre printed minutes of four duodecimo pages contain no allusion thereto. "It was determined by a great majority not to carry in any more certificates," for the following reasons, among others, as stated by Backus:—

1. Because it implies an acknowledgment that civil rulers have a right to set up one religious sect above another, which they have not.
2. Because they are not representatives in religious matters, and therefore have no right to impose religious taxes
3. Because such a practice emboldens the actors therein to assume God's prerogative, and to judge the hearts of others.

The Circular Letter has this paragraph:—

But we are sorry to tell you, that some of our dear Brethren are denied the free enjoyment of that choice blessing, LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE, especially in this Province; having many of them had their goods violently taken from them to support a way of worship contrary to their conscience, while others in the year past have been imprisoned for the same purpose in a manner that was very inhuman.

The vacation following Commencement Manning improved by visiting the churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut, riding in his chaise from place to place, and preaching as he had opportunity. The following memoranda of his journey are taken from Aitkens's American Register and Calendar for 1773, a copy of which was preserved among the family papers and books of Manning. They serve to show that the author's preaching services were in request, and that he thus

commended the College which he represented to the good will of the denomination : —

Memoranda of ye places and times I am to preach after I set out upon my journey 18th of September, 1773. At Attleborough, 2 o'clock; Medfield, Sabbath; Boston, Monday evening; Wareham, Tuesday; Ipswich, Wednesday to Friday; 4 o'clock at Elder Harriman's; Sabbath at Haverhill; Monday, 4 o'clock at Chelmsford; Tuesday, 4 o'clock at Grafton; Wednesday, 10 o'clock at Sutton; 4 o'clock, at Charlton; Thursday, 10 o'clock at Sturbridge; evening at Brimfield; Friday, 1 o'clock, at Wilbraham; Sabbath at Springfield; Monday, 10 o'clock, at Enfield; South Brimfield, evening; Tuesday, 2 o'clock, Woodstock; Wednesday, 10 o'clock, at Abington.

President Manning, in his official relations, was not altogether unmindful of the wise man's injunction touching the rod. "John," to whom Mr. Hart refers below, was now, it seems a freshman in college. He had probably been one of Manning's grammar-school pupils. Whether he profited by the "discipline," we cannot say. As his name, however, appears among the graduates four years later, it is reasonable to draw the most favorable inferences.

CHARLESTON, NOV. 5, 1773.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I have hardly time to say, yours of the 6th Sept. ult., came to hand two days ago. I am now preparing for a journey into Georgia, very high up, in order to assist my good Brother Pelot in constituting a Baptist church. The Lord has greatly owned the labors of our young Bottford; many are converted, baptized, and are now waiting for the enjoyment of church privileges. This intelligence, I know, will be agreeable to you; more so than the account you gave of my sad boy was to me. I am sorry John has conducted so as to give you so much trouble, and to forfeit the place he had under the management of Mr. Manning. Had I been apprised of his unworthy conduct sooner, perhaps I should have remanded him back to Carolina; for I am not in such affluent circumstances as to throw away money in the education of one who has no view to his own advantage. I thank you, however, for all the pains you have taken with him, and that you have made trial of the discipline of the rod. Let me entreat you unweariedly to exert your best endeavors for his advantage. Who knows but God may give him a turn? I should be sorry he should return a worthless blockhead. When I return from my Georgia route, which will take me near a month, I shall use my utmost endeavors to remit you some more guineas. I have enough due me if I could collect it; but cash

was never so scarce in Carolina as at present. This is an unfavorable circumstance, both for you and for me.

I should be glad to see an account of your late Commencement in print. Pray, how goes on the great man of Haverhill? I have heard nothing from him for a great while past; and I hear almost as little about Mr. Stillman, or our affairs in Boston. How is Mr. Davis's place supplied? Has that church any minister?

Could you not prevail on John to write to me? I have received but one letter from him for the space of twelve months, although I have sharply reprov'd him for his neglect, over and over again. With kind love to Mrs. Manning, I remain,

Yours, with much esteem,

OLIVER HART.

TO THE REV. JOHN RYLAND.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 25, 1773.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR :

Yours by Capt. Shand I received last week. I am obliged to you for the number of Calvinist Baptist ministers in England and Wales, and for information where I may procure a list of Independent ministers.

I did not know before that it was Dr. Stennett who procured the repeal of the Ashfield law against the Baptists. I rejoice at the addition of Messrs. Biggs and Dunscombe to the number of laborers in the vineyard of our Lord. I shall remember and do honor to such worthy characters.

I expect we shall be able to send over a printed account of the College the next spring, together with diplomas to those in England who were graduated the last fall. The reason of our being so tardy in this matter is, the Corporation, at their last meeting, ordered us to revise the form of our diplomas, and send it to England to be engraved in copper plate, and procure a quantity of good parchment, as we had none here fit to send abroad. Should you happen in London on the receipt of this, I should be glad to have you inspect the draught and design, and prescribe the best form of the plate, hands, etc.

I shall pay due attention to the literary gentlemen you mentioned, when the account of the College is sent over, and am obliged to you for your proffered kindness in distributing them. This I shall expect.

I know not whether I shall ever have the pleasure of seeing your face in the flesh; should my life be spared, though, it would be very agreeable. However, we shall omit nothing which is judged agreeable or necessary to pave the way for some future personal solicitation in favor of our College in England, should it be thought expedient. Am obliged to you for the account of books on fluxions and your optical card. I doubt not I shall approve of it when favored with a sight.

In company with yours I received a letter from that venerable man, Rev. Isaac Woodman, together with another testimony of his good-will toward us. He writes like an experienced, modest father. This letter I must answer, though I am greatly paralyzed with a crowd of business, and cannot do it as I would be glad to do. Also Rev. Benjamin Wallin, of London, sent me an agreeable letter, accompanied with all he has published, in ten volumes, neatly bound and gilt, with the most valuable works of John Bunyan, in six volumes, the Reign of Grace, by William Booth, and Wilson's Sermons — all for the College library. These I esteem valuable presents.

Enclosed I send you the Minutes of the Association at Philadelphia, and that called the Warren Association, in New England.

The last vacation I spent in riding three hundred and fifty miles, and preaching twenty-five times, to a number of our little Baptist churches and societies in New England; many of which I had never visited before. Was cordially received, and importuned to repeat my visit as soon as might be. In general found religion to wear a promising aspect; but in many places they met with great interruption from the Establishment in New England. I wonder how men by human laws can establish a religion, and then have the effrontery to call it Christ's kingdom!

I should have sent to you before this for a number of your books, but understood you had sent some of them to Mr. Edwards, directed to me, which I have not seen. With my best wishes for your welfare, I am, sir,

Your unworthy brother in the Gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

P. S.—I have seen Rev. Augustus Toplady's Treatise on Predestination, with his letter to Rev. Jno. Wesley, and deem them masterly performances, answering well the character you gave him.

TO THE REV. BENJAMIN WALLIN.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 25, 1773.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Yours of July 30th, by Capt. Shand, together with the box of books, came safe to hand last week; for which I return you many thanks, as well in the name of the Corporation of our College as in my own. I have not had leisure to peruse many of the pieces since their arrival, but from my prepossession in favor of the author, and from what I have read of his works, I am confident they will be highly agreeable; so that you might have spared everything said by way of apology for them on that account. I am, however, greatly obliged to you for the information you give concerning your entering the ministry, your age, situation in the world, and in the church of God, etc., etc. Your present of the venerable Bunyan's works were not the less welcome for being accompanied with

the agreeable present from the Rev. Abraham Booth, of his Reign of Grace, and of Mr. Wilson's Sermons. I must trouble him with a letter, too.

We expect next spring to send over a printed account of the rise and present state of the College, in which we shall give an account of the manner of donations to the College by wills; but lest that should come too late, I here send the name by which it is known in law, and by which it is to hold donations, until some more distinguished benefactor shall give it a new one, for which the Corporation have liberty in the charter.

"Item. I give to the Trustees and Fellows of the College or University in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England in America, the sum of —."

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, last year or the year before, prescribed a form of bequeathment to them, in which they say: "To be raised and paid by, and out of my ready money, plate, goods, and personal effects, which, by law, I may or can charge with the payment of the same; and not out of any part of my lands, tenements, or hereditaments, and to be applied towards," etc. The particular design must be expressed, or it must be left to them to dispose of as they shall think proper. I suppose the statute of Mortmain, or that of 9th of George II., made this precaution necessary. But as our friends in Great Britain will be always able to advise with those who are skilled in these matters, they will put it out of the power of any to defeat their benevolent intentions, after they are gone to the eternal world. Pardon my being so particular on this point: the loss of sundry donations to the society above mentioned, published in their extracts, suggested the thought.

When our account of the College comes, we shall not be sparing in numbers to be distributed, as our friends judge proper.

I wonder that Mr. Backus is behindhand with you, as he is not commonly tardy in this way. He is an excellent man, and though unfurnished with the knowledge of letters, has been an eminent instrument in the hands of God to spread the truth in this country, as well by his publications as by his preaching. He has lately published an appeal to the public in favor of the Baptist society in New England; and he is now collecting materials for the history of the Baptists. I will forward Mr. Edwards's list by the first safe conveyance.

Your information of the low state of religion amongst us is but too true! May the Lord in mercy visit us. I travelled this fall about three hundred and fifty miles, and visited many of the Baptist churches. In several places there were, I thought, evident marks of the power of God attending gospel means. While on that journey I baptized four persons. I am sorry to hear of the decline of vital godliness in old England, and of the prevalence of Anti-Trinitarianism, or, if you please, infidelity. I believe no arguments will effectually refute that, in men of corrupt minds, short of the power of divine grace, for a day of which I need not solicit you to help with your prayers.

I am glad to hear you express that happy degree of resignation to the will of God in your bereaved, afflicted state. Oh that blessed word! "Our light afflictions," etc. May God grant you an experience of its full import, make your last days your best, and late, very late, call you home from earthly labors to mansions of glory. This is the sincere prayer of

Your most unworthy brother in the Gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

The following is a letter to the Rev. Abraham Booth, of London, proposing an "exchange of some letters." Mr. Booth was an eminent Baptist minister in his day, and an author of no little celebrity. His "Reign of Grace," "Pedobaptism Examined," "Apology for the Baptists," "Essay on the Kingdom of Christ," and numerous other religious and polemical writings, may be found upon the shelves of the College library. Most of them were republished in 1813, in three octavo volumes, with a memoir of the author. An account of him, compiled from this memoir, is given in Rose's General Biographical Dictionary :—

NEWPORT, NOV. 26, 1773.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

The last week brought your agreeable present of the Reign of Grace, and the Rev. Mr. Wilson's Sermons, a present to our College library; for which the Corporation have ordered me, in their name, to return you their thanks; an agreeable task, as it not only gives me an opportunity of expressing my gratitude for the donation, but opens a door for me to address a gentleman and brother in Christ whose character has often been represented to me in so amiable a light that I should think it a happiness to maintain a correspondence with you, if agreeable on your part.

It gives me peculiar pleasure to find our friends in Great Britain mindful of this infant Seminary. It greatly needs and most cordially accepts their patronage, and wishes, too, an increase of benefactors. I hope in our turn we shall show all proper respect to all its friends who can justly have any claim upon us.

Should it be agreeable to you, sir, to exchange some letters, you will always find me ready to execute your commands, as far as I am able. May you experience in your soul the dominion of that grace you have so agreeably described, is, dear sir, the devout wish of

Your obliged but unworthy brother,

JAMES MANNING.

Under date of May 25, 1774, we find the following brief letter addressed to the Rev. Benjamin Wallin: —

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Yours of February, now before me, was very acceptable, as also the two pamphlets; for which I return you my hearty thanks. Hope the separation in Dr. Gill's church, although attended with some circumstances in themselves disagreeable, may eventually prove to the furtherance of the gospel.

Any apology in behalf of your production, dear sir, is perfectly unnecessary. Mr. Booth's piece has not yet come to hand. Please to make my compliments to him, and to any others who may inquire after your unworthy friend.

Mr. Backus is now raking into the rubbish of time to collect materials for a History of the American Baptists, and prosecutes his design with great assiduity.

*A very considerable number of Baptists were last winter imprisoned, for the non-payment of their rates to the Presbyterians, in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay;—very ill-timed, considering their contest with the British Parliament respecting the right of taxation, and the measures they might have guessed would have been pursued. But, alas! how blind are we to our own faults!

I expect the account of the College will be complete this summer, and hope you may not be disappointed in the manner of its execution. We are not accustomed to write for the public eye. When done they will be forwarded to England with all speed. A grievous diarrhœa, for several months past, has put it out of my power to contribute my assistance, or it would have been more forward at this day. I heartily thank you for your good wishes for me and for the seminary, and hope the institution may prove a public blessing. Religion is in a flourishing state in several of the places around us, but low in Providence. May the Lord revive his own work. With sincere regards, I am, dear sir,

Your unworthy friend,

JAMES MANNING.

*The Baptist committee are to meet at Boston to-morrow on this business. If no redress is granted from government, they will, I suppose, apply to the King and Council through their agents in London.

We close this chapter with a letter to John Ryland, the last one which Manning was able to send him for more than two years: —

NEWPORT, May 27, 1774.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Though I had no letter from you by the fast vessels, I cannot omit sending you a line. The College papers have been retarded by my indisposition through the past win-

ter. An obstinate diarrhœa, for several months together, took away almost all hopes that I should ever recover my health, and prevented my attention to business in a great measure; but through the goodness of God I am happily recovered. The Anecdotes of the College will be drawn up and forwarded as soon as may be, and the other papers. But I could not get them ready by this opportunity. This spring I received from Philadelphia your "Cause of Deism Ruined Forever," etc.; and, according to the directions, forwarded one to Harvard College, Mr. Stillman, etc. Return my hearty thanks for the one presented me, and, in the name of the Corporation, I present their thanks for that given to our College library. The College is in much the same state as when I wrote last. Religion is on the revival in some places in New England; but great calamities seem to threaten us, in consequence of the dispute relating to taxation; and the Lord only knows when this dispute will end. I think it incumbent on all who have any interest at the throne of Grace, to employ it, both in Britain and America, that God would pour out his Spirit on us all, and heal the breaches sin has made.

I have taken the liberty to draw on Mr. Ryland, in favor of Mr. John Brown, for five guineas, as usual. My Brother Gano has returned to New York from a tour of six or seven months through the Carolinas. Have not yet seen him, but am informed that he brings good tidings respecting the state of religion. With great respect, I am, sir,

Yours, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

We find no further mention by Dr. Manning of his "Anecdotes" or "Narrative" of the College. His ill health at this time, the cares and anxieties of a pastor in seasons of a revival, and the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, probably prevented the completion of his literary undertaking. It is a matter of deep regret that his papers and letters were not more carefully preserved.

CHAPTER VII.

1774.

Murmurs of political discontent—War impending—Resolutions passed at town meetings—Commencement for 1774—Cadets, Fusileers, and United Train of Artillery—Barnabas Binney's remarkable valedictory address, being a plea for religious liberty—Afterwards published—Other members of the graduating class—Letter to Thomas Ustick—Meeting of the Corporation—Donation of twenty pounds sterling from the estate of Dr. Bernard Foskett, of Bristol—Students entering the College required to transcribe the laws—Copy of the laws belonging to Enoch Pond, of the class of 1777, with the President's signature, now preserved on file—Laws and Customs of Rhode Island College in 1774 in full—Vacations—Freedom of Conscience—First day of the week, or Sunday—Chancellor Hopkins—Freshmen to pay due respect to their Superiors—Speaking on the Chapel stage evenings—College edifice still in an unfinished state—Students to open their doors to the College officers—Required to speak in Latin in study hours—Freshmen required to kindle the fires—Religious basis of the College, and its liberal character seen in these "Laws and Customs"—Distinction between freshmen and seniors—Steward of the College—Rooms—Meals—Orders for the dining room—Beginning of commons—Efforts of Manning in resisting oppressions—Meeting of the Warren Association in Medfield—Resolve to send Backus to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia as the agent of the Baptist churches—Idea originated with Manning, and others, at the Commencement the week previous—Case stated by Backus in his diary—Plan adopted by the Association for aiding the College—Extract from circular letter prepared by Hezekiah Smith—Certificate given to Backus by the Association—Journey to Philadelphia—Account of the meeting in Carpenter's Hall, Oct. 14, 1774—Members of the Continental Congress present—Conference opened by Manning, who read a memorial—Result of the Conference not satisfactory at the time—Resulted eventually in good—Backus's appeal to the public—How this Conference of the Baptists with the delegates to Congress was regarded by their opponents—Memoranda of texts from which Manning preached during this journey to the Jerseys—Political measures adopted by this first Continental Congress—Approved by the General Assembly of Rhode Island at a special session in December—The patriotism of the Colony unsurpassed by that of any other Colony.

AND now the murmurs of political discontent began to swell and threaten, which were soon to break forth, says the historian, "in the war cry of the Revolution." On the 19th of January, 1774, a town meeting was called in Providence, when resolutions were passed deprecating "a tame submission to any invasion of American freedom;"

asserting that the duty imposed by Parliament on tea, was a tax on Americans without their consent; and pledging the corporation of the town, with other towns and colonies, in a resolute stand against this and every other unconstitutional measure, and forbidding the introduction of tea here while subject to a duty.

At a meeting of the town held on the 17th of May following, it was resolved:—

That this town will heartily join with the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and the other colonies, in such measures as shall be generally agreed on by the colonies, for the protecting and securing their invaluable natural rights and privileges, and transmitting the same to the latest posterity. That the deputies of this town be requested to use their influence, at the approaching session of the General Assembly of this Colony, for promoting a Congress, as soon as may be, of the Representatives of the General Assemblies of the several colonies and provinces of North America, for establishing the firmest union, and adopting such measures as to them shall appear the most effectual, to answer that important purpose.

In accordance with these instructions the General Assembly, at the June session, appointed Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward delegates to a Continental Congress. This was the famous Congress which met in Philadelphia, to which we shall presently refer.

Commencement this year was held for the last time in Mr. Snow's meeting-house. For the following full and interesting account we are again indebted to the *Providence Gazette*:—

Wednesday last (September 7th) being the anniversary Commencement of the College in this town, the Hon. the Governor of the Colony, escorted by the Company of Cadets, under the command of Colonel Nightingale, preceded the usual procession from the College Hall to the Rev. Mr. Snow's meeting-house. After the President had introduced the business of the day by prayer, Mr. Jones pronounced the Salutatory Oration in Latin, upon the superior advantages which the moderns enjoy above the ancients, for good public speaking; after which Mr. Foster spoke in support of this Thesis:—"Theatrical exhibitions corrupt the morals of mankind, and are prejudicial to the State;" which was opposed by Mr. Penniman. To this disputation, succeeded an oration, exposing the vulgar notions of apparitions, etc., spoken by Mr. Mann. An oration upon the necessity and great advantage of cultivating our own language, spoken by Mr. Dorrance, concluded the exercises of the forenoon. A syllogistic dispute, "An

dictamina Conscientiae sunt semper optemperanda," introduced the exercises of the afternoon. The thesis was defended by Mr. Dorrance; the opponents were Messrs. Binney, Foster, Jones, and Penniman; after which Mr. Ward, one of the candidates for the Master's degrees, pronounced an oration upon patriotism, in which were contained many judicious observations upon the present political circumstances of the American Colonies. The degree of Bachelor of Arts was then conferred upon Messrs. Barnabas Binney, John Dorrance, Dwight Foster, Timothy Jones, Jacob Mann, and Elias Penniman. The degree of Master in Arts was conferred on Messrs. Thomas Arnold, Ranna Cosset, Benjamin Farnham, Thomas Ustick, and Samuel Ward, alumni of the College. The Hon. Joshua Babcock, of Yale College, the Rev. Isaac Skillman, Mr. Benjamin Steele, of Nassau Hall College, and Mr. John White, Jr., of Harvard College, were also admitted to the degree of Master in Arts in this College. The Rev. David Jones, Rev. William Vanhorn, and Mr. William Tillinghast, were admitted to the honorary degree of Master in Arts. The President then addressed the Bachelors with a concise and pertinent charge, to which succeeded the valedictory oration, by Mr. Binney, being a plea for religious liberty, corroborated by ecclesiastical history, after which the President concluded the exercises of the day by prayer.

The account in the *Gazette* further adds, that "the Company of Cadets, in uniforms, made an elegant and truly military appearance, and both in the procession and manœuvres, which they performed on the College Green, procured universal approbation, and convinced the spectators, that Americans are no less capable of military discipline than Europeans." This company, says Staples, had been incorporated in 1744, as an Artillery Company. In June, 1774, they assumed the name of the Cadet Company, by permission of the General Assembly, and were commanded by a colonel. At the same session, June, 1774, a Light Infantry company was also incorporated. Soon after this a Grenadier company was formed. This was chartered in October, and in December following, the Providence Fusileers, and another company of Artillery. In April, 1775, the Fusileers and Artillery were united and formed into the United Train of Artillery, which is a flourishing company to-day. The *Gazette* of Dec. 18, 1775, says: "Not a day passes, Sundays excepted, but some of the companies are under arms; so well convinced are the people that the complexion of the times renders a knowledge of the military art indispensably necessary."

Mr. Binney, who was graduated on this occasion with the valedictory honors of his class, was the son of Capt. Barnabas Binney, of Boston. In early youth he discovered a ready and prolific genius, which gave promise of usefulness in the clerical profession. But the liberality of his ideas, says his biographer, rendered it difficult for him to attach himself to any particular sect, and hence he could never be prevailed upon to assume the vows and duties of a professed teacher of religion. He therefore perfected himself in the various branches of medicine, and finally established himself as a physician in the city of Philadelphia. Here he died June 21, 1787. During the war, from 1780 to 1781, he was senior surgeon in the Continental army hospital. His son, the late Hon. Horace Binney, LL. D., ranked among the most distinguished lawyers and jurists of the Pennsylvania bar. His sister Avis, it may be added, was married in 1785, to Nicholas Brown, to whom we so frequently refer in these early annals. Mr. Binney's valedictory oration, which was immediately published,¹ was universally regarded as a splendid production. After the usual addresses, it discussed fully the politics of that eventful period, and was listened to with the most profound attention. The merits of this production were greatly enhanced in the delivery by the gracefulness of the orator, and the uncommon elegance of his manners.

Judge Dorrance, of Providence, was a member of this class. He has the honor of being the first librarian of the College, having been appointed in his senior year. He was also a tutor two years, and from 1798 until 1813, a member of the Board of Trustees. Dwight Foster, whose name also appears in this connection, was a brother of the Hon. Theodore Foster, of the class of 1770. He settled as a lawyer in Brookfield, Mass., and acquired distinction in his profession. He was a member of Congress six years, and from 1800 to 1803 was a member of the United States Senate.

¹ A copy is still preserved in the University library. The following is the title: "An Oration delivered on the late public Commencement at Rhode Island College, in Providence, September, 1774; being a plea for the right of private judgment in religious matters, or for the liberty of choosing our own religion; corroborated by the well-known consequences of priestly power; to which are annexed the valedictions of the class then first graduated. By Barnabas Binney, A. B. Boston: 1774." The oration, with the illustrative notes, makes a small quarto of forty-four pages.

The following letter, directed to "Thomas Ustick, schoolmaster, New York," has reference to this Commencement. Mr. Ward, we observe, delivered an oration for the Master's degree, but the other candidates for this honor took no part in the public exercises.

PROVIDENCE, May 30, 1774.

SIR:— This is to let you know that Messrs. Ward and Arnold, your classmates, spent this evening with me to determine their Commencement exercises, and they desired me to ask you what you propose to do for Commencement, when you expect to be at Providence to prepare, etc., etc. These things you are desired to answer by the first opportunity. I had from Ashford in Connecticut, this day, an application for a Baptist minister. I mentioned you to them; and desire you to confer with Mr. Gano on the subject, that he may bring over word, when he comes. Their start for a Baptist minister is a new thing; but they subscribed last week near £500 lawful money towards building a meeting-house. The town is large and rich, and I am told that full one third have declared for the Baptists; and that, in case they can get a minister of abilities, it is the general opinion that much above half the town will attend the meeting, though there are three parishes in it. The richest men are on our side, and they say they believe in supporting the minister handsomely. What say you of visiting them, at least, as soon as you can with convenience? I want you to send me, by the first opportunity, two dozen grammars, and I will satisfy you for your trouble. Show this to Mr. Gano, and tell him we expect him over very soon, and also Mrs. Gano and the children, to spend the summer with us. Tell them not to disappoint us. All are well with us, and at Middleborough. Mr. Hinds went from here this day. Enclosed I send two proposals, etc., which I received this evening from poor Boston. Please hand them to Mr. Gano, to use as he thinks proper. It is now almost midnight, and I can hardly see; besides, I have told Mr. Gano all I know in a letter written since I received any from him, or I would write him now. There are thirty-five or thirty-six students in College, and many of them fine young men. Tell friends they are remembered by

JAMES MANNING.

The meeting of the Corporation was held on the day of Commencement and adjourned until the next day, Thursday, September 8th. Among those present we notice the familiar names of Nathan Spear, of Boston, John Gano, Hezekiah Smith, Samuel Stillman, the brothers Nicholas and Joseph Brown, Job Bennet and Nicholas Eyres. Mr. John Jenckes was chosen a Trustee in the room of Judge Daniel Jenckes, recently deceased. Mr. John Brown, "Merchant," was now chosen

Trustee in the room of William Brown, of Swansea, who resigned. The thanks of the Corporation were voted to Mr. Nathan Spear for his generous donation of ten pounds, lawful money, for the increase of Professor Howell's salary; also to the Rev. Messrs. Hugh Evans and Benj. Beddome, of Great Britain, for their generous donation of £20 sterling, out of the effects left in their hands "with discretionary powers" of the last will and testament of Dr. Bernard Foskett. Dr. Foskett was Principal of the Bristol Academy, where Evans, Beddome, John Ryland, Morgan Edwards, and other distinguished Baptist divines received their education.

Among the requirements for admission to Rhode Island College in its early days was one obliging every student to transcribe the laws and customs thereof; which copy, signed by the President, was to be the evidence of his admission, and to be kept by him while an undergraduate. This was the requirement of the College of New Jersey when Manning was a student, as we have stated in our first chapter. During the present year, 1774, fifteen, says Judge Pitman in his Alumni Address, entered the Freshman class; eight of these were from the Latin School in Providence, under the tuition of the Rev. Ebenezer David, of the class of 1772, "one of the best instructors," says one of the eight, "I have ever known." One of this Class was the Rev. Enoch Pond, of Wrentham, Mass., who took his Bachelor's degree in 1777. Many years ago, after the publication of the writer's Life of Manning, a member of Mr. Pond's family sent to the Library his copy of the College Laws, with the corrections and signature of the President. The date on the cover is March, 1774. At the end is the following:—"Having perused the above I find them to correspond to the copy. James Manning, President." As Montesquieu well remarks, "the character of institutions, and alike of nations, is best known from their laws." Having in our first chapter introduced some of the "Laws and Customs" of the College of New Jersey, we now, making use of Mr. Pond's copy, publish for the first time the "Laws and Customs" of our own Rhode Island College, which naturally are based upon those of New Jersey.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE, 1774.

1st. That the hours of study, between the fall and spring vacations, shall be from morning prayers, one hour before breakfast; from 9 o'clock A. M. until 12 o'clock; from 2 o'clock P. M. until sunset; and from 7 until 9 in the evening. Between the spring and fall vacations, one hour after morning prayers; from 8 o'clock A. M. until 12 o'clock; from 2 o'clock P. M. until 6; and no one shall be out of his Chamber after 9 o'clock in the evening.

These are similar to the hours of study during President Wayland's administration.

2d. That every student attend prayers in the Hall morning and evening, at 7 o'clock between the fall and spring vacations, and at 6 o'clock between the spring and fall vacations in the morning; and at 6 o'clock and sunset in the evening, during which they shall behave orderly and decently.

These vacations, as specified in the laws of 1783, were as follows:—
 “From September 6th to October 20th; from December 24th to January 24th; and from the first Monday in May three weeks;” that is, six weeks in the fall, four weeks in the winter, and three weeks in the spring. The summer term commenced about the first of June and continued until Commencement in September. In these later days it seems almost impossible to teach, preach, study, or even to do business during the warm season, when everyone who can hies to the mountains or seashore. In the catalogue for 1843, when the writer entered College, the announcement for vacations reads as follows:—“The first term begins on the Friday after Commencement (which was held on the first Wednesday in September) and continues until December 14th, fourteen weeks, when it is succeeded by a vacation of three weeks. The second term commences January 5th, and continues till April 4th, thirteen weeks, when it is succeeded by a vacation of four weeks. The third term commences May 3d, and continues to July 25th, twelve weeks, when it is succeeded by a vacation till Commencement.”

3d. That every student attend public worship every First Day of the week steadily, at such place as he, his parents, or guardians, shall think proper; provided that any who do not attend with officers of instruction, produce vouchers, when demanded, of their steady and orderly attendance.

N. B. Such as regularly and stately keep the seventh day as the Sabbath, are exempted from this law, and are only required to abstain from secular concerns which would interrupt their fellow students.

Here, again, we have "freedom of conscience." The law for the attendance on public worship during President Wayland's administration, reads as follows: — "The right of Christians of every denomination to enjoy without molestation their religious sentiments, is fully allowed; nevertheless, as the public observance of the Sabbath is a moral duty, at the beginning of each term every student shall designate to the President or other officer named by him, some place of public worship which he chooses to attend, and he shall attend such place of worship on the forenoon and afternoon of every First Day of the week." During subsequent administrations, the law reads thus: — "All students of this University are strictly required to attend public worship twice on the Sabbath. For this purpose each one shall report to the President at the beginning of every term, the church which he will attend."

4th. That no student boarding in commons, go out of the College yard on the First Day of the week, unless to public worship; but that the whole of the day be observed by abstaining from all secular concerns, recreations and diversions.

The First Day of the week, or Sunday, was no holiday in Manning's estimation. Later laws are similar. In the laws as published in 1835 we read: — "Every student is required on the Sabbath day to refrain from the usual exercises and diversions, from playing on instruments of music, except to perform a part in sacred psalmody, and from anything which is unbecoming the retirement and sacredness of the day."

5th. That when any student attends any religious society whatever, he behave with suitable gravity and decency.

6th. That no student read any book in study hours, excepting the classics, or those which tend to illustrate the subject matter of his recitations for the time being.

7th. That each one continue in his room in the hours of study, unless to do an errand, in which he shall be speedy: or to attend recitations.

8th. That no one enter another's room without first knocking at the door and obtaining liberty.

9th. That no student make any stay in any room, or meddle with anything in it belonging to the occupants, in their absence, without license.

10th. That each one attend recitation twice in a day, at such time and place as shall be appointed.

11th. That no one practise attending upon company in his room in study hours; or keep spirituous liquors in his room without liberty obtained of the President.

12th. That no student at any time make any unnecessary noise or tumult, either in his room or in the entries; but that each one endeavor to preserve tranquillity and decency in words and actions at all times.

13th. That no one, when in another's room, meddle with or examine his books and writings.

14th. That no one be absent from any collegiate exercises without first rendering his excuse to his instructors, or go out of the College yard in the time of study, without liberty.

15th. That if any one do damage to the College edifice, or the goods of others, he shall repair the same.

16th. That no student wear his hat within the College walls, excepting those who steadily attend the Friends' Meeting.

17th. Nor when speaking to, or is spoken to, or is in company with, any officers of instruction, except he is permitted by them to put it on.

Chancellor Hopkins, who was Manning's constant adviser in all matters pertaining to the College, doubtless assisted in the framing of these Laws and Customs. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and attended their worship.

18th. That no one pass by any of the Corporation, or officers of the College, without showing them proper respect.

19th. That due respect be paid to those of a superior standing by inferiors, by giving them the precedence and choice of seats.

This is in accordance with the laws of the College of New Jersey, which required Freshmen to go on errands, give the highest place to Seniors, if spoken to give a direct answer, with the word, Sir, at the end thereof, and to abstain from wearing a gown. See Chapter I., pages 30, 31.

20th. That each student treat the inhabitants of the town and all others with whom they converse with civility and good manners.

21st. That each one observe strictly the rules of morality in general, transgressions of which shall be punished according to their nature and aggravating circumstances.

22d. That no one play at cards or any unlawful games, swear, lie, steal or get drunk, use obscene or idle words, strike his fellow students or others; or keep company with persons of a known bad character, or attend at places of idle and vain sports.

23d. That the conduct of each student with respect to morality or good manners in the vacation, shall be cognizable equally as when present at the College.

24th. That no student, during the time of recitations, suggest anything to his classmates; or by any other means interrupt their attention.

25th. That every evening two shall pronounce on the stage, beginning with the Senior Class, and proceeding down alphabetically through all the classes.

This custom was kept up, with certain modifications, down to nearly the close of President Wayland's administration. In the writer's day it was customary for one member of the Senior, or Junior class, to deliver after evening prayers an original oration, or essay, on the stage. The Hon. Tristram Burges, in an address before the Federal Adelpi, thus alludes to this custom in his day:—"You all remember the elevated, advanced stage where the speaker took his stand, when, under the supervision of the authority, surrounded by the entire collegiate assembly, awed by the continued and pervading spirit of the hour and the occasion, he gave utterance to his own, so soon as the last echo of the voice of devotion had ceased to whisper in the ear of the listening audience. It was not to all the assembled Greeks, it was not at the Olympic Games that he spoke; but the pupil who passed through this ordeal under the eye of Manning or Maxcy, has never since that time, with more anxiety prepared himself for any other, or gone through it with more fear and trembling." The laws for 1835 read:—"One student from each of the two upper classes shall declaim in the Chapel, every evening, immediately after prayers."

26th. That on the first Wednesday of every month, each student shall publicly pronounce an oration, which he shall have previously committed to memory.

27th. The Senior and Junior classes shall each of them write a Dispute every week and read the same, upon such subjects as shall be appointed them. Latin Syllogistic Disputes are to be kept up and duly cultivated.

28th. That no student make use of any boards, timber, or any other materials belonging to the College edifice, for any purpose whatever, without first obtaining liberty from the committee for that purpose.

The College edifice was still in an unfinished state, and hence materials, as here described, were stored in the building or packed up in the yard.

29th. That every student in College shall take particular care of fire, not carrying it needlessly out of their rooms in pipes or otherwise; that they carefully cover or quench their fires when they retire to bed or leave their rooms; and that they cause their respective chimneys to be swept out every year.

30th. That no student stay beyond the limited term of vacation, or any other term allowed him to be absent from College.

31st. That a weekly bill be kept in rotation, beginning and proceeding alphabetically, by all except the Senior class; in which shall be noted inattendance at prayers, unbecoming conduct there, or any breach of the laws of College, of which the monitor shall take strict notice.

32d. That a Quarterly Monitor shall be appointed, who shall take the weekly bills after they are examined, and take a particular account of all the transgressions which shall not be excused; and this bill shall be produced at the quarterly examination before the gentlemen who may attend the same, as matter of conviction against those who shall be tardy and deficient. He shall also collect the fines and deliver them to the President.

33d. And that none may imagine that the officers of instruction desire any benefit to themselves from the fines arising from the transgressions of the laws, it is declared that all the money so arising shall be converted into premiums, to be awarded to those who shall excel at the public examination, always observing that the premiums of each class shall be made up of the fines of the class.

34th. That no student refuse to open his door when he shall hear the stamp of the foot or staff at his door in the entry, which shall be a token that some officer of instruction desires admission; which token every student is forbid to counterfeit or imitate under any pretence whatever.

The law of the College of New Jersey reads:—“The President, or Tutors, when not admitted into a room, may signify their presence by a stamp, which signal no scholar shall imitate on penalty of five shillings, proclamation money. (Six shillings to the dollar.)

35th. That the Quarterly Monitor shall take an account of the fines imposed, and render his account and deliver the money to the President at each quarter day, which shall be proposed as premiums for each class at the end of the ensuing quarter.

36th. That in the hours of study no one speak to another in the College, or College yard, except in Latin.

Were this rule enforced to-day, profound silence, in the words of a witty critic, would reign throughout the College halls. Latin, a century and more ago, received far more attention than now. This same rule is repeated in the laws enacted in 1783. Rule 27, it will be noticed, requires Latin Syllogistic Disputes to be kept up and duly cultivated. At most of the early Commencement exercises there was a Latin Disputation, and Latin Theses were printed in the programmes, as we have before stated, even until near the close of Messer's administration. The school first established by Manning in Warren was called a "Latin School."

37th. That the Freshmen Class, in alphabetical order, kindle a fire seasonably before morning prayers, in the room where they are attended, during the winter season.

No wonder that the Freshmen sought to be promoted, and rejoiced when they were advanced to a higher class. One of the laws of the College of New Jersey required that "every Freshman sent of an errand shall go and do it faithfully and make quick return." One of the traditions of Rhode Island College, and of the University in the days of Messer, is that the Freshmen were expected to wait upon the Seniors. The custom, it is said, was broken up when a bright Freshman, having been sent by a Senior with a dollar bill to the store near by for some smoking tobacco and a pipe, returned with ninety-nine pipes and one cent's worth of tobacco.

38th. That the penalties annexed to the foregoing laws shall be proportioned to the nature, circumstances, and aggravations attending the several offences. After private admonition the pecuniary penalties shall be from two pence, lawful money, to three shillings. The highest and last, excepting for absence from College, shall be six shillings, or a dollar, after which they shall be publicly admonished before the College and Corporation, which, proving ineffectual, the offenders shall be rusticated, or suspended,

from all connection with the College, after which degraded, if judged necessary. For the last and concluding punishment they shall be totally and forever expelled from the College.

39th. As it is an incumbent duty on all the instructors of youth faithfully to guard and solemnly to warn them against the most distant approaches to vice and licentiousness, as well as to inculcate the principles of virtue and religion; and as infidelity, or the denial of the authenticity of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as appears from fact as well as from obvious reasoning, has a direct tendency to frustrate this most important design, the grand object in view of the founders of this Institution, as appears from the Charter, which enacts that Christians of every denomination shall, without the least molestation in the peculiarities of their religious principles, enjoy free liberty, etc.,—

40th. In order, therefore, that youth of every denomination of Christians, who have resorted or who may resort here for education, may not in any wise be molested in the free enjoyment of their peculiarities in religious sentiments and Christian faith, by ridicule, sneers, scoffing, infidel suggestions, or any other means which tend to harass, disquiet and render them uneasy during their residence at College.

41st. It is ordered and enacted, that if any student of this College shall deny the being of a God, the existence of virtue and vice; or that the books of the Old and New Testaments are of divine authority, or suggest any scruples of that nature, or circulate books of such pernicious tendency, or frequent the company of those who are known to favor such fatal errors, he shall for the second offense be absolutely and forever expelled from this College. (Young gentlemen of the Hebrew nation are to be exempted from this law, so far as it relates to the New Testament and its authenticity.)

The religious basis of the College in the days of Manning, as well as its liberal character, are plainly seen in these last laws, which in a later edition are classed as “Concerning a religious, moral, and decent behavior.” The President evidently believed, with the Divine Teacher, in “Moses and the Prophets.” The writings of men like Paine and Voltaire, which teach that “no book in the Bible was written before the exile,” that all the books are compilations, and full of contradictions, and that “all the contradictions in time, place, and circumstance, that abound in the books ascribed to Moses prove to a demonstration that those books could not be written by Moses, nor in the time of Moses,” found no favor with him. It is a singular fact that at the present day, after the lapse of a century, views like those

above named are endorsed by scholars, writers, and even professed teachers of religion, as the results of the "Higher Criticism," so called, and openly taught in many of our colleges and theological schools.¹

42d. Whoever shall stay beyond the limited term of vacation, or the expiration of the time for which he had liberty to be absent, shall pay commons bill to the Steward in the same manner as though present, unless he shall bring a certificate from two reputable physicians, that his state of health would not admit the prosecution of his studies.

43d. Ordered that the Senior Class have authority to detain in the Hall after evening prayers, such of the under classes as they shall observe breaking any of the laws of College, and there admonish them of such offenses, as well as correct and instruct them in their general deportment, correcting their manners in such minute particulars of a genteel carriage and good breeding, as does not come within any express written law of the College; which admonitions, corrections, and instructions the delinquents are to receive with modesty and submission, and punctually observe.

N. B.—But as the present Senior class does not reside in College, this authority is committed to the present Junior class.

The distinction between Freshmen and Seniors was quite obvious in the olden times. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether Freshmen of any College would to-day receive from Seniors, "with modesty and submission," such admonitions as are here described. These laws are dated March, 1774. "The present Senior Class" above referred to, consisted of six members, five of whom belonged in Providence, and hence resided at their homes. The sixth member, Barnabas Binney, belonged in Boston. Being a young man of note, he made it his home with one of the families in town.

44th. That the students who board in Commons, observe order in going in and out of the dining room, as of the hall; that at the table each class sit together in alphabetical order, and while there behave decently, making no unnecessary noise or disturbance, either by abusing the table furniture, or ungenerously complaining of the provisions, etc.

Notwithstanding which, if any are dissatisfied they may mention it decently to the

¹ See Prof. Howard Osgood's paper on the "Higher Criticism," before the Baptist Congress at Detroit, November, 1894. Proceedings, pp. 201-206.

steward in private, and if he does not redress any supposed grievance, they may then apply to the President.

45th. Those who neglect to attend at the stated meal times, shall forfeit such meals, unless sufficient reasons for their absence appear to the steward.

46th. That the steward take special care that the laws of the dining room be observed, and give immediate information to the authority of the College of all transgressions of the same.

In order that the fines imposed upon the students may be duly collected, the quarterly monitor shall, at the end of the quarter, render the account to the steward of uncollected fines; who shall collect the same, and upon the neglect or refusal of any one to pay, they shall not be permitted to advance into the next class, as in case of non-payment of tuition.

The steward at this time, as stated by Manning in his Sketch of Rhode Island College, (published in our Documentary History, pp. 19–21,) was Josiah Arnold. Concerning him we know nothing further. He was neither a graduate of the College nor a Trustee.

47th. In order to perpetuate the infamy of the transgressors of the laws, a book is purchased, in which shall be recorded all the punishments, except pecuniary, publicly inflicted on every delinquent, with the cause thereof; and every student whose name shall be recorded therein, as a transgressor, shall be excluded from being chosen by the President or his class to any of the orations at Commencement; provided, however, that by extraordinary and continued reformation, the authority erase such censures before the time of choosing orators.

CONCERNING THE ROOMS, STEWARDS, AND COMMONS.

At a meeting of a number of the members of the Corporation, held in the College edifice, towards the close of 1773, it was proposed that the steward cause,

All the rooms inhabited by the students who board in Commons, to be swept clean once every day, as also the entries.

That he cause all the beds in said rooms to be decently made every day in the forenoon.

That he furnish three good meals of victuals per day sufficient for those who board in Commons, agreeably, or nearly so, to the following prescriptions:—

FOR DINNER EVERY WEEK.

Two meals of salt beef and pork, with peas, beans, greens, roots, etc., and puddings
For drink, good small beer and cider.

Two meals of fresh meat, roasted, baked, broiled, or fried, with proper sauce or vegetables.

One meal of soup and fragments.

One meal of boiled fresh meat with proper sauce and broth.

One meal of salt or fresh fish, with brown bread, for dinners.

FOR BREAKFAST.

Tea, coffee, chocolate, or milk porridge. With tea, or coffee, white bread with butter, or brown bread toasted, with butter. With chocolate or milk porridge, white bread without butter. With tea, coffee, and chocolate, brown sugar.

FOR SUPPER.

Milk, with hasty pudding, rice, samp, white bread, etc. Or milk porridge, tea, coffee, or chocolate, as for breakfast.

The several articles and provisions above mentioned, especially dinners, are to be diversified and changed as to their succession through the week, as much as may be agreeable; with the addition of puddings, apple pies, dumplings, cheese, etc., to be interspersed through the dinners, as often as may be convenient and suitable.

All the articles of provision shall be good, genuine, and unadulterated.

The meals are to be provided at stated times, and the cookery is to be well and neatly executed.

That the steward sit at meals with the students, unless prevented by company or business, and exercise the same authority as is customary and needful for the head of a family at his table.

That the steward be exemplary in his moral conduct, and do not fail to give information to the authority of the College against any of the students who may transgress any of the College orders and regulations; and to this purpose that he keep by him a copy of the same.

For the services above mentioned, that the steward be allowed and paid by every person boarding in Commons, one dollar per week; to be paid at the expiration of each quarter; if not, interest until paid.

Ordered, That upon any person being entered into College, the steward take an obligation and sufficient security for the payment of his tuition, room-rent, board, and all College bills, and bills for necessary charges in this town, the said bills being approved by the President.

ORDERS FOR THE DINING ROOM.

It is enacted by the authority of the College in Providence :

That those who board in Commons, upon being called to meals, shall immediately repair to the dining room without unnecessary noise ; and that the under classes always wait for those of the superior classes to go in first, provided any of them are in sight when at the door ; and that they observe the same decorum in returning.

That the steward shall call on whom he thinks proper to ask a blessing and return thanks at table, during which no student shall meddle with any of the provisions or table furniture, but behave with decency and sobriety.

That the Senior class be divided, and some sit at one part of the table and others at another part ; and that they, or such others as shall be appointed, only shall call for what may be wanting at table ; and all others are forbid either calling or using any signs of calling, except decently mentioning to the above named what is wanted ;— and provided any person or persons shall use indecent gestures at table, or in anywise transgress the orders of the table, the Senior sitting at the head of the table shall immediately order him to sit next to him, that he may observe his or their future conduct and behavior.

That the whole body be so divided as that a determinate number only, in succession through the whole, shall carve, this being done in alphabetical order ; the one next to him shall distribute the meat and sauce, no one else being allowed to take them himself ; and the same person for the day shall pour out coffee, tea, etc., and put in a proper quantity of sugar.

That no one pretend to make the least waste of provisions, or carry provisions, kitchen furniture, etc., out of the dining-room, without special liberty from the steward so to do.

Next to the steward, the persons to call for provisions as above mentioned are required to admonish the above delinquents at table ; which proving ineffectual, to forthwith communicate the name of the offender, his misdemeanor, etc., to the authority of the College.

That the present Senior class do forthwith direct the students how to sit, and who shall begin to carve, etc. ; and cause the above orders, signed by the President and written in a fair hand, to be posted up in the dining room.

It would seem from this closing paragraph, that this was the beginning of Commons. Doubtless this was the case, as the building had only been occupied recently, and was still in an unfinished state. Boarding at this time, Manning states in his Sketch, was “one dollar a week.”

The correspondence of President Manning, as we have had occasion to state in previous chapters, abounds in allusion to the oppression of his brethren in Massachusetts and elsewhere, on the part of the "standing order." This oppression he felt called upon to resist to the extent of his ability. To his intelligent and active exertions in behalf of religious liberty, we of the present day and generation are greatly indebted for what we now enjoy as our birthright.

To set forth in detail the efforts of Manning and his contemporaries in this direction, would require more space than can be allotted to our present work. For full information on the points involved in this controversy, the reader is referred to Backus's Church History of New England, to Professor Hovey's Memoir of the Life and Times of Backus, and to "Chaplain Smith and the Baptists." One effort of his demands special mention. During the present year, which was one of marked importance in the history of the country, the spirit of resistance to the unjust claims of England had greatly increased among all classes throughout the land, until it was at length determined to unite the separate colonies in defense of their rights. For this purpose a Congress of Delegates met in Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774. This is known in history as the Continental Congress, to which Rhode Island, as we have already stated, sent as delegates Governors Hopkins and Ward. To this Congress it was resolved to send Mr. Backus, the agent of the Baptist churches in New England, to see if something could not be done to secure rights and liberties from the colonial governments at home, as well as from the English government abroad. The idea originated at the College Commencement. Backus in his diary thus states the case: —

September 7th. Went over to Providence to Commencement. Met with Mr. Gano, of New York, and Mr. William Van Horne, of South Hampton, in Pennsylvania. They, with Messrs. Manning and Hezekiah Smith, all were in earnest for me to go to the Association, and also to the Congress at Philadelphia, and represented that now was the most likely time to obtain our religious liberty that we had ever known.

The Association met in Medfield, as it had the year previous, although the Baptist church in the place was not constituted until

1776. Being central it was convenient for the churches. In the printed minutes, which are brief, we notice the following relating to the College: — “Adopted the plan proposed by the Association in Charleston, South Carolina, to raise a fund for Rhode Island College, viz., by recommending to every member to pay six pence sterling annually for three years successively to their elder, or some suitable person: This money to be paid to the Treasurer of the College.” This shows a commendable disposition. No large fund, however, was raised in this way. The members were too few and too poor to contribute largely to the support of an institution of learning.

The Circular Letter to the churches was prepared by Hezekiah Smith. A part of it reads as follows: —

And as it is a day of great affliction, when our civil rights are invaded, and our religious privileges also are in danger, we have concluded to recommend to you four days in the course of the ensuing year for fasting and prayer. The first on Friday before the last Lord's day in November; the second on Friday before the last Lord's day in February; the third on Friday before the last Lord's day in May; the fourth on Friday before the last Lord's day in August.

Nothing is said in the minutes respecting the Congress at Philadelphia; but the proposition to send an agent to represent the churches was entertained, and the following certificate was given Mr. Backus: —

TO THE HONORABLE DELEGATES OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA,
MET IN A GENERAL CONGRESS AT PHILADELPHIA.

HONORABLE GENTLEMEN:

As the Anti-pedobaptist churches in New England are now heartily concerned for the preservation and defense of the rights and privileges of this country, and are deeply affected by the encroachments upon the same which have lately been made by the British Parliament, and are willing to unite with our dear countrymen, vigorously to pursue every prudent measure for relief, so we would beg leave to say that, as a distinct denomination of Protestants, we conceive that we have an equal claim to charter-rights with the rest of our fellow-subjects; and yet we have long been denied the free and full enjoyment of those rights, as to the support of religious worship. Therefore we, the elders and brethren of twenty Baptist churches, met in Association at Medfield, twenty miles from Boston, September 14, 1774, have unanimously chosen and

sent you the Reverend and beloved Mr. Isaac Backus, as our agent, to lay our case, in these respects, before you, or otherwise to use all the prudent means he can for our relief.

JOHN GANO, *Moderator.*

HEZEKIAH SMITH, *Clerk.*

Mr. Backus, having thus been duly appointed by the Warren Association, set out for Philadelphia on the 26th of September. His journey occupied nearly a fortnight. This circumstance is here mentioned to show what travelling facilities were in those days, and what sacrifices were sometimes made by ministers who attended from a distance the meetings of the College and of the Associations. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia he immediately conferred with President Manning, and with the Philadelphia Baptist Association, then holding its sessions in that city.

In the evening of October 14, says Backus, —

There met at Carpenter's Hall,¹ Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esqs., delegates from Massachusetts; and there were also present James Kinzie, of New Jersey, Stephen Hopkins, and Samuel Ward, of Rhode Island, Joseph Galloway, and Thomas Miflin, Esqs., of Pennsylvania, and other members of Congress. Mr. Rhodes, Mayor of the city of Philadelphia, Israel and James Pemberton, and Joseph Fox, Esqs., of the Quakers, and other gentlemen; also Elders Manning, Gano, Jones, Rogers, Edwards, etc., were present. The conference was opened by Mr. Manning, who made a short speech, and then read the memorial which we had drawn up.

This memorial, which may be found in Hovey's Memoir, after an eloquent plea in behalf of both civil and religious freedom, recounts in brief the various acts of oppression which the Baptists had suffered in the province of Massachusetts Bay, commencing with the charter

¹“On the morning of the 5th of September, 1774, the ‘old Congress,’ as it is now familiarly known in our history, commenced its sessions, in Carpenter's Hall, in Philadelphia. The place but ill corresponded with the real magnitude of the occasion. No tapestry bedecked its walls, no images of sages and heroes of other days looked down upon the scene. Yet, to one who could read the future, it would have presented a simple grandeur, such as we may look for in vain within the majestic halls of the Capitol, and amidst the imposing forms of the Constitution.”—*Professor Gammell's Life of Governor Ward.*

obtained at the "happy restoration." What part Manning had in the drafting of it we cannot now determine. It was probably the joint production of several hands. The introductory plea and the closing remarks may very properly be attributed to his skilful pen. A copy was afterwards delivered to each of the delegates, together with Mr. Backus's "Appeal to the Public."¹ The result of the conference was not at all satisfactory, John Adams remarking that we might as well expect a change in the solar system as to expect that they would give up their Establishment; or, as he himself gives the account,² "they might as well turn the heavenly bodies out of their annual and diurnal courses, as the people of Massachusetts at the present day from their meeting-house and Sunday laws." This effort of Manning and his associates was nevertheless the means indirectly of accomplishing great good. It opened the minds of the people generally to a knowledge of their true position and principles, and prepared the way for the astonishing increase of the Baptists,³ and for the remarkable spread of their sentiments throughout the land. Doubtless it was one of the important agencies which slowly and silently effected a change in the public sentiment of Massachusetts herself, until, April 1, 1834, the Bill of Rights was so amended, that Church and State were separated in the old Commonwealth, and "Soul Liberty," as maintained by Baptists of every age, was finally and perfectly secured.

How this conference of the Baptists with the members of Congress was regarded by their opponents, may be seen by an extract from a letter of President Manning, dated Dec. 2, 1774, which we quote from Hovey's Memoir of Backus. The writer states that the following

¹ The following is the title of this pamphlet, which Backus had prepared and published the previous year: "An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty, against the oppressors of the present day. 'Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.' Gal. v. 13. Boston: Printed by John Boyle, in Marlborough Street, 1773," pp. 62. A copy of this rare pamphlet is in the library of the University.

² See Works of John Adams, Vol. II., p. 399.

³ In 1764, when the College was founded, the Baptists in all America numbered less than seventy churches, with perhaps five thousand members or communicants. The lapse of one hundred and thirty-two years finds them, with a single exception, the largest denomination of Protestant Christians in the United States, numbering nearly four millions of communicants, and representing twenty millions of worshippers.

assertions in reference to said conference were made by the Rev. Dr. Stiles, viz. : —

That the Baptists had made an application to the Congress against the Massachusetts Bay; that the delegates of that Province expected only a private interview with some of the Baptists; but instead of that, when they came they found a house full, etc.; that they were attacked and treated in the most rude and abusive manner; that the Baptists pretended they were oppressed, but, after all their endeavors, they could only complain of a poor fourpence; that they were ashamed of their errand, and gave up their point, except one or two impudent fellows, who, with Israel Pemberton, abused them in a most scandalous manner; that all the delegates present were surprised at and ashamed of them, and thought they complained without the least foundation, etc.

Then Dr. Stiles added : —

When we have the power in our hands we will remember them.

In a copy of Aitken's American Register preserved among the family papers of Manning, we find the following memoranda of texts from which he preached during this journey in 1774 : —

October 16th, at Philadelphia, John ix. 27; do., 2d Corinthians iv. 17; October 19th, at Nathaniel Drakes, John ix. 27; October 22d, at ye Short Hills, Acts viii. 8; October 23d, at Lyons Farms, Galatians ii. 19; do. John ix. 4; October 30th, at Newport, Galatians ii. 19; do. John ix. 27; November 7th, at Providence, Isaiah liv. 15; do. Isaiah liv. 15; November 7th, at Mr. Foster's, Hebrews xii. 5.

The principal measures adopted by this Continental Congress were : — “A Declaration of the rights of the Colonies, and a list of the infringements and violations of them;” “An Address to the People of Great Britain;” “An Address to the Inhabitants of the Colonies they represented;” “An Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec;” and “A Petition to the King.” They also signed “An Association,” binding themselves and their constituents not to import from Great Britain or Ireland any goods whatever, or from any other country any goods the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, nor any East India tea from any part of the world after the first day of December.

The delegates from Rhode Island arrived home after the close of the October session of the General Assembly. A special session was therefore called, which was held on the first Monday in December, to which they reported. Their acts were approved, and the thanks of the Assembly were voted them for the "faithful and spirited discharge of the important trust reposed in them." The act of the town of Providence on the 17th of May, instructing its representatives in the General Assembly to use their exertions to have a General Congress called, was among the earliest, says Staples, if not in fact the earliest, movement of any municipal corporation in favor of a Congress at this juncture of affairs. And the appointment of delegates by the General Assembly, Wednesday, June 15th, preceded the appointment of all the other delegates. The proceedings of the June session of the General Assembly contain furthermore the earliest proposal for an Annual Congress by any colony or municipal corporation. The record of Rhode Island as a patriotic State or Colony is indeed unsurpassed by that of any other state or colony.

CHAPTER VIII.

1775-1779.

Providence during the first years of the War—Committee of Inspection, including prominent members of the Corporation, appointed by the town—Address to the inhabitants, March 1, 1775, in regard to the purchase and use of tea—Burning of three hundred pounds in Market Square—News of the battle of Lexington—Within two days a thousand men ready to march to the assistance of their brethren in Massachusetts—Special session of the General Assembly—Army of Observation appointed, and day of fasting and prayer—Governor Wanton deposed from office for disloyalty—Next meeting for the annual election of officers held in Providence instead of Newport—Preamble and resolution of the General Assembly relating thereto—Richest men of the old families in Newport, Loyalists—Battle of Bunker Hill—Extra session of the General Assembly called—Minute men and independent companies drilled—Everywhere sights and sounds of war—Attack of the British on Bristol—Communication from the Senior class respecting the propriety of holding Commencement—Reply of President Manning and Professor Howell—No Commencement for 1775—Prominent members of the class—Pardon Bowen—Robert Rogers—Meeting of the Corporation—Vote respecting Daniel Gano, John Hart, and William Edwards—January session of the General Assembly, 1776—Address to the Continental Congress representing the inability of the Colony from its exposed situation to defend itself, and praying for assistance—Great distress in Providence—General Assembly in May repealed the Act of Allegiance to His Majesty—Virtually a declaration of independence two months before the National Declaration of Independence—National Declaration endorsed by the General Assembly, July 18th—Event celebrated in Providence July 25th—Commencement for 1776 celebrated in the new Baptist meeting-house—Account from the *Providence Gazette*—Prominent graduates—Meeting of the Corporation—Petition to the General Assembly to continue the College funds in the treasury of the Colony—British troops land and take possession of Newport—College studies suspended from Dec. 7, 1776, until May 27, 1782—College edifice occupied for barracks and a hospital—Number of students up to this time—Letter to Ryland giving a vivid idea of the war—Letter to Benjamin Wallin giving an account of the revival of 1775—Wallin's reply—Letter of sympathy to Miss A. Howard—Controversial letter to John Berridge on Infant Baptism and Sprinkling—War of the Revolution a Church war—Disloyalty of the Episcopal clergy—No Commencement for 1777—Degrees conferred upon seven members of the Senior class—Students recommended to prosecute their studies at home—Manning's position in this hour of trial as a man of influence, and the Pastor of the church—Anecdotes respecting—Important Civil function—Deplorable condition of the State—Letter to Moses Brown—Letter to Thomas Ustick—Letter from Judge Howell resigning his position as Professor of Philosophy.

IN pursuance of the recommendations of the Continental Congress, a committee of inspection was appointed by the town of Providence, consisting of eighteen of the prominent citizens. Among them we notice the familiar names of Jabez Bowen, John Brown, Joseph Brown, John Jenckes, Nicholas Cooke, and Joseph Russell, all active members of the Corporation of the College. This committee met at the chamber of the Town Council on the third Wednesday of every month. At its first meeting they published a synopsis of the "Association," which the delegates to Congress recommended and signed. One of the articles of agreement by the "Association," had reference to the use of tea after the first day of March, 1775. As that day approached the committee issued an address to the inhabitants, beginning as follows:—

We, the Committee of Inspection, of the town of Providence, besides the notice we have already given for your exact conformity to the Association Agreement of the General Congress, think it our duty, at this time, when the first day of March is at hand, to remind you, in special, that in the third article it is solemnly agreed and associated, not to purchase or use any East India tea whatever, from and after the first day of March next. This measure, among others, was thought necessary to gain redress of those grievances which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majesty's subjects in North America.

In accordance with this address, the people assembled at five o'clock in the Market Place, on the second day of March, and burned some three hundred pounds of tea brought in "by the firm contenders for the true interests of America." A large fire was kindled, the tea, a tar barrel, Lord North's speech, Rivington's, Mill's, and Hicks's newspapers, and divers other ingredients entering into the composition of the bonfire. The bells of the several churches were tolled, and a large crowd assembled to testify by their presence their patriotism, and disposition to conform to the recommendations of Congress. Such was the spirit which secured the liberty and final independence of the Colonies.¹

¹ Staples's Annals of Providence, pp. 243-244.

News of the battle of Lexington, says Staples, reached Providence on the evening of the 19th of April. On the morning of the 21st, the several independent companies of this and the neighboring towns, and a body of the militia, in all about one thousand men, had either marched or were in readiness to march, to the assistance of their brethren in Massachusetts. This must have included nearly every available man in Providence and vicinity capable of bearing arms. Whether any of the students were included in this number we are not informed. Without doubt they were keen observers of passing events, and took an interest in all patriotic proceedings. Their utterances at the first Commencement in Warren, were in advance of the Declaration of Independence.

A special session of the General Assembly was convened at Providence on the 22d, three days after the battle of Lexington. At this session, the 11th of May was set apart "as a day of fasting, prayer, and humiliation," and the Governor was requested to issue a proclamation for the same. The Assembly also passed an act for raising an "army of observation" of fifteen hundred men, "for the preservation of the liberties of America." The Governor (Joseph Wanton) entered his protest against this act, as a measure, using his own words, that "will be attended with the most fatal consequences to our charter privileges." He refused to issue a proclamation for a day of fasting and prayer, and to sign the commissions of the officers of the troops voted to be raised by the Assembly. For this and other acts of disloyalty, he was subsequently deposed from office, and Nicholas Cooke, the famous war Governor, was appointed in his place. This act, says the historian, was without precedent. There was nothing in the charter which authorized the Assembly thus to depose a Governor, nor in any law previously enacted. But this was an age of revolution. The circumstances of the case justified the act; and it was warranted by "the fundamental principles of the constitution" of this and every other free government.

At this same special session, the General Assembly passed the following preamble and resolution: —

INASMUCH as there is the most apparent urgent occasion that the General Assembly should be holden in some place other than the town of Newport at the approaching annual election for the year 1775,

IT IS THEREFORE VOTED AND RESOLVED, That the General Assembly, for the election of general officers and for the transacting of such business as may be laid before them on the first Wednesday in May next, be held at the Colony House in Providence, and that the Secretary publish a copy of this vote in the next *Newport News* and *Providence Gazette*.

The charter of the Colony required the May session of the Assembly to be holden in Newport, "or elsewhere if urgent occasion do require;" and up to this time the May session had invariably been holden in Newport. The presence of British ships of war in the harbor may have been the "urgent occasion" which now required the change. Or it may have been the suspected disloyalty of Governor Wanton and of not a few of the other residents of the town. Howland, in his "Recollections," says:—

Before the Revolution, as Providence increased in population and commerce, an unreasonable prejudice existed in Newport against it (Providence), and when the war began the richest men of the old families there were generally Loyalists. The case was different in Providence. Here there were none who took the side of the enemy.

It was amidst scenes like these that the Baptist meeting-house was built, as we have seen in a previous chapter. It was publicly dedicated with appropriate services on the 28th of May. The battle of Bunker Hill soon followed. An extra session of the Assembly was at once called. Committees were appointed to take account of the arms and ammunition in the Colony, and report it to Congress. Saltpetre and brimstone were sent to the powder mills of New York. A signal post was established on Tower Hill, and a beacon at Providence, on Prospect Hill. The Colony was put upon a war footing, every man able to bear arms being required to hold himself in readiness for active service. A fourth of the militia were held for minute men, and drilled half a day every fortnight. The Independent Companies were drilled with them. The Army of Observation, which now numbered about seven-

teen hundred men, was placed under the command of Washington. Everywhere, says the historian,¹ were sights and sounds of war. On the 7th of October, 1775, an attack on Bristol was made by Captain Wallace, who anchored in the harbor with fifteen sail, bombarded the town for an hour, discharging one hundred and twenty cannon. Much damage was done to buildings, the neighboring farms were plundered, and forty sheep were carried away. The British fleet at Newport being reinforced by four more vessels in search of supplies, Captain Wallace made a threatening demand upon the islands of Conanicut and Rhode Island for live stock.

The following communication, which we copy from the *Providence Gazette*, sufficiently explains the position of affairs in reference to the Commencement for 1775:—

TO THE REVEREND PRESIDENT, HONORABLE PROFESSOR, AND THE REST OF THE HONORABLE CORPORATION OF RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE,—THE DUTIFUL PETITION OF THE SENIOR CLASS:

MOST WORTHY PATRONS:—Deeply affected with the distress of our oppressed country, which now, most unjustly, feels the baneful effects of arbitrary power, provoked to the greatest height of cruelty and vengeance by the noble and manly resistance of a free and determined people, permit us, gentlemen, to approach you with this our humble and dutiful petition, that you would be pleased to take under your serious consideration the propriety of holding the ensuing Commencement in a public manner, as usual; whether such a celebration of that anniversary would be in conformity to the 8th Article of the Association formed by the grand American Congress, and which all the colonies are now religiously executing; and that you would be pleased to signify unto us your resolution respecting the same, that we may govern ourselves accordingly.

JOSIAH READ, } *Committee*
 ANDREW LAW, } *in behalf of the*
 JAMES FULTON, } *Senior class.*

COLLEGE IN PROVIDENCE, June 8, 1775.

To this communication the President and Professor thus reply:—

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE SENIOR CLASS:

GENTLEMEN:—Your dutiful and reasonable petition has been duly attended to; and permit us to assure you, that it gives us no small satisfaction that the present members

¹ Short History of Rhode Island. By George W. Greene. 12mo. Providence, 1877.

of this Institution, and particularly the respectable Senior class, are so sensibly affected with the distresses of our country in its present glorious struggles for liberty. We rejoice that you are so ready to sacrifice that applause to which your abilities would entitle you at a public Commencement; and though by this means you may be deprived of an advantageous opportunity to give proof of your abilities in pleading the righteous cause of liberty, for which your predecessors in this Institution have been justly celebrated, yet you have hereby given us a convincing proof of your inviolable attachment to the true interests of your country. Be assured that we shall most heartily concur in this, and every other measure which has been, or may be, adopted by the grand American Congress, as well as the Legislature of this Colony, in order to obtain the most complete redress of all our grievances; and deem it the greatest honor to which a noble and generous mind can aspire, to contribute in any degree towards a restoration and reestablishment in our country of all those liberties and privileges, both civil and religious, which the Almighty Father of the universe originally granted to every individual of the human race, and which all ought to enjoy till by law forfeited; which reason claims, which the right of soil, obtained of the natives by free purchase, settles upon us; which our charters insure to us, and which have been recognized by Great Britain, and guaranteed to us by the faith of the English nation. These inestimable rights and privileges our country has for many years enjoyed,—the source of its present wealth and strength, more than its fertile soil or healthy climate; by the cruel and wanton invasion and violation of these, she now bleeds in almost every vein; and finally it is these that her noble sons, the illustrious American patriots, prompted as well as justified by the examples of heroes in all ages, are now prepared to defend, by the same means which have hitherto preserved the liberties of Great Britain, and raised to royal dignity the House of Brunswick.

And though the din of arms and the horrors of a civil war should invade our hitherto peaceful habitations, yet even these are preferable to a mean and base submission to arbitrary power and lawless rapine.

Institutions of learning will doubtless partake in the common calamities of our country, as arms have ever proved unfriendly to the more refined and liberal arts and sciences; yet we are resolved to continue College orders here as usual, excepting that the ensuing Commencement, by the advice of such of the Corporation as could be conveniently consulted, will not be public.

JAMES MANNING, *President.*

DAVID HOWELL, *Philos. Professor.*

COLLEGE LIBRARY, June 9, 1775.

In accordance with the decisions of the College authorities thus announced, and for the reasons assigned, there was no *public* Com-

mencement, although the graduating class consisted of ten,—a larger number than any heretofore. The battles of Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill had electrified the public mind, and turned away its attention from the literary performances of the stage, to the sterner duties of the field and the camp. A prominent member of this class was Pardon Bowen, who afterwards became one of the most distinguished physicians of Providence. He was an active member of the Rhode Island Medical Society, and for seven years served as its presiding officer. From 1817 until his death in 1826, he was a Trustee of the University. In this class also was Robert Rogers, who served in the war as second and first lieutenant in a Rhode Island regiment. He was afterwards principal of a classical school in Newport, and for twenty years was secretary, treasurer, and librarian of the Redwood Library. He was elected to the Fellowship of the College in 1788, and attended, it is said, nearly every Commencement and meeting of the Corporation until his death in 1835. In this class also was Andrew Law, a clergyman, who in 1820, received the degree LL. D. from Alleghany College.

The Corporation met as usual on the first Wednesday in September, and, a quorum not being present, adjourned for one week. At the adjourned meeting ten young men, members of the Senior class, were admitted to the degree of Bachelor in the Arts. It was voted, "That the president write to the parents of Daniel Gano, John Hart, and William Edwards, informing them, that upon their sons applying at some future Commencement, and passing the usual examination, together with their bringing recommendations of their good conduct, they may be admitted to the honors of this College." These parents were, Rev. John Gano, Manning's brother-in-law, Rev. Oliver Hart, of Charleston, South Carolina, and Rev. Morgan Edwards, the founder, in one sense, of the College. At this meeting Mr. John Brown was elected treasurer, in place of Col. Job Bennet, who resigned after eight years of faithful service.

At the January session of the General Assembly, 1776, William Bradford, deputy governor, Henry Ward, secretary, William Ellery, Joseph Brown, Henry Marchant, Sylvester Child, and Gideon Mumford,

were appointed to draft "a suitable address to the Honorable the Continental Congress, representing the inability of the Colony, from its situation, smallness and poverty to defend itself," and praying assistance. Some extracts from the address drafted and adopted will be of interest to the reader in this connection. Describing the situation of the Colony the committee say:—

Unfortunately, this Colony is scarcely anything but a line of sea coast. From Providence to Point Judith, from thence to Pawcatuck river, is nearly eighty miles. On the east side of the Bay, from Providence to Seaconnet Point, and including the east side of Seaconnet until it meets the Massachusetts line, is about fifty miles; besides which are the navigable rivers of Pawcatuck and Warren. On the west side the Colony doth not extend twenty miles, and on the east side not more than eight miles, from the sea coast above described. In the Colony are also included the following islands:—Rhode Island, about sixteen miles in length; Conanicut nine; Block Island nine; Prudence seven; and the smaller islands, Patience, Hope, and Gould Island; all of which are cultivated and fertile, and contribute largely to the public expense. The greater part of the above mentioned shores are accessible to ships of war.

After speaking of ship building and commerce as the principal sources from which the inhabitants derived subsistence before the war, the address adds:—

The convenient situation of this Colony for receiving supplies from the other colonies for the Continental army near Boston, we suppose, was a principal reason why so great a number of the king's ships were stationed in our Bay. We have had for above seven months past, two ships of twenty guns, one of sixteen, a bomb ketch, and about eight tenders, who have made prizes of more vessels belonging to this Colony than have been lost by any other; have put almost a total end to commerce; have committed repeated depredations in different parts of the Colony; have kept our coasts constantly alarmed, and obliged the inhabitants to keep almost constantly under arms. The once flourishing town of Newport, by the loss of trade, and consequent cessation of all business, instead of being able to contribute to the expenses of the war, hath been reduced to so deplorable a state, that we have been obliged to grant money out of the general treasury for the support of the poor, and many of the wealthy inhabitants have not only left the town but the Colony. Conanicut and Prudence, lately the scenes of the most wanton and savage desolation and barbarity, are deserted; New Shoreham, from its

situation, is rendered worse than useless to the Colony, and the other islands will no longer be of service to any but the enemy.¹

In May of this year, the General Assembly repealed the act entitled “An act for the more effectual securing to His Majesty the allegiance of his subjects in this his Colony and dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.” The preamble of the repealing act is as follows, as given in Staples’s Annals, to which important work we are indebted for many of our facts during this eventful period:—

Whereas, in all States, existing by compact, protection and allegiance are reciprocal, the latter being only due in consequence of the former; and whereas, George the Third, King of Great Britain, forgetting his dignity, regardless of the compact most solemnly entered into, ratified and confirmed to the inhabitants of this Colony, by his illustrious ancestors, and, till of late, fully recognized by him, and entirely departing from the duties and character of a good King, instead of protecting, is endeavoring to destroy the good people of this Colony, and of all the united colonies, by sending fleets and armies to America, to confiscate our property, and spread fire, sword, and desolation throughout our country, in order to compel us to submit to the most debasing and detestable tyranny; whereby we are obliged by necessity, and it becomes our highest duty, to use every means, with which God and nature have furnished us, in support of our invaluable rights and privileges, and to oppose that power which is exerted only for our destruction.

The act then goes on to repeal the act referred to in the title, requires the name and authority of the King to be omitted in all commissions and judicial processes, and that of the Governor and Company of the Colony to be inserted in lieu thereof. New oaths of office were also prescribed by the same act, omitting allegiance to the King. This act, by its terms, severed the connection between this Colony and Great Britain. It is virtually, says Staples, a declaration of independence; and it is believed to be prior in date to any act, of a similar character passed by any other colony. Congress did not make its famous Decla-

¹ Staples’s Rhode Island in the Continental Congress. Edited by Reuben A. Guild. 8vo. Providence, 1870. Pp. 53-54. Great distress, says Arnold, prevailed among the poor, especially on the exposed islands in the Bay. Providence County received and provided for four hundred of the poor of Newport, who were removed to Providence.

ration of Independence until July following, two months afterward. The Assembly met to consider the same on the 18th of July. Of course the National Declaration received its sanction. The event was celebrated in Providence on the 25th. The Governor and members of the Assembly were escorted by the Cadet and Light Infantry Companies to the Court House, where the repealing act of the Assembly and the Declaration of Independence were publicly read. A salute of thirteen guns from the Artillery, and the Continental ships in the harbor followed. A public dinner was provided, and spirited and appropriate toasts were given.

This year Commencement was held as usual, and for the first time in the new Baptist Meeting-house. Nine young gentlemen were graduated, and received their diplomas. The *Providence Gazette*, under date of Sept. 7, 1776, gives the following account: —

On Wednesday last, was celebrated the public anniversary Commencement of the College in this town; the usual procession was from the College to the new Baptist meeting-house. The exercises of the day, being introduced by a prayer from the President, were the following, viz.: In the forenoon a Latin Salutatory Oration by Mr. Mann, upon the Calamities of War; an English Oration, by Mr. Thayer, upon the Advantages of Literature; and another English Oration, by Mr. Cummings, satirising Toryism and Negro Slavery.

In the afternoon, a Latin Sylogistic Dispute by Messrs. Thayer and Cummings, "An leges divinae aliquid ultra vires humanas ab hominibus exigunt?" An English Oration by Mr. Coe, upon the great importance and advantages resulting to the State, as well as individuals, from a good education of youth of both sexes; an Oration attempted in Hebrew, according to the modern pronunciation, without the vowel points, upon the advantages of the study of the languages, by Mr. Cummings; after which the following young gentlemen were admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, viz.: Curtis Coe, Amasa Cooke, Abraham Cummings, Ebenezer Dutch, William Edwards, Daniel Gano, John Hart, John Preston Mann, and Jabez Thayer.

After a pertinent and solemn charge, delivered to the Bachelors by the President, the Valedictory Oration was spoken by Mr. Dutch, upon Liberty, with some anecdotes from the present times.

The young gentlemen performed their respective parts with much propriety, and to the entertainment and satisfaction of a numerous and polite assembly, who attended with the utmost decorum through the whole.

Coe, Cooke, Cummings, and Dutch, of this class, became clergymen, and lived to a good age. Gano served in the war as lieutenant and captain, and afterwards settled in Kentucky as a pioneer. He died in Scott county, April 8, 1849. Mann of Attleborough, one of four brothers, became a physician and settled in Newport, where he was for years, says Daggett, the historian of Attleborough, a leader in social circles. He acquired wealth, and owned a handsome and extensive place which is still a fine looking residence. His acquaintance embraced the most distinguished persons of his time.

At the meeting of the Corporation there were present fourteen Trustees and five Fellows. Smith and Gano were in the army serving as chaplains, and Stillman had hardly recovered from the ten months' siege of Boston, and the effects of British occupation. The Honorable Chancellor Hopkins being absent, (the Continental Congress was now in session,) the Honorable Darius Sessions, Esq., was elected Vice Chancellor. "In consideration of the great abilities, literary merit, and the many eminent services performed by Major-General Greene to this State in particular, and the Continent in general," so reads the record, it was "*Voted*, that the honorary degree of Master of Arts be conferred on him." Col. William Russell was elected a Trustee in the room of the Honorable Samuel Ward, Esq., deceased. Mr. Russell, it will be remembered, was the one through whose agency the lot for the meeting-house was purchased of John Angell. He was at that time, it is stated, a worshipper at the Episcopal Church. He was now regarded as a Baptist. The piety and eloquence of Manning drew largely from the other societies. The following item in the records is of interest:—

Henry Ward, Esq., agreeable to appointment, presented the draught of a petition to the Honorable General Assembly, praying them to continue the College funds in the treasury of the Colony notwithstanding their vote of March 4th; which draught being agreed to was presented to the Assembly by the whole Corporation in a body. And "the Corporation having waited upon the Honorable General Assembly, and being heard upon their petition, the prayer thereof was generously granted."

This was the last public Commencement held during the war. For months the enemy's cruisers had swarmed in the Bay, interrupting the

trade and commerce of Providence. Their numbers increased as the season advanced, and on Saturday, December 7th, Sir Peter Parker, the British commander, with seven ships of the line, four frigates and a fleet of seventy transports, anchored in Newport harbor, landed a body of six thousand troops and took possession of the place. All was now in confusion, it being supposed that the British would march through Providence to Boston. Troops were massed throughout the town, martial law was proclaimed, College studies were interrupted, and the students were dismissed to their respective homes, as appears from the following notification of the President, published in the *Providence Gazette*: —

This is to inform all the students that their attendance on College orders is hereby dispensed with, until the end of the next spring vacation; and that they are at liberty to return home, or prosecute their studies elsewhere, as they may think proper; and that those who pay as particular attention to their studies as these confused times will admit, shall then be considered in the same light and standing as if they had given the usual attendance here. In witness whereof, I subscribe,

JAMES MANNING, *President*.

● PROVIDENCE, Dec. 10, 1776.

“The Seat of the Muses,” in the expressive words of another, “now became the habitation of Mars.”¹ From Dec. 7, 1776, until May 27, 1782, the course of studies was suspended, and the College edifice was occupied for barracks, and afterwards for a hospital by the American and French forces.

For three years, says Staples, whose “Annals” we again quote, until Oct. 25, 1779, the British retained possession of Newport and the Island. Their presence kept the whole State in continual alarm. Excursions were frequently made by the tenders and small armed vessels to the neighboring islands, and to the main. To guard against these, it was necessary to maintain a chain of posts all around Narragansett

¹ Up to this time the number of College students had steadily increased from year to year. In 1769 there were thirteen students; in 1770, twenty-one; in 1771, twenty-five; in 1772, thirty; in 1773, thirty-three; in 1774, thirty-four; and in 1775, forty-one. These facts we learn from a paper preserved on file by Judge Howell.

Bay. Though aided by some Continental troops, and by soldiers from the adjoining states, the inhabitants of Rhode Island were almost constantly engaged in keeping watch and ward. Providence, at the head of navigable water, was supposed to be especially in danger. The town exhibited the appearance of a camp. The College building was first used as quarters for the Artillery, and the grounds around it for a parade, and afterwards for a hospital for the sick soldiery. The ordinary business of the town was suspended. Many of the inhabitants removed to places of safety in the interior, and there was nothing but the din of arms, and the thrilling sounds of martial music, to break the silence that reigned in the streets.

President Manning having thus far discharged his arduous and responsible duties with unwearied assiduity and the most gratifying success, now employed this interval of relaxation from Collegiate service in the labors of the ministry, and in various acts of social benevolence which the perils and distresses of that period in our national history prompted him to perform. A letter to his friend, the Rev. John Ryland, written a few days before the closing of the College, gives a vivid idea of the war, regarded by a Christian and a philanthropist: —

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 13, 1776.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

After a long interruption of our correspondence, an opportunity again offers of sending you a line, by some of our captive brethren, who have liberty to return directly to England. The bearer, Mr. Thomas Mackaness, partner with Mr. Thornton, can give you many more particulars of our affairs than I can by a letter.

Since I wrote you last I have seen both glorious and gloomy days. The winter before last it pleased God to pour out his Spirit upon the people of this town in a most glorious manner. I believe about two hundred persons were converted within the space of a few months. I baptized more than half that number in less than a year. But the fatal 19th of April, the day of the Lexington battle, like an electric stroke put a stop to the progress of the work, as well in other places as here. Oh horrid war! How contrary to the spirit of Jesus! May you never be alarmed, as we have been, with the horrid roar of artillery, and the hostile flames, destroying your neighbors' habitations. These I have repeatedly seen and heard, sitting in my house and lying in my bed. I desire to bless God, these scenes of carnage always appeared shocking to me, and I feel no disposition to destroy or injure my fellow-men. May the Lord turn

the hearts of all to himself, and then I know war will instantly cease. The scene of action, in a hostile way, has been at the distance of more than two hundred miles from me this campaign, and I could wish it had been more than ten thousand, if it must be at all. You will not think strange that the colleges have suffered greatly by this tremendous convulsion; though I believe we have not suffered more than our neighbors.. Our number is about thirty; but the high price of everything amongst us, I fear, will drive some of the students away.

For more than a year the state of religion has been truly lamentable, except in some places in Connecticut. But there are pleasing prospects opening in several places around us; I think there are some favorable symptoms in my congregation. May the Lord increase them. There have been seven Baptist ministers ordained in New England since last April, and about that number of churches constituted within about a year. These are encouraging circumstances amidst our troubles.

My dear Brother Gano¹ has suffered greatly by the war, and where he now is with his distressed, numerous family, I cannot learn, as I have never had a line from him since he was obliged to quit New York.

There was a glorious revival of religion, last winter, at Hopewell in the Jerseys. Ninety were baptized and added to that church in seven months. I have heard nothing of the state of religion from the southward for a long time; but I fear that politics and war have not promoted it. If they have, they have fared better than New England.

Mr. Mackaness informs me that there is a glorious revival in many parts of England, especially in the Establishment. I heartily rejoice to hear the news. May the kingdom of the Redeemer come throughout the world!

The gentlemen you recommended to me as worthy of the honors of the College were all graduated; but as the communication was shut up their diplomas were never written; and as I have but short notice of this opportunity, and as there is no parchment in the country, I could not forward them now. But I hope it may not be long before these obstructions are removed.

I wish you great success in your labors in the Gospel, and many crowns of rejoicing in the day of Christ Jesus. If possible, let me have a line from you. If not, grant me an interest in your prayers at our Father's throne, that I may be kept in the day of temptation, and be enabled to fulfil the ministry which I have received. With great respect, and many obligations, I remain, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother in the Gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

¹ Rev. John Gano. He served as chaplain during the war, and by his patriotic counsels and earnest prayers did very much to encourage the officers and privates of the American army. After the occupation of New York by the British, he retired with his family to a farm within five miles of Warwick, near the New Jersey line. Mr. Manning visited his family in May, 1779, as we learn from his diary or journal.

The religious awakening to which Manning here refers we have already alluded to in a previous chapter. Backus states in his church history that Manning heard the celebrated Fristoe, of Virginia, during the sessions of the Philadelphia Association, in October, 1774, and that he returned home to preach with renewed zeal. The revival which followed is more particularly described in the following letter to the Rev. Benjamin Wallin, dated Nov. 12, 1776:—

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

It is long since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you, or an opportunity of writing to you, in consequence of the perilous times in which we live. But I hope, though Great Britain and America are at war, that the saints of God do not mean to wage war against each other, or suffer their love and affection towards each other in the least to abate, because a wise Providence has cast their lot in the respective contending countries. I do not think it the business of the ministers of Christ to meddle much with politics, as they are concerned to promote a kingdom not of this world. You will not, therefore, expect anything from me on this subject, except so far as the cause of the Redeemer appears to be affected by the alarming aspect of public affairs.

In the beginning of the winter of 1774, it pleased the Lord in a most remarkable manner to revive his work in the town of Providence, and more especially among the people of my charge. Such a time I never before saw. Numbers were pricked to the heart. Our public assemblies by night and by day were crowded, and the auditors seemed to hear as for the life of their souls. It was frequently an hour before I could get from the pulpit to the door, on account of the numbers thronging to have an opportunity of stating the condition of their minds,—some exulting in the love of God and speaking of a precious Jesus, and others bewailing their awful, ruined state, and asking, “What must I do to be saved?” My dear sir, never until now did I so effectually feel the insufficiency of instruments to afford the poor sinner the least help. How glorious now to view the all-sufficient Saviour! There I would stand pointing to him, and saying, “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.” This was all I could do. Never before did I experience such happy hours in the pulpit. Day and night my dear people resorted to my house to open to me the state of their souls, inso-much that it was with difficulty I could at any time attend to secular business; and I think I may say with truth, that I had as little inclination as leisure for it, further than the absolute demands of duty required.

And what added peculiarly to my happiness was, that the Lord visited the College as remarkably as the congregation. Frequently, when I went to the recitation-room, I would find nearly all the students assembled, and joining in prayer and praise to God.

Instead of my lectures on logic and philosophy, they would request me to speak to them of the things concerning the kingdom of God. But your experience in the service of the dear Redeemer will enable you to form a more adequate idea of the concomitant circumstances of such a work of grace than I can here communicate. In a word, the mountains seemed to melt at the presence of the Lord; the pride and haughtiness of man were laid low; and the Lord alone was exalted. In the space of about six months, I baptized more than one hundred persons.¹ Many were also added to the other churches of the town, who, I believe, were first added to the Lord. Thus the glorious work continued, and rather increased, until the fatal 19th of April, when the affair at Lexington happened, which, like an electric shock, filled every mind with horror and compassion. When one would have thought this would have promoted seriousness amongst us, it, strange to tell, operated the very reverse; for since the fatal day languor and abatement of zeal for God seem greatly to have obtained, and instances of conversion to Christ are rare. Yet I hope our affairs are now somewhat improving. I have often labored to investigate the cause of the almost universal decline of vital godliness amongst us since the commencement of this unhappy war, but can find no other than that war is in its nature a hardening judgment. I have heard of and know many places where the Lord by his Spirit appeared to be at work when hostilities commenced, and in every instance the work immediately abated. In one instance only were they made the means of any considerable awakening. Yet, blessed be God! the dews of divine grace have distilled gloriously in many places, and reformatations are commencing. I know you will heartily join at the throne of grace that Christ's kingdom may so come in both countries, yea, in all the world, that war may cease from the ends of the earth. I expect Mr. Thomas Mackness, merchant in partnership with Mr. Thornton, will hand you this. He has been a great sufferer by having been taken on his voyage to Quebec, in consequence of which he lost vessel and cargo. He can give further information concerning me, if you desire. With sincere regards, I am, dear sir,

Your friend and unworthy brother,

JAMES MANNING.

The following reply, the last letter from Wallin ever received by Manning, shows that war had not alienated all our English friends. This fact is delightfully evident in the correspondence of a later period: —

¹ Among those who became religious at this time was Mrs. Manning, whom her husband baptized in the month of January, 1775.

MAZE POND, SOUTHWARK, Aug. 30, 1777.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

I embrace the opportunity of acknowledging your very acceptable favor, which came to hand in January last. Oh the wonders of Omnipotent love! Peace on earth and good-will to men, dispensed by the everlasting Gospel in a rebellious world, like the antediluvian, corrupt before God, and filled with violence! It is the Lord's doings and marvellous in our eyes. Your striking account of the heavenly visitation on the church and College over which you preside filled me with gratitude and joy, as it did my people, and indeed many others, ministers and respectable individuals, from whom I could not conceal the glad tidings. They proved as cold water to a thirsty soul. Dear sir, if you would have such good news a secret, you must not trust a man with it who wishes to spread abroad the salvation of God, that all who love it may have continual occasion to glorify his name. Many thanksgivings redounded to the King of all grace upon a rehearsal of this glorious display of his mercy,—an evidence this of a genuine love among the saints whose lot is cast in the respective contending countries, originally united, now waging war, to the grief of all who wish well to Great Britain. What stronger proof of this divine grace than a free communication and an unfeigned great joy in each other's prosperity!

It would be pleasing to return a similar account from the mother country, but the state of religion is not so delightful and promising. Indeed, many preachers go forth, and the number of hearers increases, but it is not so strictly in the way of the Lord as I could wish. It seems to me vain-glorious, and in some respects tending to confusion, of which God is not the author. Among the Episcopalians who have any idea of gospel truth (though I think for the most part they are rather superficial), their way is to open a chapel, as they style it, and, having drawn an audience, they are fixed at a custom-rate for their seats. On this plan many, and some of them sumptuous buildings have been erected, to which, by report, great numbers resort. I would hope by this means some may be led into a saving knowledge of Christ, and so far I rejoice; yet I cannot but lament the tending and the effect of this carnal contrivance and vague kind of social religion to the accommodation of man and the neglect of all gospel order. A becoming zeal for this is now a matter of reproach with many among us, insomuch that the enlightened, who wish to be conformed to the positive institutions of the Redeemer, are under great discouragements, and few join the regular churches of any denomination; so that a godly discipline in particular communion is in a manner out-of-doors. The consequence of all this will, I fear, be a greater declension from real and practical piety. The Baptists more especially are obnoxious to these popular gentlemen, of which a specimen has lately transpired in an abusive pamphlet, by a warm-spirited young clergyman. Irritated by some altercations on a late baptizing in the parish of

his vicarage, he has fallen foul on me for my little address to the churches of the Congregational order,—the first edition of which you have in a volume of mine. This piece has nothing to do with the point in debate, and, being anonymous, was by many ascribed to a person of the Independent persuasion before the author was discovered. This man holds me up to the public as a masterpiece of bigotry, and an enemy to all Pedobaptist communion, and at the same time pretends to much candor.

This newly-adopted mode has already emboldened some froward men to set up for themselves, under the color of Protestant dissenters; and, among them, lately, one Mr. Dawson, a Sabbatarian Baptist, not long since in New England. Alas! these men make a trade of religion! It likewise favors party divisions in church, too frequent, and which now for the most part end in grievous and shameful separations, to the prejudice of brotherly love; it being the taste of the day to follow new societies and teachers. This is a melancholy case; for we know by the disciples at Corinth that in this carnal spirit there is little regard to the power and grace of God in the increase of his church.

As to my congregation, they are in general steady, and our church state gradually advances. Of late we have been favored with some remarkable instances of conversion; among others, last month I baptized four young persons of one family, brothers and sisters in the flesh, the children of a deacon lately deceased, who was the second person that passed under my hands. This was in the year 1741. Their grandfather and grandmother were also valuable members of the church some years after I succeeded my honored father in the pastoral charge. The Lord will not *fail*, but may exceed the terms of his promise. His grace is not bound. You will not wonder at the joy of the brethren on this singular occasion.

I fear the Papists take advantage of our civil and religious confusion. According to some there are alarming symptoms of their increase in our nation and cities. Indeed, unknown and disorderly societies but too much favor their design, while the political sentiments of many Protestants are a hindrance, at least, to their social prayers. But with our God nothing is impossible. May he pour out the Spirit from on high on both countries, and graciously restore our public tranquillity on an honorable and permanent foundation; and may you, dear sir, enjoy many happy hours in the closet and in the pulpit, and again be employed in a field white for harvest, as in the year 1775.

As for me, my age and infirmities promise little further capacity for usefulness. Infinite are the obligations upon me for the grace by which I have been sustained thirty-seven years in the arduous work of the ministry. Our great Divine Master doth not cast off his old servants; yet the prayers of my brethren may subserve to a finish with joy; a request, I am persuaded, you will not deny me.

Having the honor of a place in your library, it seemed decent to present a copy of another attempt since my last. Parents, you know, sir, oft show their vanity in dress-

ing up their children. Excuse the uniform of the eleventh volume. It comes in expectation of the same kind reception with that of its preceding companions. If any hints concerning parables in general, or that in particular which is the subject in hand, prove pertinent and useful, the author flatters himself that some other pen may improve them to public advantage.

For an increase of the church's prosperity and a period to the national trouble, we unite in our prayers to the Most High, with which I conclude.

Dear sir,

Your very obliged and affectionate brother,

BENJAMIN WALLIN.

P. S.—The copy on *The Prodigal* presented to the College with my most respectful compliments to the venerable members, if it be needful to mention so trifling a matter to them, was bound in readiness soon after the publication. My notice of this opportunity was short, which it is hoped will apologize for the mourning dress of those directed to you and the other gentlemen, on whose candor in perusing them I rely. If by any means you can inform me of the arrival of these, it will be acceptable. Before the present interruption to our intercourse took place, I was in expectation of soon receiving a digested and authentic account of your College, which, I hope, will survive the civil commotions, and prove a flourishing seminary of learning under your direction. If this design is carried into execution, I hope to be presented with some copies the first opportunity.

The following letter, addressed to Miss A. Howard, in Scarborough, England, illustrates the peculiar tact and delicacy of Manning in his efforts to alleviate the distressed, and to give sympathy and counsel to the bereaved and unfortunate. In a footnote he remarks that the letter actually sent to Miss Howard was greatly altered and enlarged from this, which seems to be the first copy. Captain Bell, it appears, was taken with his vessel, by some of our cruisers, and brought into Providence, where he died. He was engaged to be married to the lady in question, who, as will be observed, was an entire stranger to Manning.

PROVIDENCE, NEW ENGLAND, Nov. 19, 1776.

DEAR MADAM:

I hope you will excuse the forwardness of a stranger in addressing a line to you, when I inform you of the amiable character given you by my dear unfortunate friend,

Mr. Thomas Mackaness; as also from the sympathetic feelings of my heart under the distress which the news of the unexpected and truly lamentable death of the dear Captain Bell must occasion, especially considering the endearing relation which, I am informed, he soon expected to stand in to you. Horrid war! What havoc dost thou make! To glut thy rage, must the youthful, amiable, virtuous, and what exceeds all these, must the singularly pious *Bell* fall a victim to thy relentless stroke! Must the hearts of tender parents bleed? Must more than half of all your happiness on earth perish? Must the dear bereaved church at Hull be bathed in tears? Must the tender orphans, his peculiar care, bewail the loss of their kindest benefactor, under thy unnatural domain?

But why do I open afresh the wounds which, long ere this arrives, have often bled? You, doubtless, have oft portrayed the bliss of the intended conjugal relation, and recounted the joys of such a virtuous connection, which, by a stroke, is now all blasted, and you sit solitary as one forsaken, and, in the plaintive strain of the sweet singer of Israel, cry, *Lover and friend hast thou removed from me, and mine acquaintance into darkness.* "I shall no more see good in the land of the living." But stop, my friend! Why these unavailing sighs? For whom do you thus lament? Is it for him who was so fully ripe for heaven, that earth was no longer for him a fit habitation, — for him whose heart and conversation were so in heaven, that the Redeemer chose to receive him to that society where, unmolested, he might sing those songs of praise, and give full scope to that ardor of spirit, which he had here so oft attempted, and so uniformly felt? True, the loss to you is great; but greater far, to him, the gain. And could you wish to disengage him from that blessed employment, — from that glorious society for which you long, and where you hope to bear a part in those anthems of praise to God and the Lamb forever? Can you desire that he, disengaged from every earthly clog, should again, for many painful years, groan under the weight of a body of death, and see the object of his highest love through faith's dim medium, as we do now, and mourn his absence from our Father's house, — and all this to gratify and assist you through this painful journey home to glory? No, madam; both reason and religion forbid this selfish passion; and, painful as the thought of separation is, I know your generous soul can't wish it. You only mourn that you are left behind, and that our degenerate world has lost his bright example. But remember that he has left you in better hands, — that the swift-revolving years will soon land you at the same peaceful haven, where not only he but Jesus waits to welcome travellers home. Instead of pensive sadness, then, cheer up, and, as the poet sung, let us go singing on. It will render the journey less painful; and perhaps more than half the way is passed. Remember that now your attachment to heaven is stronger than ever. *There your best friend, your kindred dwell, there God your Saviour reigns.* May he grant you his divine presence to support you under the sore affliction, and abundantly sanctify his hand to you, that you may be more and more prepared for

glory. Had I great interest at a throne of grace, you should not want a share of it; for I think if joining in your sorrow and mingling a friendly tear will alleviate your grief, I have borne a part for you.

Since the ship was taken and brought in here, I have often thought I should have been peculiarly happy had it been the will of Heaven to have spared the life of the dear man whose untimely death more than British friends lament. But here I find my want of submission to the will of God; for I am only happy when from the heart I can say to God, Thy will be done.

Probably I shall never see your face in the flesh; but should this happiness be denied me, I hope to see you where there shall be no more sorrow nor sighing; where God shall wipe away every tear from our eyes; where we shall see, not only the dear man whom we lament, but all the saints on earth, with those uncalled as yet, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the apostles and prophets, and the general assembly of those whose names are written in heaven, with Jesus, the mediator, at their head, and God the Judge of all. Oh! what a glorious day when we shall rise to this exalted station! My dear friend, let us, then, walk worthy of such a calling; that whether we are absent or present in body, we may be present with the Lord. And here, I recollect, we may have an interview; I mean at the throne of grace. Wishing you the highest possible happiness, I subscribe myself, madam,

Your friend and servant,

JAMES MANNING.

The following letter to the Rev. John Berridge, of London, shows Dr. Manning in the light of a controversialist. How skilfully he could handle the weapons of polemic warfare, will best be learned from its perusal. The pungency of its wit, the force of its argument, and the excellence of its style and spirit, amply compensate for its unusual length. Mr. Berridge, it may be added, was famous in his day as a preacher of the Whitfield stamp, and was classed among the friends and favorites of Lady Huntington. In this work he represents himself as a physician conversing with his patient and prescribing for his disease. Thus the way is opened for a thorough discussion of practical and doctrinal Christianity, in language as plain and forcible, says a reviewer, "as was ever used by the dreamer of Bedford Jail." The work was republished in 1854 by Gould and Lincoln, with a short memoir of the author by Dr. Thomas Guthrie.

PROVIDENCE, NEW ENGLAND, NOV. 19, 1776.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Lately, through the kindness of my friend Mr. Thomas Mackaness, of London, I had the perusal of the "Christian World Unmasked.¹ Pray, Come and Peep. By John Berridge, A. M., etc." 8vo. Lond., 1773. I accepted the invitation, and found the book in general corresponded well to the title-page, until I came to pp. 223-5, inclusive, when I peeped again, but could not discover the least gleam of light, and therefore concluded the mask was in the way; when lo! I turned to my New Testament, and found that light which is concealed by a veil while we search the Old for New Testament ordinances. Ay, Baptist, Baptist; I thought you were a water-fowl when you referred to the pages. Well, be it so; if he can be an instrument to pick open your eyes a little wider, I hope you will have no objection to him on that account. You say, "I would hate no man, and do condemn no man for *thinking* differently in this matter." Now if you mean to place the emphasis on *thinking*, I think I shall not fare well for *saying* differently. However, as you have made very free with the Grazier, I hope I may with the Doctor, upon the same principle, without offense.

You say that you have no doubt that infant-baptism is attended with the same blessing that infant-circumcision was formerly. Both the ordinances are of God's appointment, etc. Till now, I find you producing plain Scripture warrant for the glorious doctrines you advance. And must we *only* rely upon the Doctor's bare word for the truth of this last assertion? What shall I say, then, to that voice I hear from Heaven, "*This is my beloved Son, hear ye him,*" and that, too, in the presence of Moses and Elias? Pray, Doctor, have me excused till you point me to the page where this great prophet authorizes you to say this. I have carefully examined the dispensatory, but can find no such prescription between the lids of it. You ask why Christian children may not be received into the church's fold by baptism, as were the Jewish by circumcision. Answer: The former was by God's special appointment, but not the latter. Surely, then, wide is the difference in their case. To say *nothing is said to forbid them*, is not sufficient to a truly Christian Protestant doctor; for if it is necessary, *totidem verbis*, for the Scripture to forbid everything practised under the name of Christianity, which is, notwithstanding, contrary to the true genius of the gospel, it would require a Bible ten times as large as Dr. Gill's Exposition of it. And then what should we field-preachers and the recruiting sergeants of the country do? But pray, Doctor, is baptism a moral precept, or an institution purely positive? If the latter, why need we wreck and torture our brains to find a reason for either mode or subjects, time or place, or anything further than what the New Testament simply informs us concerning

¹A copy of this work is in the writer's possession. It is probably the copy which Manning perused, as it was obtained through a member of his family.

it, as there is the only place where we should look for it? Or why need we be distressed how little children should be brought to Christ, while he has not seen fit to teach us the way in which it should be done?

In the next paragraph, you say that children dying unbaptized are left to God's uncovenanted mercy; and what that is, no mortal can tell. But I think I will undertake to tell what it is when the Doctor gives me a satisfactory account how baptismal water, through the grace of Christ, does wash away the *guilt* of original or birth-sin (so that dying before they can discern between good and evil, etc., they will be saved), consistent with the whole tenor of the rest of this performance, where the merits of Christ, applied by the Spirit of God, *alone* cleanses from sin; especially at the top of page 223, where the Doctor asserts the right to pardon, and a claim to eternal life, are wholly treasured up in Christ, and *only* are attained through faith in him;—I say, when the Doctor gives a solution of this Gordian knot, I will undertake the other part promised. Will the Doctor assert that infants, who are not capable of discerning between good and evil, are capable of believing in a gospel sense? If not, will he assert that they will be *saved* without a *right to pardon, or any claim to eternal life, which are blessings treasured up in Christ?* I cannot see how this difficulty can be solved, without recourse to believing by proxy, which I think the Doctor will not recur to, lest the Grazier should learn the trick, and get the curate to believe, in his stead, that he might follow more agreeable business and yet be safe, and after all vanquish the Doctor with his own weapon. But if there is so much efficacy in baptism, it is a pity everybody should not partake of it. And pray, can anybody administer it that pleases? or must he be a clergyman? If so, alas! what shall our poor American church-people do? For since the King's naughty ministers undertook to enslave the colonies, the rebel congresses, conventions, committees, etc., have forbid the clergy to pray for the King, and they are so sulky that they will neither preach, pray, baptize, nor anything else.¹ And now

¹ Perhaps Dr. Manning is too sweeping in his remarks touching the loyalty of the Episcopal clergy. It is certain, however, that there was ample foundation for such remarks. In the chapter of Staples's Annals devoted to ecclesiastical history, we find that the Rev. John Graves, who was the rector of the Episcopal church in Providence until July, 1776, declined to officiate after that period, because he could not be permitted to read the usual and ordinary prayers for the King, which he considered himself bound by his ordination vows to offer. The church was in consequence closed, most of the time, during the Revolution. Writers like Backus have termed the War of the American Revolution a "Church war," or in other words, a war carried on by the church party. It is certain that a large proportion of the "Loyalists," or, as they were called by Washington and his adherents, "Tories," were of the Episcopal faith. Thus, while the whole number of regulars enlisted for the Continental service from the beginning to the close of the struggle, as stated by Sabine, in his "American Loyalists," was 231,959, Puritan New England equipped and maintained above one-half of this number, or 118,350. Most of the Episcopal clergy, this author states, "not only espoused the cause of the adverse side, but abandoned their flocks and the country." For a clear account of the relations of the Church of England to the American Colonies, see Thornton's "Pulpit of the American Revolution."

must the poor infants who may happen to die all perish through their obstinacy, the wickedness of the congresses, and the King's ministers? If this be the case, I hope the Doctor's patriotism will furnish the minority with a new argument, to urge at the next sitting of Parliament the repeal of the laws, and which must be very forcible, for I do not believe that administration ever intended to kill our souls. I know pious Lord Dartmouth will turn about; for it is storied in America that he was very squeamish when they determined to kill only their bodies. I was glad, however, to find, with the Grazier, you were not "forgetting Jesus Christ to help out some defects," in which you put the grace of Christ together with "baptismal water,—especially as a man of a plain understanding might conclude the former quite sufficient of itself; though the Doctor seems to have given baptismal water the preference, agreeable to the Grazier's method of discharging sinful debts, or paying a decent part of the shot himself, and leaving Jesus to discharge the rest of the reckoning. But how will this comport with the sentiment advanced in page 176: "It matters not at all whether the work be ritual or moral, while we seek to be saved by it. If we seek at all to be saved by any work of our own, we fall from grace." Pray, Doctor, is not baptism as much a work as circumcision?

On page 224 you quote God's declaration to Abraham, long before Jesus was given, "That an uncircumcised child shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant" (Gen. xvii. 16), and say the covenant here spoken of is not the Sinai covenant, but the covenant of grace. Circumcision was the outward sign of this covenant to Abraham, as baptism is to us. The outward rite is different, but the covenant the same. This I compared with pp. 33, 144, where I find it thus written: "If you desire benefit from the covenant of grace, you must be baptized, and if you seek advantage from the covenant of works, you must be circumcised. A rite of initiation is appointed to both the covenants, and you cannot enter into both without partaking of the double rite." In a covenant of works a man must work for life by his own will and power," etc. "The tenor of this covenant is, do and live, transgress and die," etc. "In the covenant of grace all things are purchased for us, and bestowed upon us generously and freely. These two covenants are called the old and the new; no more are noticed in Scripture; and a suitable law respecting both is mentioned,—the law of works and the law of faith (Rom. iii. 27). All other laws are cobwebs of a human brain, such as the law of sincere obedience, the law of love," etc. And pray why not the law of infant baptism? Now if the covenant made with Abraham was the covenant of grace, and circumcision was the sign of it, why are we told that if we desire benefit from the covenant of works we must be circumcised? It cannot be because these two very different covenants have the same rites of initiation; because the Doctor says their rites are different, unless the covenant of grace in Abraham's days is a covenant of works in ours; for there are but two covenants, the old and the new, noticed in the Scriptures.

But I will leave you to compare these passages yourself, without further insisting upon their inconsistency, and come to the dernier resort: "That no harm can possibly arise from baptizing an infant." Stop, Doctor, stop; these expressions are very strong, — I fear much too strong. For did not the Doctor say, page 222, "That much people, who are strangers to the work of regeneration, suppose the new birth is only their baptism, and that every one is born again who is baptized?" And is it strange they should think so when they hear thanks returned to God on its performance, that it is so by the doctors appointed to that service? Surely, to lead such multitudes into error in such an important article as that of regeneration, cannot be such a harmless thing, especially if we believe our Saviour's account of it (John iii. 3). Besides, it makes great doctors contradict themselves when they write or talk about the covenants. If I were one of those doctors, I should think this was some harm. But, most of all, it is invading the kingly office of the great Redeemer; for I can see no reason why the merits of saints may not be mingled with the merits of Christ to save the Christian, as the laws or ordinances of men with those of Christ to rule and govern it. Shall we, like Uzzah, not trust the Lord *wholly* with his ark, but must have a meddling finger? I forbear to recite the following part of your sentence. I must mention one more evil which arises from baptizing infants, which is this: The practice constrains those servants of God who practice it often to wrest and explain away the plain, obvious sense of Scripture to vindicate it; especially to give such representations of the covenant of grace as mars its glory, and encourages the opposers of the glorious doctrines of grace in rejecting the pure gospel of Jesus Christ. This has often grieved my heart, and in no case more than in reading your book, where the glorious Redeemer is exalted in his office, nature and grace, and the pride of man stained, until you get hampered, I think with infant-baptism, which neither we nor our fathers are able to prove was ever the mind of Christ. Upon this principle I concluded to address to you a line; not under the notion of a dispensation, but in a friendly way to hint at what I thought mistakes in your performance.

You may probably esteem me rigid, from this specimen, and greatly attached to externals; but I think otherwise of myself. I think I love the followers of the Lamb, under whatever denomination they pass amongst men. I esteem them my brethren, and feel disposed to make all proper allowances for the prejudices of education, and the weaknesses of human nature, knowing that I myself also am in the body, and peculiarly need the candor of my Christian friends. I hope, therefore, that the benevolence of my intentions will apologize for the rudeness of my manner. I shall always rejoice to hear that dear Mr. Berridge is alive for God, — is held as a star in the right hand of Jesus, and is honored with many seals of his ministry, even though he should continue to think and practise very different from myself relative to the mode and subjects of baptism; though I sincerely pray that you may be set entirely right in this matter. And blessed be God, he has left us a rule which is able to make wise unto salvation

through faith in Jesus Christ. May all our doctrines and practices be governed by that; and may the Spirit of truth lead us into all truth, and ever keep us humble, solely relying on the Lord for those supplies of grace and help which we always need. May the God of Blessing bless you. I am, reverend and dear sir,

Your friend and servant in the Gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

On Wednesday, Sept. 3, 1777, the members of the Corporation, as appears from the records, met in the new Baptist meeting-house, and conferred degrees upon seven members of the Senior class, who had been examined the day previous, in accordance with the following, which we take from the *Providence Gazette*. There was no Commencement: —

As the term of vacation in the College is now expired, the students are hereby informed, that, in the present state of public affairs, the prosecution of studies here is utterly impracticable, especially while this continues a garrisoned town. It is therefore recommended to them to prosecute their studies elsewhere for the present, to the best advantage in their power. The Senior class are desired to meet at the College, to pass their examination, and receive their degrees at the usual time, being the 2d day of September next, unless the College should be called together sooner. In behalf of the Corporation,

JAMES MANNING.

PROVIDENCE, May 16, 1777.

There was no further meeting of the Corporation held until May 5, 1780, when an attempt was made to revive the instruction of the College.

The years following the breaking up of the College were seasons of great distress. Many families left the town, unable to obtain a subsistence. The records of the church show that members of influence and property, some of them warm personal friends of Manning, were really objects of commiseration. It was the delight of the Pastor, in this hour of trial, when members of his flock were scattered by the war, and the influences of literature seemed paralyzed, to aid the needy, and to throw the sunshine of Christian sympathy around the path of the afflicted. His knowledge of the world, his courtly manners, his Christian meekness, combined with his extraordinary energy of character,

enabled him to move at ease in every class of society, and thus to promote the good of all. The following instance of his humane disposition is thus related by Howland, in his brief memoir of Dr. Manning, published in the year 1815 in the *Rhode Island Literary Repository*:—

He enjoyed the confidence of the General commanding in this department, and in one instance in particular had all the benevolent feelings of his heart gratified, even at the last moment, after earnest entreaty, by obtaining from General Sullivan an order of reprieve for three men of the regular army who were sentenced to death by that inexorable tribunal, a court-martial. The moment he obtained the order revoking the sentence, he mounted his horse at the General's door, and, by pushing him to his utmost speed, arrived at the place of execution at the instant the last act had begun which was to precipitate them into eternity. With a voice which none could disobey, he commanded the execution to stay, and delivered the General's order to the officer of the guard. The joy of the attending crowd seemed greater than that of the subjects of mercy; they were called so suddenly to life from the last verge of death, they did not for a moment feel that it was a reality.

In the same memoir Mr. Howland thus relates the history of an important civil function which was confided to Dr. Manning, and by him most skilfully discharged:—

The repeated calls of the militia, while the enemy remained in this State (Rhode Island), operated with peculiar severity. In some districts the ground could not be planted, and in others the harvest was not reaped in season; the usual abundance of the earth fell short, and he who had the best means of supply frequently had to divide his store with a suffering neighbor. In addition to this, laws existed in several States prohibiting the transport of provisions beyond the State boundary. The plea for these restrictions was that there was danger of the enemy being supplied; but the real cause was to retain the provisions for the purpose of furnishing their State's quota of troops, as the war was generally carried on by the energy of the governments of the individual States. These restrictions came with double weight on the citizens of Rhode Island, as a great part of the State was in the possession of the enemy, and the remainder was filled with those who had fled from the islands and the coasts for safety. These restrictions and prohibitions were variously modified; but under all their variations, which referred chiefly to the mode of executing the law, the grievance was the same. The Governor and council of war of Rhode Island, wishing to give their language of remonstrance a power of impression which paper could not be made to convey, commissioned Dr. Man-

ning to repair to Connecticut, and represent, personally, to the government of that state our peculiar situation, and to confer with and propose to them a different mode of procedure. The Doctor in this embassy obtained all that he desired; the restrictions were removed, and, in addition to this, on his representation of the circumstances of the refugees from the islands, contributions, in money or provisions, were made in nearly all the parishes in the interior of Connecticut, and forwarded for their relief.

Arnold, under date of Jan. 21, 1779, thus writes concerning this period: —

The deplorable condition of the State was represented in a touching letter from Governor Greene to the Assembly of Connecticut: "The most obdurate heart would relent to see old age and childhood, from comfortable circumstances, reduced to the necessity of begging for a morsel of bread." Two thousand persons driven from the island of Rhode Island were scattered about, homeless and penniless through the State, but chiefly in Providence, dependent upon public or private charity. Deputy Governor Bowen and Dr. Manning were sent to represent the case to the Assembly of Connecticut and obtain leave to purchase grain in their behalf. A memorial to Congress was also prepared. The response to both of these appeals was noble. Connecticut allowed seven thousand bushels of grain to be exported to Rhode Island, and donations were secured in that State amounting to five hundred bushels of grain and £4,300 in money.

The following letter to Moses Brown will be found specially interesting. It belongs to the Rhode Island Historical Society, which has kindly permitted us to copy it for the present work: —

PROVIDENCE, March 25, 1779.

RESPECTED FRIEND:

The distress of the poor in this town for want of bread is so great, that unless some speedy provision can be made, I fear many must suffer extremely, if not perish. Upon looking into the matter I can see but one way to prevent it; and that is that those who have any more than for a present supply for their families should lend it to Capt. Peleg Clarke, to be immediately distributed, and to repay it on the arrival of the grain from Connecticut, which the depths of the roads prevent being brought until better weather. Clarke says he will do this, as soon as in his power. But all agree that unless twenty bushels can be got, such a distribution will be impracticable, so great is the number in distress. I have got ready five bushels of Indian corn, of Arthur Fenner, two bushels of rye; and if you can do anything in this way, I should be glad if you would com-

municate it to Captain Clarke as soon as may be. It would be best to have the whole ground, and distributed at the Market House. I know I need use no arguments, but only recite the facts to a benevolent mind.

I am yours,

JAMES MANNING.

In this connection we cannot refrain from quoting another anecdote of Manning, as an illustration of his readiness to use every opportunity to benefit the souls of his fellow-men. We find it in Stone's *Life and Recollections of Howland*. In May, 1780, occurred "the dark day," so often referred to by the chroniclers of that period.¹ At noon all ordinary business was suspended. Fowls sought their roosts, cattle retired as at night, and men stood appalled at the dread appearances. "I went," says Howland, "into the street, where many persons were assembled, and among others Dr. Manning. A powerful man, but profligate, advanced up to the President, and said, 'How do you account for this darkness, sir? what does it mean?' The President, with great solemnity of manner, replied, 'I consider it, sir, as a prelude to that great and important day when the final consummation of all things is to take place.'"

A letter which we find addressed to his friend and former pupil the Rev. Thomas Ustick, now in Ashford, Connecticut, shows that the College was uppermost in all his thoughts and plans, even though the fortunes of war had suspended its public exercises:—

PROVIDENCE, NOV. 17, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I am told that Mr. Kelly has entirely quitted Pomfret, to their great disappointment. There was a large gathering of people attended, and the prospect was encouraging of great good to be done there. In a letter to Brother Thurber, I mentioned the probability of your supplying them, at least for the present, and perhaps of settling amongst them for life, if you and they are blessed together. Should that be the case, it would be a good place for a Latin school, a nursery for the College, which I wish you immediately to engage in, and endeavor to influence as many as you can of our people to educate their children. The present state of the Baptist society in New England

¹ For an account of the "Dark Day," by Professor Williams, see *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. I. See also Holmes's *Life of Stiles*, p. 265.

must convince us all of the importance of having men of education in all parts of the country. I am very sorry that I did not think to mention something of this to the Association: but I have written and am about writing to all our ministers capable of teaching Latin, to immediately engage in the business. I hope, from present appearances, that college orders may be again revived next spring. I think you ought at least to visit Pomfret and help them under their present disappointment, as I understand you do not preach stately at Ashford, and that you are nearly convinced that it will not be best for you to settle at that place. With respects to you and yours,

I remain, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

A letter from Judge Howell, resigning his place as Professor of Philosophy in the College, may fitly close this chapter: —

PROVIDENCE, March 11, 1779.

SIR: — Having been impressed with a just sense of the honor conferred upon me in my appointment to the place of Professor of Philosophy in Rhode Island College, it becomes me, with much freedom and sincerity, to acknowledge it.

I have ever admired the liberal and catholic plan of this College, and esteemed it worthy of the State that gave it birth and patronage, which has induced me for many years assiduously and cheerfully to contribute towards establishing it on a footing, with respect to credit and finances, which might entitle it to more able teachers. That our young Seminary had well-nigh attained this state of maturity, all circumstances conspired to afford us the most flattering prospect, before the commencement of the present war.

Although experimental philosophy was the direct object of my profession, yet other branches of learning were devolved upon me. How far my honest endeavors to initiate my pupils in the rudiments of classical learning, and instill into their minds the elementary principles of law, the parent of science, and my favorite theme, have been attended with success, and answered the good purposes of my appointment, is submitted to your honor, the Corporation, the sons of the College, and the public to determine.

Having at length given over all hopes of a revival of classical instruction in this College during the continuance of the war, and not feeling disposed so far to take advantage of public munificence as to continue to avail myself of the emoluments of an office without discharging its duties, I have thought fit, not without weighty deliberation, to resign the professorship.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

DAVID HOWELL.

Chancellor Hopkins.

CHAPTER IX.

JOURNEY TO PHILADELPHIA.

APRIL 29 — SEPT. 29, 1779.

Distressed condition of the people of Rhode Island in 1779 — Probable reasons for a journey to Philadelphia — Diary or Journal — Manning sets out from Providence Thursday, April 29 — Sunday, May 2, preaches at Mr. James Thurber's in the forenoon, and at Mr. Thompson's in the afternoon — Thursday, May 6, Continental Fast — Preaches in the afternoon for Rev. Dr. Nathan Strong, of Hartford — Saturday, May 8, preaches to Seventh-day Baptists in Farmington — Description of the country — Sunday, May 9, preaches for Rev. Judah Champion, pastor of the Congregational church in Litchfield — Monday, crosses chains of tremendous mountains — Tuesday, May 11, preaches in the evening at Mr. Waldo's — Wednesday, 12, crosses Continental Ferry — Thursday, 13, reaches the family of his brother-in-law, Rev. John Gano — Sunday, 16, preaches twice for Rev. Mr. Randall's people — Tuesday, 18, assists his nephews in planting — Sunday, 23, preaches again for Mr. Randall at Warwick — Monday, 24, sets out for the Jerseys — Reaches Mrs. Manning's home in the evening — May 27, visits Elizabethtown — Sunday, 30, preaches at the Scotch Plains Church — Meeting interrupted by the march of the American forces — Sunday, June 6, preaches with Mr. Stelle, to a large audience — Saturday, 12, preaches at the Scotch Plains Church — Sunday, 13, preaches again and administers communion — Sunday, 20, preaches at Lion's Farms — Monday, June 21, sets out for Philadelphia — In the evening preaches at Samuel Randolph's — June 24, visits Dr. Vankirk, and preaches in the evening — Visits John Hart, Esq., signer of the Declaration of Independence — Accounts of Grain and Indian Corn — June 27, tarries with Rev. William Van Horn at Southampton, and preaches — Fruit in this neighborhood cut off by the frost — Crops fine — Monday, June 28, reaches Pennepek, and tarries with Rev. Dr. Samuel Jones five days — Sketch of Dr. Jones — July 2, Manning arrives at Philadelphia — Puts up at William Goforth's — Calls on Samuel Davis, William Rogers, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Westcot, Dr. Rush, Mr. Moulders, Mr. Hart, and Robert S. Jones — Financial embarrassments of the country — Mr. Joseph Hart of the Executive Council spends the evening at his lodgings — July 3, breakfasts with Dr. Rush — Inquires of Mr. Collins, a member of Congress, relative to the money question — Dines at Mr. Redwood's with Hon. William Ellery — Sunday, July 4, preaches twice — General Spencer, a member of Congress, spends the evening with him — Monday, July 5, importuned by a Committee of the First Baptist Church to tarry with them a long time — Sets out in the afternoon for Dr. Jones's — July 7, sets out for Borden-town — July 9, preaches in the evening — July 11, preaches at Cranberry — Sick with diarrhœa — July 13, preached at the Baptist meeting — July 16, sets out for Piscataway — Mrs. Manning ill — July 17, preaches at Sabbatarian meeting — July 18, preaches for Mr. Stelle twice — July 19, returns to the Farms — Report concerning General Wayne and Stony Point — July 23, sets out for Hopewell — July 25, preaches

twice and administers the communion — July 26, preaches in the afternoon — July 27, dines at John Hart's, Newtown — July 29, sets out again for Philadelphia — July 30, visits in town — Sees the prisoners taken at Stony Point — Aug. 1, preaches twice — Letters from friends — Aug. 5, call from Rev. Morgan Edwards — Aug. 7, visits Capt. Falkner, in company with Edwards — Aug. 8, preaches in town three times — Aug. 10, visits Col. Miles, in company with Edwards and Jones — Description of his country-seat — Weather — Crops — Aug. 14, preaches in the evening — Aug. 15, preaches twice, and attends funeral of a child — Aug. 16, sets out for Mr. Jones's at Pennepek — Finds Mr. Edwards there — Aug. 17, sets out for the Jerseys — Visits his family and friends — Sept. 8, sets out for Providence — Sept. 11, reaches the home of his brother-in-law, Mr. Gano, and next day preaches twice at Warwick — Sept. 14, meets Lieut. Hubbel on the road, who had come from Newburgh with an invitation from West Point — Sept. 16, goes down to West Point by water in Lieut. Hubbel's boat — Description of the Fort and Grounds — Introduced to Surgeon McDugal — Dines at General Greene's quarters with his family — Is introduced to General Washington, General Knox, Baron Steuben, the French Ambassador, and others — Returns up the river — Sept. 17, sets out from the Continental Ferry — Journey through Connecticut — Description of the country — Character of the inhabitants — Manner of conducting town meetings — Ravages of the war — Reaches home, Sept. 29.

THE previous chapter presents a vivid idea of the general privation and suffering among the inhabitants of Rhode Island, and especially of Providence, during the year 1779. For nearly two years Narragansett Bay and all the island towns, at least one-fourth of the State, had been in possession of the enemy. External trade was almost entirely suspended, and the people were unable to procure any adequate supply of the necessaries of life. Nearly every able-bodied man was in service, either in the State militia or the Continental army, and even the negroes and Indian slaves were enlisted as soldiers. The price of labor and of all articles of merchandise was fixed by legislative decree. The taxes imposed by the State were enormous; amounting this year to £495,000, and in the year following to four times this sum. Paper money, which had greatly depreciated in value, was made a legal tender in the payment of debts; and so easily was it counterfeited, that not even the Secretary of State could distinguish the genuine from the spurious. In addition to all this, the national cause had encountered reverses, Congress was reduced to a very low ebb, the ablest members having left it, and the prospect of independence and peace was overcast with shadows and doubts.

It was in reference, perhaps, to this alarming state of the currency of

the country, and in the hope of further aiding by counsel or otherwise his distressed fellow-townsmen, that Dr. Manning set out on a journey to Philadelphia, visiting on his way his relatives in New York and New Jersey. In company with his wife, he left Providence on the 29th of April, returning on the 29th of September. He was thus absent just five months, having passed through the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The following diary or journal was kept by him as they travelled from day to day. It abounds in historical incidents and allusions, and presents an excellent daguerreotype view of the author's private life. As an illustration of the times in which he lived, and of the general condition of society, it is an exceedingly valuable document. We have therefore devoted to it an entire chapter, illustrating it with such notes as seemed desirable for the better understanding of the text. As an evidence of Dr. Manning's popularity as a preacher, and of his love for this kind of work, it may be added that his services were called into requisition forty-eight times during his journey to Philadelphia and the Jerseys. He preached in meeting-houses of different denominations, in private dwellings, and even in stores and places of business, as the reader will observe.

MANNING'S JOURNAL.

Set out from Providence, Thursday, 29th of April, at six o'clock P. M. Reached Col. Abraham Winsor's in the evening; began to rain; were hospitably entertained; ten miles. *Friday morning, 30th.* A cold northeast storm; broke away at 8 o'clock A. M., but remained showery and very blustering. Travelled to Mr. John Brown's farm at Chepachet, six miles. Refreshed ourselves and horse, and proceeded to Capt. Corliss's, Killingly, twelve miles. The roads extremely bad. Spent the afternoon and evening, and the next forenoon of May 1, in visiting them and Mr. Jones's family. Set out after dinner and visited Gov. Sessions, who has a most excellent farm in good order. After tea travelled to Mr. Benjamin Thurber's in Pomfret, six miles. The roads better; tarried over Lord's Day.

Sunday, May 2. Preached at Mr. James Thurber's, three miles back, in the morning, and at Mr. Thompson's in the afternoon. Preached a lecture at Mr. B. Thurber's at five o'clock; the house crowded and the audience very attentive and affected. Visited Paul Tew, Esq., at Woodstock, Monday, May 3, A. M., and P. M. Mr. Cahoon's family, and dined; also Mr. Lee's, Thompson's, B. Lindsey's, and Esquire Frink's. Borrowed

Mr. Lindsey's trunk; left ours, a jacket, pattern for breeches, white gown, black wool hat, Hart's Hymns, and some valuable papers, in Mr. Thurber's care. Set out Tuesday morning, May 4, and visited Col. Nightingale, three miles. Spent the forenoon and dined. He lives most elegantly; has a grand farm; entertained us hospitably. Then proceeded to Mr. Jeremiah Brown's, two and one half miles; ascended a tremendous hill, refreshed, and proceeded two and one half miles to Capt. Bowles's, Ashford. Tarried all night, well entertained, and set out on the morning of the 5th. Travelled six miles to Stephen Snow's, refreshed, and then reached Mr. Robinson's, a pious Baptist gentleman, who bids fair to be useful in the ministry, in Mansfield, passing through a corner of Willington; six miles. Were received with great kindness; dined. Set out and reached an inn in Coventry, seven miles. Fed the horse, and travelled fifteen miles through Bolton into East Hartford, to the widow of Capt. Bidwell, a pious Baptist lady, and a good liver. Were kindly entertained, tarried all night, and went on for Hartford. Three miles to meeting, it being Thursday, the 6th of May, the Continental Fast; but a severe northwest wind prevented our crossing the ferry for several hours. Passed at length, and put up at Bull's Tavern, opposite the town house; were unknown to them. In the afternoon went to Mr. Strong's¹ meeting, who insisted that I should preach, which I did to a very large and attentive audience. After service Mr. Strong took us to his house to lodge, and entertained us like a friend, and Capt. — took our horse from the tavern and kept it well; both insisting that we should call on them again on our way back, as did Mr. Smith. Till within ten or twelve miles of Hartford the way is in general mountainous and rocky, but the people live well by their industry, of which there are striking indications. The season at Hartford appears nearly or quite a fortnight earlier than at Providence. Except Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, the weather very blustering and cold, but no frost. The winter grain looks exceedingly promising, and a vast quantity of summer grain is put in; abundance of land prepared for Indian corn; the fruit not injured by frosts. *Friday morning, May 7.* Set out for Farmington; reached Mr. Joseph Woodruff's, ten miles, and tarried to dinner; kindly entertained; then proceeded to a settlement of Seventh-day Baptists in the northwest part of Farmington, ten miles. Tarried at Mr. Covey's, where we were kindly treated, and preached Saturday, the 8th inst., to their society, to great acceptance; after passing the meadows four miles, the road rough, and an exceeding high mount of difficult ascent. The weather cold, and frost at night. The fruit here killed. After meeting proceeded through Farmington; oated at Mr. Baldwin's tavern,

¹ The Rev. Dr. Nathan Strong, pastor of the First Congregational Church. He graduated at Yale College in 1769, with the highest honors of his class. He was a remarkable man in his day, and exerted among his own denomination, especially, a very important influence. He originated the "Connecticut Evangelical Magazine," and in the organization of the "Connecticut Missionary Society" had a primary agency. He died in 1816, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

and reached Mr. Philips's tavern at Litchfield at sundown. The whole of this way exceeding mountainous and rough, but the land fertile and well improved; fine fields of grain and good buildings all the way. The people here live exceeding well. One tedious mountain two and one half miles from Litchfield; the day warm; the distance thirteen miles. This town is situated on a cold hill, the water bad, and the season near a fortnight backward of Hartford. Good lodgings and entertainment at the tavern; the landlady very agreeable.

Sunday, 9th. Was waited on by Mr. Champion,¹ the Congregationalist minister, whom I found to be a worthy, friendly man, and a good preacher. He invited me to preach, which I did in the afternoon, to a large audience, with great freedom and to good acceptance. The people solemn and attentive. After meeting called on Lawyer Reeve, who lives here. Dined with Mr. Champion; lodged with Dr. Smith; an agreeable, genteel family. *Monday, 10th.* Set off at 8 o'clock, accompanied three and one half miles by Mr. Champion, whose company was very agreeable. He insisted that if we ever came that way again we should make his house our home, as did Dr. Smith and Mr. Reeve. The road good this distance, but soon becomes exceeding rough, especially Mount Tom, a tremendous precipice near a mile long; at six or seven miles after this better to Rawmagin Iron Works, in Washington, eleven miles from Litchfield; Landlord Morgan's. After dinner set out to Bull's Iron Works, in Kent, ten miles, stopping to eat at Tirril's tavern, half way. Here we crossed successive chains of the most tremendous mountains I ever attempted to travel over, and which it was just possible to ascend. The whole distance over there is but a barren country, and the season very backward, until we come to the Works, where the soil and climate seem very different, as the season is much earlier. Refreshed at Landlord Beach's, a pretty good house; set off and arrived at Col. Morehouse's, four miles, in the evening. Had good entertainment and bed. The last stage a fine country, well improved, good buildings, and a good road. Passed Mr. Waldo's meeting-house, one half mile. This part of the country greatly divided in politics; the Tories have done great damage by robbing, etc., in this neighborhood. The York line one-half mile this side of Bull's Iron Works. Through the mountains observed the grasshoppers as in summer. The country here full of good wheat fields, and also their first great preparations for a summer crop. *Tuesday, May 11.* Came to Mr. Waldo's, two miles; out of the road one half mile. Being both unwell and greatly fatigued, and our horse also, by yesterday's journey, concluded to tarry all day and night. This is in Dutchess County, Pawling's Precinct. Between this and Bull's Works pass'd a considerable river, along the banks

¹ Rev. Judah Champion. He graduated at Yale College in 1751; was ordained pastor of the church in Litchfield, July 4th, 1753; died in 1810. He preached the Connecticut Election Sermon in 1766, which was published.

of which fine and pleasant. Had good lodgings. Mr. Waldo has a good tract of land, two hundred acres, patent land, the lease for three lives. At night preached at his house, from 2d Cor. iv. 17. The state of religion remarkably cold, and the congregation much divided in politics. *Wednesday, 12th.* Set out, after being very hospitably entertained, and crossed a tedious and long mountain, two miles, before we fully got up; the descent easy and the road fine to the westward; the country full of good wheat fields. To Capt. Storm's, thirteen miles. Here a genteel tavern and good entertainment. The militia assembled to send every twelfth man to the frontiers against the Indians. Travelled five miles to Capt. Griffin's; fed my horse, and then five miles to Fishkill, and fed again. This but a small village, the buildings poor, and much injured by the troops. The whole of the road from Capt. Storm's remarkably fine, and the country good and well cultivated, especially with wheat. From hence to the Continental Ferry the road and country not equally good as before. No horse-keeping at the Ferry. No wind, and the tide unfavorable. Two hands rowed over, and were rowing until quite dark; rained steadily: this had been threatened all day by small sprinklings. Had a pleasant day for travelling; but now we are landed, in a dark rainy night, on a strange shore, and no tavern that had horse-keeping. With much difficulty found Col. Hansbrook's, but the kitchen people were in bed; were taken in, had good entertainment, horse-keeping, and a good bed. *Thursday, 13th.* Rose, but a storm from the northeast and a heavy rain determined us to tarry all day. The family very agreeable—high Whigs, and wealthy. *Friday, 14th.* Cleared away in the morning; set out at eight o'clock, and passed through New Windsor, a small village, under a disagreeable hill. The road bad here, as it is seven miles, to Mr. Cross's. Stopped and rested, but he not at home. From thence to Mr. Owen's, who married Lizzy Burden, six miles. There dined. From thence travelled seven miles, and at the tavern gave six shillings lawful money for two quarts of oats. From thence reached Mr. Gano's,¹ five miles, a little before night. He lives in a small log house, on a good farm, belonging to a refugee Tory, but much out of repair. Large quantities of wheat and rye on the ground along this road, which look tolerably well, but all the fruit killed by the frost in April. The cherry trees are again coming out in blossoms, though not full. Think there will be no fruit for twenty miles east of the river. Tarried Saturday, 15th.

Sunday, 16th. Preached twice for Mr. Randall's people. A handsome congregation out, and very attentive. *Monday, 17th.* Visited Esquire Burt, a good liver and genteel people. *Tuesday, 18th.* Assisted the boys in planting, and dunging their farm; the

¹ Rev. John Gano, his brother-in-law, pastor of the First Baptist Church in New York, but now engaged as chaplain in the army. His family resided here probably until the close of the war. In the summer of 1776 the British took possession of New York and its environs, which they evacuated Nov. 25, 1783. During this time most of the loyal or Whig families were away from the city.

afternoon and evening was sick; took a sweat, and was better. *Wednesday, 19th.* Nothing but a northeast storm prevents our setting out for the Jerseys. Mr. Gano had gone to the army before we arrived here, which is marching to the northward. This is a very hilly country, and much good meadow land. Warwick lies within about five miles of the Jersey line. The mountains to the southeast are infested with Tory robbers, who greatly terrify the inhabitants; thirty of them, or thereabouts, and their harborers, have been lately apprehended, and many more have fled, it is supposed to New York. A species of grasshoppers were discovered in the wheatfields by men of undoubted veracity. From Wednesday to Saturday rain continued from the northeast. Tarried till Sunday, 23d.

Preached again at Warwick; the audience crowded, and much affected. Had great liberty in preaching. After meeting set out and dined at Col. Hathhorn's, one mile on. Proceeded fifteen miles over the mountains to Col. Soward's and lodged. Met kind people, and good livers. The house here fortified against robbers, and all sleep armed. I rested scarce any all night, through the importunity of a troublesome insect. *Monday, 24th.* Set off before sunrise, and reached Davenport's at Newfoundland to breakfast, ten miles; was kindly treated. They refused anything for our eating, as they did at Col. Soward's. From thence, ten miles, we reached Esq. Tuttle's. Fed our horse, refreshed ourselves, and set out for Morristown, twelve miles, where we arrived, between four and five o'clock, at Arnold's tavern. This is an extremely hot day, and the traveling excessively tedious, as well on that as on account of the rocky mountainous country, which extends from Warwick within about three miles of Morristown. The greatest part of this country unsettled, and consequently in general, till within about ten miles of Morristown, all this part of the country full of grain. Set out about sundown, and reached Mr. Stites's,¹ about 11 o'clock, very much fatigued. Found the old people somewhat indisposed, but all very glad to see us. From 25th to 27th, tarried at the farm; then went to Elizabethtown and tarried till the 28th at Brother Woodruff's. The town and suburbs less damaged by the enemy than I expected.²

Sunday, 30th. Preached at the Plains,³ but the meeting much interrupted by the march of the Pennsylvania line, under General St. Clair towards the North River.⁴

¹ John Stites, Esq., father of Mrs. Manning.

² On the 28th of February, 1779, a party of British troops, sent by Clinton from New York, landed at Elizabethtown Point, for the express purpose of taking "the rebel governor," as they called him, Livingston, whose residence was here at Elizabethtown. Not finding him at home, they seized his papers, burned a few dwellings, and departed for New York.

³ The Scotch Plains Baptist Church, of which Maning had been a member.

⁴ A large portion of Washington's army had been encamped, or hutted, as Hildreth terms it, at Middlebrook and vicinity, near Elizabethtown, during the previous winter and spring. The encampment broke up at this time; hence the disturbance of public worship caused by the marching of the troops northward, of which the Pennsylvania line under St. Clair formed a part.

Went to Sister Tingley's, and tarried till Tuesday. *Tuesday, June 1st.* A fine rain on Monday; went to Brother Joseph Manning's,¹ and tarried all night. Wednesday, accompanied by him and wife, visited Uncle Joseph Randolph, and reached Jeremiah Manning's at Bordentown. Tarried till Friday, June 4. There heard the cheering account of the Charleston victory,² and the moving of the whole army to North River. Afternoon crossed Crown Ferry, and lodged at Capt. Morgan's, Chester Quakers; ten miles. *Saturday, 5th.* Set out early, and reached Mr. Buckalaw's, two miles, to breakfast. Met with Messrs. Stelle³ and Coles,³ and proceeded to Bray's meeting-house. Mr. Stelle preached. Lodged at the widow Holmes's; an agreeable family.

Sunday, 6th. Mr. Stelle and myself preached. Had a large audience. *Monday, 7th.* Messrs. Coles and D. Jones⁴ preached, and also had a large audience. Lodged this night at the widow Molly Holmes's; a fine family. This is a most excellent part of the country for land and excellent crops; but the shores are greatly infested, and the inhabitants robbed, by Tories, who have fled to the enemy. *Tuesday, June 8.* In company with Messrs. Stelle and Jones came to Mr. Dennis's at Spotswood, to dinner, thirteen miles; agreeable people. Nine miles to Brunswick, where at Capt. Dennis's we tarried Tuesday night. *Wednesday, 9th.* Crossed the river at the landing, and came to Uncle Ephraim's and tarried. Brunswick much injured by the British. *Thursday, 10th.* Visited Mr. Stelle, Aunt Manning, and tarried at Uncle Joseph Randolph's. *Friday, 11th.* Returned to the Farms; found parents ill. *Saturday, 12th.* Preached at the Plains and returned.

Sunday, 13th. Preached again, gave out the communion service, and tarried at Rev. Mr. Miller's. A fine rain this day, though the meetings not interrupted. 14th. Returned to the Farms. A great rain, followed by a succession of thunder-showers, to-day. Sister Tingley and Joseph Manning's wife came and tarried the night. Went to town, and brought sister Woodruff, upon the 15th. The season remarkably good, and the grain extraordinary, as well as grass, through the country. *Wednesday, June 16.* Fine weather. Rain in the afternoon. 17th, 18th, and 19th, tarried at Papa Stites's.

Preached at Lyon's Farms, the 20th, two sermons. The people in the morning service very attentive and affected, and the meeting tolerably full. Returned, and on Monday, the 21st, set out for Philadelphia. Visited Messrs. Miller and Joseph Manning, and

¹ Joseph Manning was a ruling elder of the Scotch Plains Church, having been elected to this office on the 10th December, 1777.

² Referring to the invasion of Charleston by the British under Prevost, in May previous, and their repulse by the Continental troops and militia under Moultrie and Rutledge.

³ Rev. Isaac Stelle, pastor of the Piscataway Baptist Church, and Rev. Benjamin Coles, pastor of the church at Hopewell.

⁴ The Rev. David Jones, formerly of New Jersey, but now a distinguished chaplain in the army under General St. Clair.

dined. Preached, at 6 o'clock, with great freedom, at Capt. Samuel Randolph's, and tarried all night. Set out the 22d and visited Capt. William Manning, Jacob Martin, Esq., Major Edgar, and Benjamin Manning, Esq., who, with his lady, accompanied us to Brother Jeremiah Manning's, where we tarried. 23d. Accompanied with brother and wife, kinsman and his, went to Mr. Stelle's; thence to Brunswick. Heard Mr. Miller preach from the words of Hannah. Dined at Mr. Wall's. Called at Mr. Dennis's, and set out at four o'clock for Hopewell; reached Mr. Barton's at nine o'clock in the evening. The day hot. Next day, 24th, visited Dr. Vankirk's, to see aunt, and preached at the meeting-house at six o'clock. But few out. Next morning, Friday, 25th, visited Messrs. Coles and Blackwell, and reached John Hart's, Esq.,¹ at Newtown, two o'clock P. M.; were detained the night by a seasonable heavy rain, and treated most hospitably. The weather most intensely hot. English grain the best and in the greatest quantity from Brunswick here that I ever saw; but the Indian corn backward and poor in general, owing to the cold and wet of the former part of the season. 26th. Set out to Neshaminy Ford, but impassable by the great fall of rain. Went four miles up the creek to the bridge, which, being taken up, we were detained till four o'clock P. M. at Mr. Cozens's, when the water subsided, and we passed. The road from Newtown here very bad, but the creek to Southampton good, where we reached, before sunset Mr. Van Horn's.² Found the family well.

Stayed the 27th, and preached at the meeting-house. But few people out. Mr. Coles was expected. After meeting returned, and tarried till Monday. On June 4th a report prevailed in Woodbridge that the British army at Charleston were totally defeated, with the loss of fourteen hundred killed and wounded, and seven hundred taken. Repeated reports somewhat similar, though not making their loss so great, have been constantly brought from the South; but no official account confirming it has yet come to hand.³ All the fruit nearly cut off by the great frost in these parts. The crops

¹ A signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a prominent member of the Baptist church in Hopewell, of which Rev. Isaac Eaton was pastor. He gave to the society the land on which the meeting-house was erected. In 1865, a fine monumental shaft of Quincy granite was erected by the State in honor of his memory. In the dedicatory address upon the occasion by George Joel Parker, occurs the following:—"He was a true patriot. I am of the opinion, after a careful examination of the history of New Jersey during and immediately preceding the Revolutionary War, that John Hart had greater experience in the Colonial and State legislature of that day than any of his contemporaries, and that no man exercised greater influence in giving direction to the public opinion which culminated in independence."

² Rev. William Van Horn. He was born in 1746; educated at Dr. Samuel Jones's Academy at Pennepek; ordained as pastor over the Baptist church at Southampton, Pa.; honored with the degree of Master of Arts from the Rhode Island College 1774; and during the Revolutionary War was an efficient and honored chaplain. He died in 1807 in the sixty-first year of his age.

³ Reports then must have quite equaled if not excelled the exaggerated telegraphic reports during the recent Civil War. The simple facts as recorded in history are as follows: The British

incomparably fine, but some fields near the river struck with the red rust, though but little hurt. Rye harvest begun, and wheat will be here this week.

Monday, June 28th. Set out and travelled to Pennepek, Mr. Jones's.¹ Arrived in the evening, and found the family well and glad to see us. Tarry here till July 2d. Spent the time agreeably in viewing the farm, its products, harvest, etc., and in conversation. The season here extremely hot; height of wheat harvest; the grain struck with the red rust, though little injured, except the rye, which is much blasted. The greatest part of the harvest between here and Philadelphia, where we arrived at eleven o'clock A. M., July 2. Put up at Mr. William Goforth's, and my horse across the way, in Second Street, between Race and Vine Streets. Visited Samuel Davis, but he was out of town; also Mr. Rogers. Called at Mr. Watkins's, then at Mr. Westcot's; from thence to Dr. Rush's,² who treated me politely; from thence called on Messrs. Shields

in 1779 made a second invasion of South Carolina under General Prevost, and were eventually repulsed. On the 11th of May, Prevost with nine hundred regulars crossed the Ashley, leaving his main army on the south side of the river. During the forenoon Count Pulaski with his legion attacked the British advanced guard, and was repulsed with great slaughter. Prevost now advanced to the American lines, but in the night, after summoning the city to surrender, withdrew to James Island, fearing the approach of General Lincoln with an army of four thousand men. On the 20th of June the British were attacked by about twelve hundred of Lincoln's men, and the assailants were repulsed. Loss about three hundred killed, wounded, and missing on each side. Three days afterwards the British evacuated the island. (See Lossing's Field-Book, etc.)

¹ Rev. Dr. Samuel Jones, one of Manning's intimate friends. He was three years his senior, having been born in the year 1735. Of the church of Pennepek, afterwards called Lower Dublin, he was the honored and esteemed pastor upwards of fifty-one years. He was also an educator of youth, and in this latter capacity was greatly distinguished, being especially judicious and considerate to such young men under his care as had the ministry in view. On the death of Manning, in 1791, he was named by many of the Trustees and Fellows of the College as his successor in the presidency. (See letters of Stillman and Howell at the close of our thirteenth chapter.) He rendered important service as chairman of a committee sent to Newport from Philadelphia to prepare for the General Assembly a draft for the College charter.

Dr. Jones was one of the most useful members of the Philadelphia Association. "Here," says Sprague in his Annals, "he is appointed to frame a system of discipline, and there to compile a book of hymns, and then to draw up a map representing the various associations; one year he holds the office of moderator, and the next he writes the circular letter to the churches, and the next performs some other public service;—indeed, it is impossible to look through the minutes without perceiving that he was always one of the master spirits of the body. Few men could manage more adroitly than he a difficult and involved case; and sometimes, by a single suggestion, in a deliberative body, he would bring light out of the thickest darkness, and order out of the wildest confusion." In 1807 he preached the century sermon of the Association, which was published. He died Feb. 7, 1814, in the eightieth year of his age.

Dr. Jones was a ready writer and a fluent speaker. In his person he is described as a large and firmly built man, six feet or more in height, weighing upwards of three hundred pounds, and every way well proportioned. His face was the very image of intelligence and good-nature; which, with the air of dignity that pervaded all his movements, rendered his appearance uncommonly attractive. He possessed an ample fortune, which he used with signal grace and hospitality.

² Benjamin Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; distinguished for his learning and piety, as well as for his great professional skill. He was educated at the College of New Jersey, graduating in 1760, two years before Manning.

and Moulders. Called at Mr. Hart's lodging, but he not within, which was also the case at Mr. Robert S. Jones's. The evening of July 2, Mr. Joseph Hart, of the Executive Council, spent at my lodgings. *Saturday, July 3d.* This morning came out a paper, in which Congress was handled pretty severely, under the signature of Leonidas.¹ Breakfasted at Dr. Rush's, and received two hundred dollars, Dr. Finley's draft on him. Spent the forenoon chiefly in writing to Providence, by Mr. Ellery, who sets off this afternoon. Went to the State House. Met Mr. Collins, and inquired, without much satisfaction, what was on foot in Congress relative to the money. Dined at Mr. Redwood's with Mr. Ellery, and returned to my lodgings, where were Messrs. Shields and Conolly, who spent the afternoon with us.

Lord's Day, July 4th. Preached twice with some freedom; the morning congregation thin; more in the afternoon. Both church and society here in a broken state. The people urgent for my tarrying a considerable time, which did not suit my affairs. In the evening visited one of the members of the church near her end. Appeared to be in a happy frame of mind. Attended a religious society composed of Baptists, Presbyterians, and Church people. They appeared very serious, and somewhat engaged in

¹ The financial embarrassments of the country were exceedingly great at this period, in consequence of the rapid depreciation of the paper currency, of which Congress had emitted, on the 1st of September, 1799, one hundred and sixty millions. A spirit of discontent, of speculation and of fraud was everywhere manifest. "The honest and patriotic were impoverished, while rogues and Tories grew rich." As an illustration of the perils and difficulties of this crisis, we print the following handbill, which was posted in the streets of Philadelphia about this time. Similar bills were posted in other cities.

"FOR OUR COUNTRY'S GOOD.

"The depreciation of our money, and the high price to which everything is got, is one and the same thing. We ask not who introduced the evil, how it arose, or who encouraged it. In the midst of money we are in poverty, and exposed to want in the land of plenty. You that have money, and you that have none, down with your prices, or down with yourselves; for, by the ever-living and eternal God, we will bring every article down to what it was last Christmas, or we will down with those who oppose it.

"We have turned out against the enemy, and we wish not to be eaten up by monopolizers and forestallers.

MOVE ON COOLLY."

"It gives me very sincere pleasure," writes Washington to his friend Reed, now President of Pennsylvania, "that the Assembly is so well disposed to second your endeavors in bringing those murderers of our cause, the monopolizers, forestallers, and engrossers, to condign punishment. It is much to be lamented that each State, long ere this, has not hunted them down as pests of society, and the greatest enemies we have to the happiness of America. I would to God that some one of the more atrocious in each State was hung in gibbets upon a gallows five times as high as the one prepared for Haman. No punishment, in my opinion, is too severe for the man who can build his greatness upon his country's ruin." When Washington wrote in this way, what, says Hildreth, was to be expected of the inconsiderate multitude?

religion. Found General Spencer¹ at my lodgings, now a member of Congress. It being the Fourth of July, the anniversary of Independence, the chaplains of Congress preached suitable to the occasion, and Congress attended. High mass was celebrated and Te Deum sung at the Romish chapel. The gentlemen of the town were invited by billets from the French minister to attend. I suppose these causes rendered the Baptist meeting thinner than otherwise. The lowering of prices by the committee is considered by the town as a violent measure and only a temporary relief, but think it will share the fate of former State bills.² The suburbs of this city greatly destroyed by the English, but the body of it not much damaged. A fine rain on the night of the 4th of July. Some more apples in these parts than in the Jerseys, though but few. *Monday, 5th.* Breakfasted at Mr. Shields's, where a committee from the church met and importuned me to tarry with them some time, or come again and make them a longer visit. I gave them hopes of the latter after the four Sabbaths of this month. Went to Mr. David Bowers's, and thence to Mr. Moulders's; then to hear the oration at the Dutch church. The performance indifferent. Congress and the French Ambassador present, and a large assembly. Here met Mr. Merchant, and called at his lodgings. Received an invitation to dine at Prof. Lawrens's, but we dined at Mr. Westcot's. Returned to our lodgings. Were visited by Messrs. Shields, Britain, and Gen. Spencer. Set out in the afternoon for Mr. Jones's, where we arrived in the evening. The weather intensely hot. *Tuesday, 6th.* Tarried at Mr. Jones's, and set out on the 7th for Bordentown. Dined at Bristol, and reached Mr. Alison's before night. Passed the ruins of Mr. Kirbright's buildings; the river three-fourths of a mile wide; the ruins of the vessels burned by the English on the east shore, as also the stores, and the dwelling-house of Mr. Joseph Borden, treasurer.³ There met Mr. Stites, from Cran-

¹ Joseph Spencer. He was born in Connecticut, in 1714. He was a major in the colonial army in 1756, and was one of the first eight brigadiers appointed by the Continental Congress in 1775. He was appointed a major-general in 1776, and in 1777 was in command of the American forces on Rhode Island. After his resignation he was elected a delegate to Congress from his native State. He died in East Haddam, in January, 1789, aged seventy-five.

² A short time after this (October 4th), a riot took place in Philadelphia in consequence of this attempt of a committee to regulate the prices of flour, rum, sugar, molasses, coffee, salt, etc. Robert Morris and other leading merchants refused to conform to the regulation. Wilson, Clymer, Mifflin, and their friends were threatened with banishment to New York, as abettors and defenders of the Tories. Soon afterwards (October 20th), a convention of the five Eastern States was held at Hartford, at which a plan was elaborated, which Congress adopted, regulating prices on the basis of twenty paper dollars for one of specie. Dr. Manning's visit to Philadelphia doubtless had reference to some measures of relief of this kind from the oppressive laws of Rhode Island and other States, passed by recommendation of Congress, which made paper money a legal tender.

³ On the 7th of May, 1778, six or seven hundred British troops left Philadelphia for the purpose of destroying vessels which were lying in Barnes's and Crosswick's Creeks at Bordentown. They burned two frigates, destroyed several smaller vessels, burned several residences and buildings on their return, and seized considerable property.

berry, which detained us until Saturday, July 10th. Were hospitably treated by the family, Col. Hogland, Dr. Moore, Mr. Borden, and Mr. Kirbright. Preached on Friday evening, and set out in the morning for Cranberry, in company with Col. Hogland and Mr. Stites. Reached Cranberry to dine. Found the Doctor well, and glad to see us.

Preached for Mr. Smith Sunday the 11th. The day rainy and few people out. At night had a severe diarrhœa, which continued the 12th, so that I kept house in much pain. 13th. The diarrhœa abated; the weather fine and cool, as there fell a vast quantity of rain on Lord's Day and evening, accompanied by abundance of thunder and lightning. This morning Mr. Stelle called on us on his way to Philadelphia, and informed us that accounts are received of the burning of New Haven by the British, and that they are destroying all in their way in that quarter.¹ Preached to-day at the Baptist meeting. Tarried the 14th and 15th. Still much indisposed. 16th. Set out for Piscataway, called at Brunswick, and reached Bonham Town. Mrs. Manning very ill since the 12th: scarce able to ride. My brother in great fear of the enemy. Was interrupted till midnight by the seizure of a trunk of goods. 17th. Went to Mr. Benjamin Manning's. Left my spouse, and preached at the Sabbatarian meeting; returning to our lodgings at Benjamin Manning's, Esq.

Sunday, July 18th. Preached for Mr. Stelle twice, dined at lodgings, and came on to Brother Joseph's. 19th. Returned to the Farms. To-day heard that the British fleet at Stony Point was taken by General Wayne, with five hundred prisoners.² Found our parents as well as usual, and tarried there, Mrs. Manning being very unwell, 20th, 21st, and 22d. Set out Saturday, July 23d, for Hopewell. Left my mare with Swan's horse. Called on Mr. Miller, who was in ill health. Stopped at Capt. Randolph's, dined at Benjamin Manning's; called at Mr. Stelle's, but he was not at home; met him at Mr. Hall's in Brunswick. Reached Mr. Prince's, at Rocky Hill. The day very hot and dusty, and my horse travelled hard and greatly fatigued. Distance thirty-two miles. *Saturday, 24th.* Was unable to find my horse until late in the morning. Reached Mr. Barton's at Hopewell, ten miles, much fatigued. The meeting opened by a sermon from Mr. Pitman, to good acceptance. Peter Smith also attended.

Lord's Day, 25th. Preached twice, and gave out the communion to a part of the church, as they are unhappily divided about their minister, Mr. Coles. The day

¹ Referring to the invasion of Connecticut by the British, under Governor Tyron of New York, and Brigadier-General Garth, in the early part of July, 1779, during which they plundered New Haven, and burned Fairfield and Norwalk.

² This, says Lossing, in his *Field-Book of the Revolution*, was regarded as the most brilliant achievement of the war, and raised the hero Wayne to the highest point in the admiration of his countrymen. The fortress, which was regarded as impregnable, was taken on the night of July 16th. Conversing with Washington on the expedition and the obstacles to be overcome, Wayne is said to have remarked with emphasis, "General, I'll storm hell, if *you* will only plan it."

exceedingly rainy, but the house full. *Monday, 26th.* Mr. Joshua Jones came and preached in the morning; a good sermon. I closed the meeting in the afternoon. *Tuesday, 27th.* In company with Mr. Smith reached Samuel Jones's, thirty miles; caught in a thunder-shower and got very wet; dined at John Hart's, Esq., at New Town. *Tuesday, 28th,* and set out, after a rainy morning, *Thursday, 29th,* for Philadelphia, twelve miles. Put up my horse at Mr. Shield's; called on some friends, and took quarters at Mr. Samuel Davis's. *Friday, July 30th.* Visited some friends in town. *Saturday, 31st.* Saw the British prisoners taken at Stony Point march in; fine looking men. Dined at Mr. Goforth's.

Sunday, Aug. 1st. Preached twice. The congregation pretty large, — more so than usual here, — and very attentive. Spent the evening at a religious conference, where there seemed a degree of quickening and freedom. *Aug. 2d.* A storm of rain from the northeast, which continued the next day; heat intense. I tarried mostly at my lodgings. *Aug. 4th.* Wrote letters to Providence, to the church and Nicholas Brown. *Aug. 5th.* The account of the defeat of the British by the French fleet in the West Indies arrived. Spent the evening at Major Goforth's, in company with several gentlemen. Here I met Major Somner, ten days from Providence, who tells me that things are agreeable in that quarter, which I was also informed of by a letter from General Varnum, received yesterday. G. Brigade is come to headquarters, which I heard by a line from Van Horn, at the same time. *Friday, 6th.* Delivered my letters to Mr. Somner. This day Mr. Edwards called upon me, and tarried in town several days. Saw General Spencer and Mr. Collins. Abundance of rumors concerning the West India affair. Visited in town in the forenoon. *Saturday, 7th.* Went with Mr. Edwards to Capt. Falkner's, five miles, and spent the afternoon agreeably.

Sunday, Aug. 8th. Preached three times. The assembly full, and the people so importunate for another Sabbath that I concluded to stay. *9th.* Messrs. Jones, Blackwell, and Nathaniel Stout came to town; the former tarried with me one night. *Tuesday, 10th.* Mr. Edwards, in company with Jones and myself, set out for Col. Miles's.¹ Distance thirteen miles. Arrived in the evening, and he and lady next morning, from town. He has a most elegant seat, gardens, meadows, etc., and a most remarkable spring, which turns three wheels in one-fourth of a mile from its source. Spent three days very agreeably, and on the 13th set out for town, Mr. Edwards returning with Mr. Jones. The weather extremely hot, and abundance of rain. The Indian corn crop is incomparably fine, the buckwheat forward, and the second crop of grass cutting. This is an agreeable part of the country. Preached this evening, *Saturday, 14th.* Visited Major Goforth's; paid my barber; received one hundred dollars of Mr. Rogers, as per order; called at Mr. Morris's, and dined at Mr. Ball's.

¹ Colonel Miles, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, who in the early part of the war took Morgan Edwards to his house and hid him in order to secure him from arrest. See page 15.

Sunday, Aug. 15th. Extremely hot. Preached twice, attended the funeral of a child, and drank chocolate at Mr. Turner's. Richard Lemon and both the McKims, from Baltimore, at meeting. *Monday, 16th.* Visited Mr. Moulders's, and attended the meeting of the church and society, who unanimously agreed to get the pulpit supplied. Chose a committee of eight, half from the church and half from the society, to raise the necessary supplies for that purpose, and to call Mr. Gano for one year. At two o'clock set out for Mr. Jones's. Preached at Pennepek at five o'clock. Tarried with Mr. Jones and Mr. Edwards. The weather intensely hot; though the season uncommonly wet. *Tuesday, Aug. 17th.* Set out for Bordentown, where I dined. Reached Cranberry, Dr. Stites's, at night, 18th. Reached Brunswick, and dined at Robert Huder's, where I met with Mrs. Gano and John. Reached Mr. Stites's in the evening, and found all well. The Indian corn incomparably fine through the whole country. *Thursday, 19th.* Went to Elizabethtown, and returned in the evening. Dined at Dr. Dayton's, Spent the 20th and 21st at the Farms. The weather rainy.

Sunday, 22d. Preached at the Plains with Mr. Stelle, who preached at six o'clock at Morristown. Tarried at Brother Joseph's. A terrible rain at night. My brother very sick with the bilious fever. Jeremiah and son and daughter tarried there also. *Monday, 23d.* Visited Uncle Joseph Randolph; in a deep consumption, to all appearances, but comfortable in mind. From thence, through Samptown, I visited Sister Tingley, who has broken her right arm by a fall, and dislocated her wrist. Dined and went to Dead River to Brother Jno. Manning's and tarried the night. His eldest daughter sick. His farm is much improved since I saw it, and he lives comfortably. Visited Uncle William Stites, Mr. Tingley, Cousin Jno. Manning, Mr. Miller, Mr. Brooks, and returned to the Farms on Tuesday evening, 24th. Wednesday went to Elizabethtown, visited friends, and tarried two days, returning to the Farms Thursday evening. Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet said to have arrived at New York, but the particulars have not come to hand. *Friday, 27th.* Tarried at home. The season very sickly, but not mortal yet. Yesterday the weather cleared up cool and fine. Continued at home Saturday.

Lord's Day, Aug. 29th. Preached at Lyon's Farms. The audience serious and attentive. Tarried at home till Thursday, the 2d of September, and then, accompanied by parents, visited Stites, Woodruff, dined, and then proceeded to Bonham Town, calling on two of the sisters on the way, and observing the desolations at Woodbridge. *Sept. 3d.* Rainy, but in the afternoon went to Joseph Manning's; a heavy rain on the way; found him and two children sick. *Sept. 4th.* Went to Joseph Tingley's; found my sister better; preached at the meeting-house, Lord's Day. Saw many old friends and acquaintances, and all my brothers but Joseph. After bidding the last farewell, returned to the Farms in the evening, calling on Mr. Miller on the way, who is much recovered. Tarried at home Monday, 6th, and were visited by Sister Woodruff. The season remarkably sickly

throughout the country, but the mortality not very great. The complaints are intermitting fevers and agues. *Tuesday, 7th.* Tarried at home and rested; in the afternoon preached. Mr. Miller came, and we had something of a comfortable season.

Wednesday, Sept. 8th. Set out for Providence. Were accompanied by parents four miles. Left Sister Woodruff at papa's; called and rested at Dr. Smith's at Chatham, seven miles. Dined at Col. Dunham's in Morristown, seven miles. Were kindly treated. The family sick, and himself indisposed. Set out at four o'clock and reached Rockaway, nine miles. Tarried at Jackson's, at the Forge. A thunder-shower in the night, and bedbugs, prevented sleep; otherwise good entertainment. Paid six dollars. The road much better this way than over the mountains. Set out on the morning of the 9th, to Esquire Moses Tuttle's, five miles. The road bad. Breakfasted and reached Davenport's to dinner; the road extremely bad; distance ten miles. Afternoon visited Col. Soward's, ten miles. The road bad; tarried the night, and were kindly entertained. 10th. Travelled to Col. Hathhorn's, fourteen miles, and dined; afternoon reached Mr. Gano's, three and one-half miles. The road better over the mountains, though the mountains exceedingly bad. *Saturday, 11th.* Tarried at Mr. Gano's.

Lord's Day, preached at Warwick twice. The assembly full and very solemn. After meeting dined at Mr. Beard's, who had prepared an elegant dinner, and were treated very hospitably. Tarried at Mr. Gano's Monday. Took a very great cold. Mrs. Manning but indifferently well, and Sally and Dicky sick. *Tuesday, Sept. 14th.* Set out, dined at Mr. Owen's, and reached Mr. Fought's in the evening. Met Lieut. Hubbel on the road, who came out from Newburgh for this purpose. Met also Capt. Wiley from Providence, who informs me they are well in general. We were received and treated very kindly at Mr. Fought's, where we lodged; and Wednesday, 15th, I visited Isaac Belnap, and was visited by Mr. Edmonds. Preached in the afternoon at the Continental store. The people attentive and affected, and very desirous of another sermon. Visited Dea. Lawrence at the Landing, and returned in the evening to our lodgings. Ever since Sunday the wind fresh at the northeast, cloudy and very cold; at its first rising a boat was upset in this ferry Sunday morning, and two young ladies were drowned.

Thursday, Sept. 16th. Went down to West Point by water in Lieut. Hubbel's boat. The French Ambassador's secretaries in company. One of them spoke English; a most accomplished gentleman, and the handsomest Frenchman I ever saw. The other was agreeable, as were their attendant gentlemen, but could not converse much in English. We had an agreeable passage, and were greatly entertained by the highlands through which we passed. Those huge, vast mountains, with their cloudy tops, approach near together as the river narrows. At about eleven o'clock we reached Gen. Washington's quarters, — a beautiful, level spot one mile north of the Point, surrounded by those

precipices. His Excellency, the Ambassador, with a number of the generals, were gone to reconnoitre the fort. There I met Dr. Cochrane, Surgeon General of the army, who seemed very glad to find me in camp. After examining a correct map of this fort, shown us by one of the General's aids, and taking a drink, we sailed over to the Point, which is fitted by nature to form an exceeding strong port. Up to the top of the Point is a great ascent, and there a plain on which stands Fort Arnold, at the last part of the Point. A very strong fortress, with excellent bomb-proofs, and bastions below to defend the great chain stretched across just after the river turns west. The opposite shore is also strongly fortified to defend the chain, from what is called the island, and all the heights also on the east side of the river, to prevent their landing and bombarding the fort. These works, viewed from the Point, look most beautiful. These were shown us by Gen. McDugal, who commands this fortress. Fort Putnam stands on a great eminence at half a mile distance west from this, and commands Fort Arnold. This is the strongest work ever raised in English America, and is utterly, from its situation, inaccessible but on the northern side, where all the force of art is exerted to strengthen it by walls without walls, the outermost of which is laid with lime and stone, with bomb-proofs, etc., etc. This is also defended by all the commanding heights. The approach of an army by land is next to impossible from the west side of the river, as there are but few ways, and those almost impassable, and all strongly defended. The troops were encamped on both sides of the river on the most convenient grounds. I dined at Gen. Greene's quarters with his family, Mr. Olney, Col. Morris, Major Littlefield, and Col. Webb, as the General had not returned. Soon after, he, with Gen. Knox, returned, with whom had a little chat. Shortly afterward, his Excellency, General Washington, the French Ambassador, and Baron Steuben, with their retinues, returned, to all of whom I was introduced by Gen. Greene. The Ambassador is a good-looking, ruddy-complexioned man as I ever saw for a Frenchman. His family are extremely polite.¹

Having viewed the works, we returned up the river, had a good time, and arrived at New Windsor after sunset, and at Newburgh in the evening. *Friday, Sept. 17th.* The morning was foggy, which prevented our setting out early. Crossed the river with an easy time, and set out from the Continental Ferry between ten and eleven o'clock. Passing Fishkill, took the Danbury road, stopped at a private house to eat, and then reached Col. Luddington's, twenty-two miles; then reached Esquire Patterson's, four miles, at Fredericksburg. The road good fifteen miles, and then exceeding bad, over

¹ This invitation to visit West Point, as extended to Manning and his wife, through Lieut. Hubbel, and the attention shown them by the generals and officers in command, afford a pleasing illustration of Dr. Manning's character and social position. He associated with the first men of his times, and on terms of equality. Few persons of his day could be called his superiors, save in the externals of worldly prosperity.

rocks and mountains. *Saturday, 18th.* Set out at sunrise. The road good three miles, and then exceeding bad to Danbury, fourteen miles, where we arrived at eleven o'clock. Put up at Capt. Clarke's. Good entertainment. The ruins of the town are affecting, marked with the traces of British inhumanity.¹ This town was considerably large, and prettily situated between the mountains, with a good soil. Apples are plenty here. Some few were to be seen at the river, and a gradual increase. The Indian corn excellent on this side of the river, and the pastures good. Very difficult to get good entertainment. At two o'clock set out through Bethel, to which is a good road three miles. Then we ascend the shocking mountains which reach to Reading, five miles, Bitt's Tavern. This is a pretty village on a hill. From thence we reached North Fairfield, five miles, to Esquire Wakeman's, a private house. Had good entertainment.

Sabbath morning, 19th. Reached Greenfield, Mr. Tennent's,² six miles. Were most kindly received. I preached twice. A large congregation and attentive. Drank tea at Dr. Rogers's, Mr. Tennent's sister, an agreeable people, who spent the evening with us at our lodgings. The road stony, but not so bad here. The husbandry very good through all this rough country, in which are raised good crops of wheat. Great crops of flax are raised in these parts, though not so good this year. The husbandry in Greenfield is good, and the inhabitants very good livers. Mr. Tennent well settled. *Monday morning, Sept. 20th.* Went to Fairfield, three miles, and viewed the ruins of that once beautiful place, which shocked me exceedingly. Very few buildings remain. Ninety-six houses, besides barns and stores, were burned. From thence reached Esq. Hubbel's at Stratford, three miles, to dinner. Visited Mr. Ross, who is sick with the fever and ague. There I saw Mr. Elliot, of Fairfield, who is also sick, as indeed are a great part of the people in this neighborhood. Peggy not at home. The family very kind; tarried here all night. She arrived in the evening; is kindly treated by the family, who are plain, good-living farmers. I took a walk to the southward of the road, and viewed a most beautiful, level country, suited to wheat, and the inhabitants very good livers; their buildings very good, and their crops excellent. Spent the evening at Esquire Brother's, a likely agreeable man. *Tuesday, Sept. 21st.* Set out at nine o'clock, through

¹ On the 26th of April, 1777, about two thousand British troops, commanded by Gov. William Tyron, reached the village of Danbury between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of destroying the military stores in that town. They left the next morning, after committing various excesses, burning the new meeting-house, nineteen dwellings, twenty-two stores and barns and an immense amount of stores and provisions for the American army.

² Rev. William MacKay Tennent, a distinguished Presbyterian minister. He graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1763, one year after Dr. Manning. In 1772 he became pastor of the church in Greenfield, resigning in 1781 to take charge of a church near Philadelphia. He was one of the trustees of New Jersey College from 1785 to 1808. He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from Yale College in 1794; was moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1797. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Rogers, of New York. Dr. Alexander speaks of him as having a very sweet temper, and distinguished for his hospitality.

Stratford, five miles. The inhabitants here had moved out their effects, expecting a visit from the enemy. An agreeable town, situated on a river navigable twelve miles above the town. Crossing the ferry, reached Milford, five miles, and dined at the Rev. Mr. Sherman's. This town large and rich, but their buildings old and in bad order in general. Their husbandry through here good, and their crops excellent; plenty of apples. Visited the other minister of the town; was kindly treated, and invited to dine. Here met Mr. Elliot again, with the ague on him, on his way to Boston. Went in company with the ministers to the Freeman's meeting, to prox for deputies to nominate their council, etc., for election next spring. Was importuned to open the meeting by prayer, which is their usage. Attended in order to observe their manner of proceeding. The clergy in this State vote for their officers, and often speak to direct in the choice of men. They have great influence on the people. When the meeting is opened by the constables, the people are requested to bring in their votes for their first deputy; which done, if one has not more than all the rest, it is declared that he is not chosen; and after declaring the numbers for the respective candidates, they are requested to bring in again, and so continue to do until he is elected. Twenty names at most are put in by each voter for general officers, out of which the twelve highest are chosen by the assembly for the spring choice. After gratifying my curiosity here, returned to Mr. Sherman's, dined, and set out for New Haven, ten miles, where we arrived in the evening. The road bad most of the way. Went to Mr. Sabin's, who was ill, and his wife from home. Was put to difficulty to find lodging and keeping for our horse, as the town had been sacked by the enemy, and the people had their effects out of town. Tarried at Mr. Lyman's. Indifferent quarters, but a high price. The town shows but few marks of outrage to travellers passing through, as the British did not burn here. *Wednesday, Sept. 22d.* Set out at seven o'clock, having taken breakfast. Took the road to Durham, crossed the bridge, and the long causeway one half mile over the marsh. The first six or seven miles very sandy, then a good soil, and well improved to and through Paug, a pleasant village, nine miles. Mr. Williams, minister, invited me to his house, but we could only stop to oat. From hence to Durham, excellent land and husbandry, and the buildings uncommonly elegant. Durham a considerable town, situated on a hill; the buildings good; distance nine miles. Dined at Landlord Camp's. The people agreeable. After setting out was stopped by General Wadsworth, and invited to call, but time would not admit. Reached Middletown, seven miles, at five o'clock. Put up at Capt. Warner's. Was visited by Major Otis. Most kindly entertained; tarried Thursday, visited Mr. Otis, Mr. Hunting, and Capt. William Warner's lady. Tarried all night, and set out Friday, 24th, for Weathersfield. Crossed the Great Meadows, but the bridge having fallen down, were obliged to ferry over, with difficulty. The upper houses form a pretty village. It began to rain moderately, which lasted to Weathersfield. The town here is beautiful, and the inhabitants appear to live well, as the soil is exuberant.

Vast quantities of onions are raised here for importation. Dined at the tavern, next south of the meeting-house, and then examined their fine structure; dimensions eighty-four by fifty feet, neatly finished with an elegant pulpit, and the most elegant steeple I have seen on the journey. Set out in the rain to Hartford, four miles. Called at Capt. Bull's, and found them well, and at Mr. Strong's and Dr. Smith's, but found them gone a journey. Passed the ferry, and reached the Widow Bidwel's, in East Hartford, where we lodged. Were kindly entertained. Set out Saturday, 25th, at seven o'clock. The road sandy from the river ten miles. Oated there; found the road wet seven miles, to Kimball's, where we again oated. Dined at Mansfield, at Mr. Ephraim Rolins's, a Christian friend, seven miles. The road bad, and from hence, six miles, to Mr. Snow's tavern in Westford, where we fed. Were hailed by Mr. Welch on our way, and invited to tarry and spend the Sabbath; but we meant to reach Capt. Bowles's, which is six miles from Snow's, where we arrived in the evening, much fatigued. Mrs. Bowles brought forth a son this night.

Lord's Day, Sept. 26th. In company with Capt. Bowles, went to Woodstock to Elder Ledoyt's meeting. Preached in the afternoon. The audience solemn and affected. The day being very rainy, tarried all night, and thereby disappointed a number who had assembled for meeting at Capt. Bowles's. Heard from Mr. Ledoyt a pleasing account of their journey into the northern parts last spring, and of the remarkable spread of the Gospel and of the work of God in various parts. *Monday, Sept. 27th.* Set out in company with the Elder. Found Mrs. Bowles better. At ten o'clock proceeded to Jeremiah Brown's, three miles, dined, and reached Mr. Thurber's before night, five miles. Were visited by several friends. Tarried the night, and on Tuesday to dine; then reached Capt. Corliss's, six miles. The Indian corn but indifferent through these parts, but apples plenty. Throughout our whole journey the earth remarkably well clothed with grass. Visited Jno. Jones's family in the evening. *Wednesday, Sept. 29th.* In the morning set out for Mr. John Brown's in Gloucester, twelve miles, where we dined. Reached Providence at six o'clock, the road better than usual; being just five months to an hour absent from home, and having experienced the abundant goodness of God in the journey, in that we had never been molested by ill-disposed persons, nor maimed by the extremely bad roads and dangerous mountains over which we passed. May the Lord fill our hearts with true thankfulness for his^e abundant mercies through our whole life, and enable us to devote to his service lives which have been peculiarly his care!

CHAPTER X.

1780-1783.

Meeting of the Corporation in 1780—College instruction revived—Manning's perseverance—Second interruption—Letter of introduction for Dr. Drowne—Meeting of the Corporation in 1782—Resolution to apply to Congress for damages done to the College edifice during the war—Petition also to the General Assembly—First meeting of the Warren Association in Providence—Illustration of the efforts made by our fathers to educate and improve the "rising generation"—Manning a delegate to the Philadelphia Association—Letter from Richard Lemmon illustrating Manning's pecuniary straits—Letter to David Howell—Five per cent. impost—Letter to Benjamin Wallin—Brief view of the Religious Condition of the Country—Public exercises of Commencement resumed—Manning's purpose to proceed to England to solicit funds for the College—His memorial to the Corporation on this subject—Second letter to David Howell, giving an account of Commencement and of the proceedings of the Corporation—Diary of Hezekiah Smith—Petition to the King of France for his patronage of the College, together with accompanying letter—Sketch of Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse—Letter from Thomas Jefferson in regard to the aforesaid petition to the King—Extracts from a Digest of the College Laws by President Manning—Manning's ideas of college government and discipline—Letter to Henry Kane, of London—Letter to John Ryland—Influence of the College in favor of civil and religious liberty—Letter to Manning from Dr. Stennett—Anecdote of Thomas Mullet, Esq., respecting George Washington—Reply to Dr. Stennett, giving a history of the times during the war; John Murray; Jemima Wilkinson; The "Elect Lady"; increase of religious toleration in New England; calamities of the war; condition of the College; its influence in promoting Baptist sentiments; character of its library; plan for an Education Society, etc.—Origin of the Rhode Island Baptist Education Society—Letter to Dr. Thomas Llewelyn, urging him to endow the College, and thus give it his name, according to a provision of the Charter—Extract from an address of the Warren Association pertaining to education, and especially to the College—Definite treaty of peace—Thanksgiving service.

IN the *Providence Gazette* for the year 1780, we find the following notice:—

The members of the Corporation of Rhode Island College are earnestly requested to meet on Friday, the 5th of May next, at nine o'clock A. M., at the College Hall, to transact business of the highest importance to the Institution, which will then come

before them. It is not doubted but that every gentlemen who has the welfare of the Seminary at heart will attend if possible.

STEPHEN HOPKINS, *Chancellor.*

JAMES MANNING, *President.*

JABEZ BOWEN,

THOMAS EYRES.

PROVIDENCE, April 28, 1780.

At the meeting of the Corporation, held agreeably to the foregoing advertisement, there were present, of the Fellows, the President, Hon. Jabez Bowen, Dr. Thomas Eyres, and David Howell; of the Trustees, Chancellor Hopkins, Henry Ward, Nicholas Brown, Joseph Russell, Daniel Cahoun, William Russell, Hon. Nicholas Cooke, Joseph Brown, John Jenckes, and John Brown.

The object of the meeting appears to have been the revival of College instruction, with a view to the commencement of the exercises, which, since December, 1776, had been suspended. President Manning presented a proposal, stating on what terms he would instruct such youth as might apply to him for this purpose. The proposal received the approval of the Corporation, and he was accordingly, in the language of the record, "ordered to begin." In consideration of the times, and the great scarcity of money, his salary, which had formerly been £100, was fixed at £60, or \$200. Few persons, like Manning, would have had the courage and perseverance to revive and carry on the instruction of the College, amid the uncertainties of the war, the general poverty and distress that filled the land, and the despondency and gloom into which the nation, at this period was plunged. In this instance we have an illustration of his peculiar fitness to lead in an enterprise, which, eighteen years before, his friends at Philadelphia had intrusted to his hands.

The damage done to the College Building by the American troops, necessitated a heavy outlay for repairs, for which the Corporation sought remuneration from the Continental Congress. The following appears as a part of the records of this special meeting: —

Resolved, That application be made to the General Assembly to forward a memorial from this Corporation to the Continental Congress; and that notification of this their

intention be given to the Assembly; and that the Honorable the Chancellor, the Reverend the President, the Honorable Jabez Bowen, and General James Mitchel Varnum be a committee to draw said memorial.

At a subsequent meeting held in September, 1782, it was

Resolved, That Joseph Brown, Henry Ward, William Russell, and Ebenezer Thompson, Esquires, be a committee to draft a petition to the Continental Congress, stating the account for rents due, and damage done the College edifice during its occupancy by the American forces, and the troops of his most Christian Majesty; that they report the same to the Chancellor and the President; and that on their approbation of it, they sign the said petition in behalf of this Corporation, and forward it, together with the former petition, which was prepared some time past by the Hon. Jonathan Arnold, Esq.; and the delegates in Congress for the State of Rhode Island, are requested to use their influence to get the same granted.

Anticipating our narrative, we may here state, that after repeated and fruitless applications to Congress for remuneration on account of damages and loss of rent, an act was finally passed by the United States government, April 16, 1800, entitled,

AN ACT FOR THE RELIEF OF THE CORPORATION OF RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE.

Be it enacted, etc. That the accounting officers of the treasury be, and they are hereby authorized and directed to liquidate and settle the claims of the Corporation of Rhode Island College, for compensation for the use and occupation of the edifice of said College, and for injuries done to the same, from the tenth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, to the twentieth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, by the troops of the United States; and that the sum which may be found due to the said Corporation for damages done to and occupation of the said edifice as aforesaid, be paid them out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

How much compensation the Corporation thus received we are not informed. Dr. Benedict in his history states it to have been two thousand dollars. The act, it will be observed, makes no mention of compensation for the use and occupation of the edifice by the French troops, from June 25, 1780, until May 27, 1782.

“President Manning,” says Backus, “now engaged again in the work of education. But further interruptions were in store for him. On the 25th of June, 1780, while he was preaching at the church, it being Sunday, the College edifice was a second time seized, by the order of the council of war, for a hospital for the French troops, who held it until May 27th, 1782.” The records read as follows :

As the College edifice was taken for the use of barracks and an hospital for the American army, and continued to be so occupied by them, and the troops of France, from Dec. 17th, 1776, until June, 1782, the course of education in the College, and the regular meetings of the Corporation were in a great measure interrupted during that period. This will account for the imperfect minutes of transactions relative to the College during that space of time.

The following letter may be introduced here : —

To Mr. Jeremiah Manning, at Bonham Town, near Brunswick, and my other friends and acquaintances in Jersey and Pennsylvania :—

GENTLEMEN :—The bearer of this is Doct. Solomon Drowne, of the town of Providence, of a very reputable family here, educated in Rhode Island College, and regularly bred to the practice of Physic in this town, after which he went through the lectures, etc., at Philadelphia. I esteem him a youth of good abilities, and master of his business. An exceeding great degree of modesty and diffidence would probably be a disadvantage to him among strangers, were not his character known. He, at my instance, has had thought of attempting a settlement in some part of the Jerseys, should the prospect be flattering. From a long acquaintance with him I esteem him an honest, sensible, worthy man, and as such can recommend him to my friends.

JAMES MANNING.

The next meeting of the Corporation was held on the 14th of September, 1782, and was fully attended. Of the Fellows there were present, besides the President, Hon. Joshua Babcock, of Westerly; Hon. Jabez Bowen, of Providence; Rev. Samuel Stillman, of Boston; Rev. Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill; and Doct. Thomas Eyres, of Newport. Of the Trustees, there were present, among others, Chancellor Hopkins; the three Browns—Nicholas, Joseph, and John; Hon. Nicholas Cooke, the “War Governor;” John Jenckes, a son of Judge Jenckes, whom Manning had seven years before baptized; and Rev.

Isaac Backus. Rev. William Rogers, the "first student of the College," was also present, and in the absence of the Secretary (Hon. David Howell), was appointed to act as Secretary *pro tem*. It is interesting as a record of the past, to note some of the proceedings of the Corporation at this annual meeting. The following young gentlemen, who, amid all the embarrassments of the College, had prosecuted and completed their course of studies under President Manning, were, after due examination, "approved and admitted" as "candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts," viz.: Obadiah Brown, Joseph Jenckes, Alexander Jones, and William McClellan. John Morley Green, Samuel Snow, and Doct. Levi Wheaton, students in the Junior class at the time of the breaking up of the College by the war, were also admitted to the same degree. Of this number, Green and Snow had served with credit in the army. Wheaton, who died in 1851, was made a trustee during the presidency of Dr. Maxcy. In 1815 he was appointed Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine. He was distinguished, says one who knew him well, for his learning and skill as a physician, and for his taste and varied acquirements in literature. A committee appointed to revise the Charter, made the following report, which was adopted:—

TO THE CORPORATION OF THE COLLEGE, OR UNIVERSITY, IN THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS:

The United States of America in Congress assembled, and the Legislature of the aforesaid State, having by the most solemn acts, renounced allegiance to the King of Great Britain, your Committee beg leave to report the following form of engagement, to be administered to the officers of the Corporation in the room of the oath of allegiance prescribed by the Charter, to wit:— You — being elected a — of the College, or University, in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, do solemnly engage that you will faithfully execute the said office, agreeably to the Charter of the said College, or University, to the best of your judgment or ability.

We also report, as our opinion, that the Corporation report the necessity of this alteration to the General Assembly, and request their approbation of the measure; and their establishment in future, of the present form, or such other as they shall think fit to substitute;— and also to request the amendment of that clause in the Charter, which prohibits the Corporation from making any law, or order, contrary to the acts of the British Parliament.

A committee was appointed to break the old seal of the College, which had the busts of the King and Queen of Great Britain, to agree upon a new seal, with suitable devices, to be made of silver, and to report its proceedings to the Corporation. President Manning's account for salary from May 5, 1780, at £60 per annum, was allowed. It was also voted that the College Library, which had been in the keeping of the Rev. William Williams, at Wrentham, during the war, should be at once brought into town, that it might be used by the students as formerly.

“At this meeting of the Corporation,” says the chronicler, “the deplorable situation of the Seminary was *particularly* taken into consideration; whereupon it was resolved that the edifice, which had been long occupied as a barrack and a hospital by the American and French troops, should be directly repaired; and ample provision was made for the immediate instruction of youth in all the branches of polite and useful literature.”

The records read as follows:—

Resolved, That a subscription be opened for raising not exceeding £300 for the sole purpose of repairing the College edifice; and that the money so subscribed, be repaid with interest out of the first money raised by the Corporation; and Joseph Brown, Esquire, is hereby appointed and authorized to receive the said money, lay out the same for the purpose intended, as to him shall seem best, and render an account of his proceedings to this Corporation.

The following petition to the General Assembly is copied from a rough draft on file, in the handwriting of President Manning. No date is found on the document, but the facts stated indicate that it was prepared a few weeks before this annual meeting of the Corporation. It will repay perusal. The friends of the College might well object to the edifice being put to such uses as are here set forth in graphic detail:—

THE PETITION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CORPORATION OF RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE,
WHOSE NAMES ARE HEREUNTO ANNEXED, HUMBLY SHOWETH:

That the College edifice was first taken in December, 1776, for the use of barracks and an hospital for the American troops, and retained for that use until the fall before

the arrival of his most Christian Majesty's fleets and armies in this State;—that, by our direction, the President resumed the course of education in said College, and took possession of the edifice on the 10th of May, 1780; and continued so to occupy it until the authority of this State, in a short time after, granted it to the French army as an hospital, who continued to hold and use it for said purpose until the last week, when the Commissary of War of the French army delivered it up, with the keys, to his Honor the Deputy Governor; they having previously permitted the officers of the French ships in this State to place their sick in it, who still continue there;—that the building was in good repair, and occupied by upwards of thirty students when first taken for the public service;—that great injury hath been done to every part of it since taken out of the hands of the Corporation; especially by two buildings adjoining it, one an house of offal at the north end, with a vault fifteen feet deep under it, having broken down the wall of the College to facilitate the passage of the invalids from the edifice into it, from which addition the intolerable stench renders all the northern part uninhabitable; and the other an horse stable, built from the east projection to the north end, by which the house is greatly weakened; many of the windows are also taken entirely out of the house, and others so broken, as well as the slate on the roof, that the storms naturally beat into it. As your Honors must be sensible, the interests of literature in this State must generally suffer, as well as the building erected for its promotion; and the Corporation conceiving that there cannot be the shadow of a reason for detaining any longer the College edifice from them, who now want to apply it immediately to the uses for which it was erected, do request the Legislature to deliver them the house, and order all their buildings taken down and removed from the College lots, such repairs as are absolutely necessary to be made at the public expense; and to pass an order that it shall not again be appropriated as an hospital or for barracks. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

The week following the meeting of the Corporation, Tuesday, Sept. 10, 1782, the Warren Association convened for the first time in Providence. Fifteen years had now elapsed since its organization at Warren, and notwithstanding the efforts of Manning and others, the parent church of the denomination had, during this period, withheld its co-operation as a body, and refused to join the new organization. The opposition of many of its members to singing in public worship, and their adherence to the doctrine of Laying on of Hands, were the principal reasons, doubtless, why it did not, at an earlier day, co-operate with the neighboring churches, in united efforts for the public good.

Now it had come into harmonious relations with the Calvinistic Baptist churches generally, and had invited the Association to meet within the walls of its spacious and elegant house of worship.

Among the familiar names recorded as present, in the minutes of this memorable meeting, we notice besides Manning, Isaac Backus and Ebenezer Hinds of Middleborough, Noah Alden of Bellingham, Bial Le Doyt of Woodstock, Job Seamans of Attleborough, William Williams of Wrentham, Samuel Stillman of Boston, and Hezekiah Smith of Haverhill. Mr. Smith presided as moderator, and Rev. Thomas Gair of Medfield acted as clerk. The opening sermon was preached by Stillman. At the close of the first day's session, the Association adjourned to five o'clock Wednesday morning, in order to spend some time in prayer, "previous to attending on business, on account of the affecting drought." This shows the earnestness and zeal with which the delegates engaged in their work, rising up early, and spending an hour before breakfast in special prayer and supplication.

The following extract from the printed minutes shows that the College was uppermost in the thoughts of the brethren, and that in all their deliberations for "the good of the churches" they had in mind an institution founded for the express purpose of securing for the denomination at large an educated ministry: —

The Association, from a representation made to them, by the Corporation of the College in Providence, of the low state of the funds of said College, and the urgent necessity of increasing them in order to support suitable instructors therein, and from an idea of the great importance of good education, have taken into consideration, as the most probable method to accomplish this valuable end, the recommendation of a subscription throughout all the Baptist societies on this continent, as well as to all the friends of literature of every denomination.

Our fathers were wise master-builders in their day, laying the foundations for spiritual growth and development broad and deep, as another extract from the minutes shows: —

As the instruction and morals of the rising generation are objects of very great importance, *Voted*, That a spelling-book, containing a good English grammar and the

Baptist catechism, be published; and Elder Foster is desired to prepare said book for the press, in conjunction with President Manning, Elders Backus, Stillman, and Skillman, to be presented at our next annual meeting for examination; and in the interim, for the encouragement of this undertaking, it is recommended to the churches to raise by subscription what moneys they can, and send the same to the Association next year.

The movers in this matter were familiar, of course, with the well-known New England Primer. Their intentions are very evident, but there seems to have been a difficulty in carrying them into effect. The next year a new committee was appointed, of which Mr. Solomon Howe was a member. Mr. Howe reported in 1784, "that he had prepared a spelling-book and catechism, which the Association voted to recommend, after it had been examined by competent and skilful hands." Whether the work was ever published, and, if so, where a copy can now be found, are matters of interest to the antiquary, as well as the bibliographer.

The annual meeting of the Philadelphia Association was held on the 22d of October following. President Manning attended this meeting as a delegate from the Warren Association. The following extract from a letter from Richard Lemmon, dated Baltimore, Nov. 11, 1782, and directed to the Hon. Robert Carter, has reference to this meeting, and will be read with interest. It shows the pecuniary straits to which Manning was reduced in consequence of the times:—

Rev. Mr. Manning, Baptist minister, and President of the College of Rhode Island, otherwise Providence, in New England, waited on the Association, and informed them of the state of the Seminary. He has been for ten years and upwards father to that College, and at so low a salary, that were it not for the economy of his wife he could not live. It was getting into repute before the war, and likely to make a figure, as a good many youth were brought up there who have cut a figure, both in the ministry and otherwise. The funds are very low at present, so that they are not able to keep the necessary tutors. The President is obliged to teach three classes himself, and at so low a salary as eighty pounds per annum. The Baptist churches are solicited for donations to enable him to commence the College. As we have only one Baptist institution on the continent, we should wish to encourage it. I called on the Hon. John Evans and informed him of the state of affairs as above. He will do all he can in the church he

belongs to, and I will here. I hope you will give your friendly assistance on your part. A small contribution from each congregation would do. I enclose you the Minutes of the Warren Association, held in Rhode Island.

To his early associate in the instruction of the College, Manning thus writes :—

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 19, 1782.

TO THE HONORABLE DAVID HOWELL,

DELEGATE IN CONGRESS :

SIR :—This will come to hand too late to announce to you the good news concerning the fate of five per cent.¹ This was forwarded before I reached here; but my letter may serve to congratulate you on the important event. You will not think strange that I have been at home twelve days and have never attempted to write until now, when I inform you that eight days before I reached here I was seized with a severe fever, with which I travelled, though in great distress, near two hundred miles, and of which I have been ever since confined. Though it has in a measure left me, yet I am still very weak.

On my arrival, I sent and delivered your letters and those of Dr. Arnold, desiring Mrs. Howell, by Jeremiah, to come and see me, as I could not go to her, which she would have done, but the French army are here, encamped on the lands of Jeremiah Dexter, and those of his brother's heirs. The town is full of officers, and she is crowded with them as well as others. The family, however, are all well. I found my family well, and am told that the town is healthy in general. I am exceeding sorry that the committee appointed to prepare and forward the papers relative to the College, have

¹ The "Five per cent. Impost," as it was called, was defeated in the General Assembly by a vote taken Nov. 1, 1782. Fifty-three of the sixty-eight members voted against it. Through lack of funds to carry on the government, the utter dissolution of the Confederation had seemed imminent. On the 3d of February, 1781, Congress had recommended to the States to grant it the power to lay an impost of five per cent., and by the articles of confederation each State must agree to its adoption. All but Georgia and Rhode Island granted the power; the former never acted on the recommendation, but the latter, through the influence perhaps of Judge Howell, utterly refused to sanction it. Appeals were dispatched from Congress, and finally a committee was raised to come in person to Rhode Island, but at this juncture Virginia repealed her assent. The impost question continued a bone of contention until the adoption of the Constitution; and the feeling against Howell and Rhode Island was bitter. Hence Manning's allusion to the subject in the beginning of this letter. The objection to the impost duty on the part of Rhode Island appears to have been in the main, that it would interfere with her ideas of State rights. In one of his arguments in Congress Judge Howell remarked: "Our State has been invaded and plundered, our towns have been partially burnt and partly torn down, and our navigation has been reduced to a very low ebb; so that out of the ancient and once wealthy town of Newport, which in 1774 sent to sea nearly one hundred and fifty sail, three only were at sea in March, 1782. Wherefore if any substantial revenue could be derived from a duty on trade, this benefit ought in all right and justice, to belong solely and exclusively to the State." See Staples's "Rhode Island in the Continental Congress."

not yet done this. Joseph Brown tells me he has done everything in his power, but Mr. Ward has still disappointed them, by one means or other. When it will be accomplished, I know not. The edifice has been cleaned, and is now undergoing repairs. It is tenable for students. A steward has moved in, Mr. Foster. A tutor is also engaged, one Mr. Robbins, of Wethersfield, who is daily expected. The number of students is very small as yet. I still retain the idea of travelling and soliciting donations for the College; and I believe the Corporation will approve it. But whom shall we get to supply my place in the interim, I know not yet. I am unable to attend even to my own business. The active executor of my father-in-law's estate, Dr. Dayton, could not collect any money for Dicky,¹ son of Richard, who came with me, before I came away, but expected to get some before you return. I have desired him to have it in readiness by the middle of December, and left at my mamma's, and informed him that I expect you to bring it. I wish you to come that way and take it if there; if not, please to call on the Doctor at town for it and bring it, and I will cheerfully make good any expense it may cause you.

Dr. Randal is now here, and informs me that he has written Dr. Arnold by this conveyance fully upon all matters relative to the family, etc. Mrs. Manning joins in cordial respects to you and the Doctor, with, sir,

Your very humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

P. S. — I expect Sister Woodruffe will be in your city before this reaches you. I should esteem it a particular favor if you and the Doctor would call to see her as you have opportunity.

The following letter, addressed to his friend the Rev. Benjamin Wallin, of London, of whose death he had not been informed, presents at this time a striking view of the religious condition of New England during the war: —

NEW JERSEY, May 23, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

I feel happy that an intercourse is again opened between the two countries, after an eight years' interruption by a most calamitous war, and that I can again address a letter to my much esteemed friend and father in the ministry, with hopes of its reaching him before his dismissal from the field of labor. Three years ago the past winter, I received a letter from you, accompanied with a small box of books, a very agreeable

¹ Richard Montgomery Stites. He was graduated in the class of 1792. His father, Richard, was a member of the first graduating class, and delivered the Latin Salutatory.

present, for which you have my most cordial thanks. It came safe, except the "Prodigal" for Mr. Stillman, and your poetical composition directed to me, which were lost by the way. The rest were delivered as directed. Your view of the parable of the prodigal son is to me the most satisfactory that I have ever met with. It has been perused by many here with great pleasure.

I have never written to England since the opportunity in 1776 by Mackaness and Shakspeare. By yours to me, as mentioned above, I find it was received, and am happy that the short sketch given of the revival at Providence, and of the country round, furnished an agreeable entertainment for my English brethren and friends. But days of tribulation have succeeded those happy ones. The calamities of the war fell heavy upon us. First a dispersion of our church and congregation upon the coming of the King's army, which is in sight of my house. This was immediately followed by the evils attendant on a garrison, as we became a frontier. The dreadful effects of this upon the morals of the inhabitants who remained, I need not mention. But what of all things was the most distressing to me, was the lukewarmness of almost all professors of religion. and the total apostasy of many. The contagion became general. The places of worship were almost abandoned. Alarm upon alarm destroyed all tranquillity, and every day and night threatened us with that desolating devastation which spread with such rapidity along our coasts. The College was quite broken up, and the edifice was occupied by a rude and wasting soldiery, first for barracks, then for a hospital, until they threatened its almost total demolition.

But language would fail to paint in proper colors the horrors of these days. About this time one John Murray, *alias* Murphy, supposed to be a fugitive from justice in Great Britain, with great address undertook to propagate the doctrine of universal salvation, as held by a Mr. Rely, in his book on Union, of which Murray was a mere retailer. In this work he was too successful in the towns and counties through New England. The avidity with which this error was imbibed greatly contributed to the decline of the morals of the people, and to unsettle the minds of professors. Soon after this, two women, who pretended to a participation of Deity, set up new kinds of superstition. One of them pretended to be Jesus Christ in the form of a woman. In her preaching and praying she considered herself as the Mediator. The other pretended to pardon sins, and to be at the head of a new dispensation, of which the form of worship is dancing, turning round on one foot, pretending to speak in unknown tongues, etc., etc. She interdicted all intercourse between the sexes, so that separations between man and wife became common, among those who would attain to a state of absolute perfection. The fruits of this *ex-parte* religion you will easily conjecture. She, with her attendants, came to America from Liverpool, or its vicinity, about the commencement of the war. But what will astonish you most of all is that great multitudes are ensnared by these delusions, and follow their pernicious ways.

Yet notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, a glorious reformation has progressed, during the past three or four years, in many parts of New England, and about two thousand persons have in consequence received believer's baptism, and several Baptist churches have been constituted. The good effects of this work are yet visible. Several places have been visited during the past year, and in these the good work of grace still continues. Dear Mr. Thurston, of Newport, and his people, have had a blessed shower, between thirty and forty of their number having lately been baptized. The attendance on public worship with us at Providence has of late inspired me with hopes of better times.

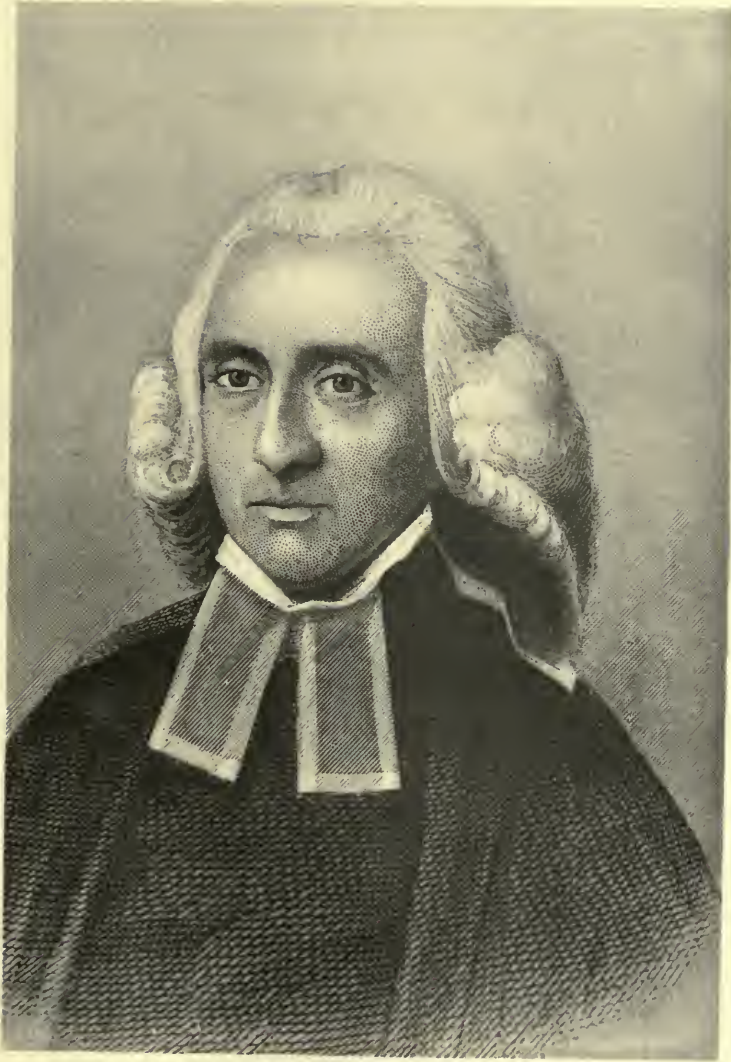
The College is again revived; but our exhausted state will enable us to make only a partial repair of the edifice, and that by borrowing money. We have been so happy as to preserve our little fund amidst the wreck of public credit, but the present exhausted state of the treasury prevents our commanding the interest when due. The return of peace will, we hope, remedy this inconvenience ere it be of long continuance. The prospect of students grows more encouraging, though at present the number is small.

I write this from New Jersey, whither I have come *via* New York, for the first time in several years. Last Lord's Day I preached here, and expect to preach for two Sabbaths to come. The Baptist meeting-house is still occupied for a hospital, and greatly out of repair. The people seem much disposed to hear the word, although attendance at church has long been out of vogue among them. Rev. Messrs. Miller and Stelle, of the Scotch Plains and Piscataway churches, two eminent Baptist ministers, died nearly two years ago. Their people have not yet found Elishas to take their places. Political contentions have proved exceedingly mischievous in many of our churches. A spirit of toleration, however, is vastly more prevalent among the Pedobaptists since the war. To this our friend Mr. Backus, who is well and still active, has contributed much. I fear I shall not have time to write by this opportunity to any of my English brethren except yourself. Please to present my best respects to all inquiring friends; for I presume that I have some who will inquire for me. Let me be favored with a letter by the first opportunity. With sentiments of the highest respect,

I am, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

In 1783 the public exercises of Commencement were resumed, on which occasion the Rev. Dr. Stillman preached an animating sermon from Luke xv. 32: "It was meet that we should make merry and be glad; for this thy brother was dead and is alive again, and was lost and is found." No record has been preserved of the order of exercises on this occasion. The *Providence Gazette* says:



SAMUEL STILLMAN.

As soon as the Corporation had taken their seats, the audience were entertained with an anthem; after which the President made a prayer well adapted to the occasion. The candidates then proceeded to perform their respective parts, which consisted of several orations on different subjects, and a forensic disputation. An oration was likewise delivered by Dr. James Mann, of Harvard College.

The degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on Jacob Campbell, George Tillinghast, John Tillinghast, Othniel Tyler, and William Wilkinson. An account of this Commencement, and of the proceedings of the subsequent meeting of the Corporation, may best be learned from a letter to Mr. Howell. It will be observed that Manning again alludes to his purpose to proceed to England to solicit funds for the College. In reference to this matter we make the following extract from the records of a meeting of the Corporation, held on the 27th of January, 1783:—

President Manning laid before them a memorial setting forth the smallness of the College funds, and the necessity of augmenting them to preserve the Institution from dissolution, and offered his services to travel abroad to solicit donations for augmenting them as per memorial on file; which being duly considered by the members present, it was agreed to recommend to the President to proceed to solicit donations, as soon as a proper person can be found to superintend the College in his absence; and that the Secretary make out for him proper credentials, sealed with the College seal and signed by the Secretary.

The following is the “memorial,” to which reference is here made:—

TO THE HONORABLE THE CHANCELLOR AND THE MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE IN PROVIDENCE, CONVENED BY SPECIAL REQUEST ON WEDNESDAY, THE 25TH OF DECEMBER, 1782:

GENTLEMEN:—The present low state of the funds of the College, and the consequent embarrassment of this Corporation in conducting and advancing the Institution, are matters of too great notoriety to need elucidation. Any plan, therefore, which renders an augmentation of them probable, I presume must meet your warmest approbation. The only one which I can conceive can at present be adopted is, to appoint some person, whom you shall judge qualified, to solicit benefactions of whom and wheresoever he shall think proper, for the sole purpose of endowing the College or making suitable provision for tuition therein,—withal assuring the donors that the

Corporation have pledged their faith that the interest only of the net proceeds of the money so collected shall be appropriated, and that the principal shall be reserved as a perpetual fund.

Looking around amongst the friends of the College, I can find no one who will undertake this arduous service unless I do it myself; and though, at my time of life, encumbered as I am with the cares of a family, the congregation, and the College, together with the mortifications which must unavoidably attend the execution, I find it exceedingly difficult to enter on the design; yet my strong attachment to the interests of the College has induced me, for the want of a more suitable person, in the face of every difficulty to offer my services, on the following conditions: That the Corporation shall, while on this service, discharge me from all duty in the College; that they furnish me with a proper authorization, and, out of the moneys I shall collect, pay me the sum of one hundred pounds lawful money per annum, besides defraying all my necessary expenses; that they allow me the use of the College estate¹ as when at home, and leave it to my judgment in what places and how long to pursue this object. And should any difficulty arise concerning taking the moneys out of the governments where collected, it shall be left to my judgment how to dispose of them to the best advantage of the Corporation.

Should the above propositions be acceded to, as soon as I can adjust my private concerns I engage, by divine permission, to begin and faithfully pursue the business as long as there is, in my opinion, a prospect of success. If it should be said that the state of war in which we are involved, the desolations of many parts of the country, the weight of taxes, scarcity of money, and drought of the last summer, all militate against this proposal, I freely grant the great force of all these arguments; but in my opinion matters are come to a point, and the question is not whether there have not been and may probably hereafter be more favorable times to collect money, but whether the College can be continued with any degree of reputation without some speedy exertions. I confess I think it cannot, and therefore necessity impels this measure. Besides, the Baptist Association, held the last fall in this town and in the city of Philadelphia, lent a favorable ear to some proposals for augmenting the College revenue; but withal concluded that the only method to succeed would be for me to follow them by a personal application. And I conceive the only time to obtain their money is when the people are willing to part with it, whatever difficulty they may find in obtaining it. These proposals, however, are cheerfully submitted to your better judgment, by, gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

¹ The house occupied by President Manning, and by his successors Maxcy and Messer, and for a while by Wayland, was built at the time of the erection of University Hall. It stood near the old College pump, in front of Manning Hall. A view of the house is given in the engraving in Chapter IV.

This plan of President Manning, which was never carried into effect, owing doubtless to the difficulty in finding a suitable person to take his place in the College and in the church, is another of the many proofs of his ardent desire to promote the interests of "religion and sound learning," and of his willingness to make sacrifices in behalf of the Institution over which he presided. But to the letter:—

TO THE HONORABLE DAVID HOWELL,

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 13, 1783.

DELEGATE IN CONGRESS:

DEAR SIR:—Last night brought me your favor of the 17th ult.; by some means it has had a long passage. Am much obliged for the intelligence you communicate. I with you hope our happy Constitution may be preserved entire, and that place-men and pensioners may figure small under it, whatever raised hopes may have been entertained by candidates. I wish to know the event of the examination you mentioned, which was so full of expectation on the part of the examined. I am glad to hear that you are so happy in your colleague. I shall not be wanting in seconding your wishes with respect to your son. He does not make a rapid progress in language, but does much better than heretofore. He performed very well the last public speaking.

Our public Commencement met the highest approbation of a most numerous assembly, amongst whom were the high Consul of France, the Count dal Verme of Milan, and several English and Dutch merchants, who were very liberal in their encomiums on the performers and performances. It is generally thought, both by the friends of the College and others, to equal if not exceed any we have ever had. And I am happy to inform you that it seems to have inspired its friends with new life. Mr. John Brown requested the Corporation to ascertain the sum necessary to procure a complete philosophical apparatus and library, and offered to advance, forthwith, one-half the sum, provided the Corporation would advance, or find ways and means to advance, the other half. It was found impracticable to ascertain this exactly. He then offered to equal any sum they could raise. A subscription was immediately set on foot, and pursued by Mr. Smith in the town the succeeding days, which amounted to better than £340; and will, with Mr. John Brown's, equal, if not exceed, £700 lawful money. A catalogue of the library and apparatus is ordered to be made out immediately. If you can assist us, by procuring from your friends any large catalogues of books, or can yourself furnish one both of the library and apparatus, we shall be happy to receive your assistance, as soon as possible. Governor Hopkins, Joseph Brown, Doctors Waterhouse and Drowne, Mr. Stillman and myself are appointed to this service; and we mean to have them prepared as soon as possible.

Messrs. Stillman and Waterhouse, with the President, are appointed to draft an address and petition to the King of France for his patronage of the College, and a donation similar to that offered to Yale College, and forward it to you to use your influence with the Minister of France to get his sanction of it, and to point out the proper way of access to his most Christian Majesty, as soon as may be. And while it is preparing I am to request you to feel the pulse of the Minister relative to it, and advise us accordingly. This matter is ordered to be kept a secret, and by the Corporation, lest we should be interrupted. President Wheelock, on this business for Dartmouth College, writes that he is likely to succeed equal to his expectations. It was also voted that Mr. William Van Horn should solicit benefactions to the southward of Pennsylvania, the President in the Middle States, Rev. Benjamin Foster through New England, and Rev. William Rogers go on the business to Europe. Mr. Foster I have since seen. He informs me that he cannot accept his appointment. Mr. Rogers has also intimated as much to me, in consequence of the ill state of his wife's health, and I am again in the question for this service. The great objection to this is, to have the College provided for in the interim. All agree, if you should return at the beginning of winter, and will undertake, that the objection will be removed; and I wish a line from you on this subject as soon as possible, as it is thought necessary to proceed to Europe this fall. In short, we are determined to make every possible exertion to make the College respectable if possible. Dr. Drowne is chosen Fellow in the room of Dr. Babcock; Dr. Waterhouse¹ has qualified also; Welcome Arnold is chosen in the room of Governor Cook.

¹ Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse was chosen a Fellow of the College in 1782. This gentleman, says Professor Goddard, whose brief sketch of him we in the main quote, distinguished in the medical history of our country as "the American Jenner," was born in Newport, R. I. His father, originally a Presbyterian, embraced the religious opinions of the Society of Friends, after he had reached mature life; and to those opinions he remained sincerely attached till his death, at an advanced age. His son, to borrow his own language, "was born and educated in the principles of liberal Quakerism." He never, however, adopted the peculiarities of that quiet and useful sect, nor was he accustomed to unite with them in their religious worship. Dr. Waterhouse never received a college education; but few of our countrymen have been more frequently honored by distinctions from literary and scientific bodies, at home and abroad. That his early academical training was not neglected, is evident from his various publications, some of which evince a familiarity with the learned languages. He was a pupil of the celebrated Dr. Fothergill, of London, and he subsequently pursued his medical studies at the famous schools of Edinburgh and Leyden. From the Leyden school he received the degree of Doctor in Medicine. In 1783 he was appointed Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in Harvard University, and he continued to perform the duties of that chair for the period of nearly thirty years. This was among the earliest medical schools established in America. In 1784 Dr. Waterhouse was elected Professor of Natural History in Rhode Island College, and while occupying this chair he delivered, in the State House at Providence, the first course of lectures upon that science ever delivered in the United States. The benevolent and intrepid agency of Dr. Waterhouse in introducing vaccination into this country, is too well known to the public to need more than a passing allusion. He died at an advanced age, in the year 1846.

Last Tuesday I attended the Association at Charlton. The convention was large and unanimous. I discover a growing attachment to literature, though by reason of the drought last year, etc., they had not yet complied with the request to raise money for the College, except Mr. Gair, who produced £13. Several more had begun, and the recommendation is still continued, with some additional stimulus. The plenteous crop of the present year, I hope, will enable the well disposed to lend us some assistance.

We have chosen the device for a seal, which Dr. Drowne exhibited, with the alteration of an enclosed instead of an open temple. Probably we shall employ you to get it engraved at Philadelphia, if you will take the trouble, as we expect it will be your winter residence. The subscription I mentioned was in books, apparatus, and money.

Mrs. Anthony is here, who, with Mrs. Manning, was at your house yesterday. They inform me your father is there, in a low state of health. Your mamma Corlis also continues to decline. Mrs. Manning presents her most respectful compliments to the honorable delegate, and Mrs. Anthony requests me to do the same to the old gentleman. She returned here from Boston last Monday. I had quite forgot to tell you we did not take up the consideration of our address to Congress for damages, etc., done the College. We wish you to feel the pulse of your acquaintance relative thereto; and if there should be an opening, to give us the earliest advice, that we may improve the opportunity to apply. With sentiments of esteem, I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

In this connection it may be interesting to read an extract from Hezekiah Smith's diary:—

1783. *Tues., Sept. 2d.* We went to Nicholas Brown's in Providence.—*Wed., 3d.* Attended the Commencement.—*Thurs., 4th.* I met with the Corporation of Rhode Island College.—*Fri., 5th.* Waited upon a number of gentlemen by desire of the Corporation, to get subscriptions for a Philosophical apparatus and a Library for the use of the College. The whole of the subscriptions for this purpose amounted to about £600 lawful money.—*Sab., 7th.* Preached in the forenoon in Mr. Snow's meeting-house from Jer. 31: 3; in the afternoon in Mr. Manning's meeting-house, from Eph. 2: 13; and in the evening in Mr. Snow's, from Rom. 10: 11.

In reference to the Count dal Verme, to whom allusion is here made, we find the following anecdote from the Hon. Asher Robbins, quoted by Professor Goddard, as an illustration of the dignity and

grace with which Dr. Manning was accustomed to preside at the annual Commencements. "I recollect," he says, "that at one of our Commencements, a French gentleman of distinction (I think he bore some title of nobility) was present. He sat by Dr. Waterhouse, and was, I think, introduced and presented by him. They conversed together in Latin, either as, being learned men, they chose to converse in a learned language, or as the Frenchman being less perfect in English and the Doctor in French, they found it more easy to converse in Latin. Struck with the natural dignity and grace, the Frenchman whispered to the Doctor, '*Natalis præsidere*' (born to preside). I heard this from Dr. Waterhouse himself the next day."

In looking over the records, we find that at a special meeting of the Corporation, held on the 7th of January, 1784, the address to which Manning in his letter to Howell refers, "drawn up by the Rev. Samuel Stillman and Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, was read and approved."

It was also at this meeting voted, "That the Chancellor, the President, Hon. Jabez Bowen, and Dr. Solomon Drowne, be a committee to draft a letter to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, to accompany the address to his most Christian Majesty."

The following is the address, which we copy from an original document now on file among the archives of the University. The penmanship of the document is remarkably clear and handsome, and the signatures to it are genuine. Some slight verbal alterations rendered it necessary to prepare another, and hence this is retained. A first draft, also, in the handwriting apparently of Dr. Stillman, is on file.

SIRE:—The Rhode Island College, studious of promoting literature, and of disseminating that kind of knowledge which tendeth to impress the minds of youth under their direction with such sentiments of benevolence as are circumscribed in no less bounds than the whole bulk of mankind, look up to your Majesty, not only as a friend and promoter of such knowledge, but also, like many of your illustrious ancestors, a patron of those arts which polish humanity and exalt our nature.

With these sentiments we regard the monarch of France, and with all deference beg leave to express our wishes of having a professor of the French language and history in this our infant seminary,—a thing we ardently desire, but are unable to accomplish.

Ignorant of the French language, and separated as we were by more than mere distance of countries, we too readily imbibed the prejudices of the English,—prejudices which we have renounced since we have had a nearer view of the brave army of France, who actually inhabited this College edifice; since which time our youth seek with avidity whatever can give them information respecting the character, genius, and influence of a people they have such reason to admire,—a nation so eminently distinguished for polished humanity.

To satisfy this laudable thirst of knowledge, nothing was wanting but to encourage and diffuse the French language; and that not merely as the principal means of rendering an intercourse with our brethren of France more easy and beneficial, but also for spreading far and wide the history of the so celebrated race of kings, statesmen, philosophers, poets, and benefactors of mankind which France has produced.

As no king will be held by us in so lasting and so dear a remembrance, so there is no name we are more desirous of repeating as the founder of the French language and history in this country than your Majesty's, and that too as much from gratitude to your Majesty as profit to ourselves.

From the scarcity of French books, our youth can at present only draw their information from English writers, and not from the more pure source, the French themselves. Our wish has therefore been to procure a proper collection of the best French authors, and to establish a professorship of the French language and history in the College of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; but such have been the obstructions during the war, and the course of education so impeded, that the edifice erected for the reception of the studious youth was granted by the governors of the College as an hospital for the troops. These, together with the calamities of the country, render it impossible for us to carry our design into execution respecting French literature.

Regarding, therefore, your Majesty as a monarch endowed with qualities that add lustre to a crown, ever ready to patronize what is good and useful, we presume to solicit your Majesty's assistance; firmly believing that whatever tends to make men wiser, better, and happier will meet with your royal assistance and encouragement.

May the common Father of the universe bless our endeavors, and make your Majesty the happy instrument of raising *to us* the literary genius of France in ages past as from the dead. May sacred and unerring wisdom ever be your guide, adorn you with every virtue, and crown you with every blessing, that future ages may commemorate the happiness of your reign with grateful admiration.

Signed by order and in behalf of the Corporation,

STEPHEN HOPKINS, *Chancellor.*

JAMES MANNING, *President.*

PROVIDENCE, STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, Jan. 9, 1784.

This address was eventually put into the hands of Thomas Jefferson by the Rhode Island Delegates to Congress, the matter having been intrusted to them. We may be allowed to anticipate somewhat, and give the result of the application, by publishing the following letter, which we find in the second volume of Jefferson's Works : —

PARIS, July 22, 1787.

TO THE DELEGATES OF RHODE ISLAND:

GENTLEMEN: — I was honored in the month of January last with a letter from the honorable the delegates of Rhode Island in Congress, enclosing a letter from the Corporation of Rhode Island College to his most Christian Majesty, and some other papers. I was then in the hurry of preparation for a journey into the south of France, and therefore unable at that moment to make the inquiries which the object of the letter rendered necessary. As soon as I returned, which was in the last month, I turned my attention to that object, which was the establishment of a professorship of the French language in the College, and the obtaining a collection of the best French authors, with the aid of the King. That neither the College nor myself might be compromised uselessly, I thought it necessary to sound, previously, those who were able to inform me what would be the success of the application. I was assured, so as to leave no doubt, that it would not be complied with; that there had never been an instance of the King's granting such a demand in a foreign country, and that they would be cautious of setting the precedent; that, in this moment, too, they were embarrassed with the difficult operations of putting down all establishments of their own which could possibly be dispensed with, in order to bring their expenditure down to the level of their receipts. Upon such information I was satisfied that it was most prudent not to deliver the letter, and spare to both parties the disagreeableness of giving and receiving a denial. The King did give to two colleges in America copies of the works printing in the public press. But were this to be obtained for the College of Rhode Island, it would extend only to a volume or two of Buffon's work still to be printed, Manilius's Astronomicon, and one or two other works in the press which are of no consequence. I did not think this an object for the College worth being pressed. I beg the favor of you, gentlemen, to assure the Corporation that no endeavors of mine should have been spared could they have effected their wish, and that they have been faithfully used in making the preliminary inquiries which are necessary, and which ended in an assurance that nothing could be done. These papers having been transmitted to me through your delegation, will, I hope, be an apology for my availing myself of the same channel for communicating the result.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect,
gentlemen,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The late Rev. Edwin M. Stone, in his elaborate work entitled "Our French Allies,"¹ has given a minute account of military operations in Rhode Island, including sketches of French officers, and incidents of social life in Newport and Providence. These officers were men of culture, not a few of them representing the orders of nobility in their native land. During the years 1780 and 1781, sixty-seven of them were assigned lodgings with the leading families of Providence, including Governor Cook, Deputy Governor Bowen, Colonel Nightingale, Joseph Russell, and the brothers Nicholas, Joseph, and John Brown, all of whom were prominent members of the Corporation of the College. Balls, parties, and other entertainments were frequent, and thus the exchange of courtesies served to strengthen mutual respect and friendship. The liberality with which they circulated their silver and gold at a period when a Spanish milled dollar, as Mr. Stone remarks, bore a fabulous value in paper currency, must have rendered them welcome customers with the trading community. We can readily understand how, under these circumstances, the idea of a Professorship of "the French language and history," should have been suggested to the overseers of "this our infant Seminary."

The following, copied from a rough draft of a letter to accompany this address to "his most Christian Majesty," deserves a place here, not only from its connection with the history of University Hall, as the edifice is now named, but also from its statements respecting the history and condition of the College at this time:—

SIR:—In compliance with the request of the Honorable the Corporation of the College at Providence in the State of Rhode Island, transmitted in their vote of the 7th of

¹ "Our French Allies. Rochambeau and his army, Lafayette and his devotion, D'Estaing, DeTernay, Barras, DeGrasse, and their fleets, in the great War of the American Revolution, 1778-1782." By Edwin Martin Stone. Providence Press Co. Royal 8vo., pp. xxxi., 632. 215 illustrations.

September last, we take the liberty to inform your Excellency that the College under their direction was founded in 1764, and received the small endowment of which it is now possessed solely from the beneficence and contributions of individuals, the government not being sufficiently impressed with an idea of the importance of literature to afford its patronage or lend it any further assistance than that of granting it a charter. With these small beginnings, however, at the commencement of the late war the Corporation had the pleasure to see that beautiful edifice erected on the hill at Providence, and upwards of forty students matriculated, together with a large Latin school as a nursery to supply it with scholars. The whole endowment consisted of one thousand pounds, lawful money, as a fund, besides the lot of six acres of land.¹ At that period the young Institution was speedily growing in reputation as well as in number of scholars. But on the arrival of the enemy in that State, in the year 1776, it was seized by the public for barracks, and an hospital for the American army, and continued to be so occupied until a little before the arrival of the armaments of his most Christian Majesty, upon which it was again taken out of the hands of the Corporation by an order of government, and delivered up to our allies for the same uses to which it had been applied by the American army. They held it till their army marched for the Chesapeake. To accommodate it to their wishes they made great alterations in the building, highly injurious to the designs of its founders. This, with the damages done to it by the armies of both nations while so occupied, subjected the Corporation to a heavy expense to repair it; and that when the deranged state of our finances prevented us from making scarcely any advantage of the interest of our little fund in the State treasury. Having at their own expense made the repairs, they applied first to the Legislature of the State, and repeatedly to Congress for some compensation; but have not been able to obtain the least assistance. Thus circumstanced they think it their duty to solicit the patronage of his most Christian Majesty in the manner they have done in the memorial which accompanies this letter.

We have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that there are upwards of fifty students now belonging to the College, with flattering prospects of an increase.

The above is a brief account of the origin and present state of the College at Providence. We only add, that this Institution embraces in its bosom and holds out equal privileges to all denominations of Protestants; and its Corporation, agreeably to charter, is, and must forever be composed of some of all denominations of Christians.

We have the honor to be, Sir, your very humble servants.

¹The College lands originally comprised eight acres, according to the recorded deeds and the "College Credit" submitted by Nicholas Brown & Co. to the Corporation in 1771. The highway thereto, which is now a part of College Street, was of course included in these eight acres. The writer speaks of the "lot" without probably taking into account the "highway."

The most important business at the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1783, was the confirming and ratifying a new digest of the College Laws, which had been carefully made by a committee appointed the previous year. These Laws, in Manning's hand writing, are preserved in the archives of the Library. At the end is the following, with the original signatures of the Committee: —

The subscribers having been appointed a committee to form a Digest of Laws for this Institution, have agreed to the foregoing, and do report them accordingly, this 22d day of February, 1783.

JAMES MANNING,
JABEZ BOWEN,
NICHOLAS BROWN,
DAVID HOWELL.

A few extracts from this digest, differing somewhat from the Laws of 1774, given in full in a previous chapter, may be here introduced. They serve to illustrate the character and liberal tendencies of the College, as also the spirit of the times.

No student shall be admitted into this College until he shall have written out a correct copy of the Laws of the College, or have otherwise obtained them, and had them signed by the President and one or more of the Tutors, as the evidence of his admission; which copy he shall keep by him during his residence in College.

Both before and after noon, and before nine o'clock in the evening, the Tutors in their turn shall daily visit the rooms of the students to observe whether they be within and pursuing their studies; and shall punish all those who are absent without liberty or necessity.

The President and Tutors, according to their judgments, shall teach and instruct the several classes in the learned languages, and in the liberal arts and sciences, together with the vernacular tongue.

The following are the classes appointed for the first year namely: In Latin, Virgil, Cicero's Orations, and Horace, all in usum Delphini. In Greek, the New Testament, Lucian's Dialogues, and Xenophon's Cyropædia. For the second year, in Latin, Cicero de Oratore, and Cæsar's Commentaries; in Greek, Homer's Iliad, and Longinus on the Sublime, together with Lowth's Vernacular Grammar, Rhetoric, Ward's Oratory, Sheridan's Lectures on Elocution, Guthrie's Geography, Kaimes's Elements of Criticism, Watts and Duncan's Logic. For the third year, Hutchinson's Moral Philosophy,

Doddridge's Lectures, Fenning's Arithmetic, Hammond's Algebra, Stone's Euclid, Martin's Trigonometry, Love's Surveying, Wilson's Navigation, Martin's Philosophia Britannica, and Ferguson's Astronomy, with Martin on the Globes. In the last year, Locke on the Understanding, Kennedy's Chronology, and Bolingbroke on History; and the Languages, Arts, and Sciences studied in the foregoing years to be accurately reviewed.

It is interesting to note the courses of study and the text-books of a century ago. Whether the studies and text-books of to-day are after all better fitted for the development of the faculties and the acquisition of knowledge, is in the minds of some an open question. It is certain that our most distinguished graduates have been educated under what may be called the "old system."

Two of the students, in rotation, shall, every evening, after prayers, pronounce a piece upon the stage; and all the members of the College shall meet every Wednesday afternoon in the hall, at the ringing of the bell at two o'clock, to pronounce before the President and Tutors pieces well committed to memory, that they may receive such corrections in their manner as shall be judged necessary.¹

On the last Wednesday in every month, every student in College shall pronounce publicly, on the stage, memoriter, such an oration or piece as shall be previously approved by the President; on which occasion the two upper classes shall make use of their own compositions.

The senior class shall attend recitations and other public exercises, until the second Wednesday in July, on which they shall appear in the hall to be examined by the President, Fellows, Tutors, or any other gentlemen of liberal education, touching their knowledge and proficiency in the learned languages, the liberal arts and sciences, and other qualifications requisite for receiving the degree of Bachelor in the Arts; and, upon approbation, they shall not leave the College before they have completed their necessary preparations for the public Commencement, nor then, without the President's liberty.

On the last Wednesday in every quarter, there shall be a public examination of the three lower classes in the studies they shall have pursued during that quarter; and if it shall appear that any one has neglected his business so as not to have made such proficiency in them as his opportunity and abilities would admit of, the President and Tutors may put him upon a conditional standing with his class, which condition shall continue

¹ We have commented on this practice in connection with the Laws of 1774. The meeting every Wednesday afternoon is in addition to the arrangements for speaking prescribed by the previous Laws.

to the end of the year (only by his better conduct he shall merit an exemption therefrom, at a future examination) and then, if there appear no hopeful signs of reformation they may degrade him to a lower class.

Every scholar is required to shew all due honor and reverence both in words and behavior to all his superiors, viz.: Parents, Magistrates, Ministers, and especially to the Trustees, Fellows, President, and Tutors of this College; and shall in no case use any reproachful, revelling, disrespectful or contumacious language; but on the contrary shall show them all proper tokens of reverence and obedience.

The Senior Class shall always have the choice of rooms; the Junior next, and the Sophomore next; except where a student of the lower classes shall have been at the expense of painting or papering a room; or shall offer to do so; in that case he shall have the preference, and not only be permitted to reside in it during his stay at College, but on leaving the same, shall have the liberty of disposing of his property therein to any member of the Senior or Junior classes, who shall thereby become possessed of the same right.

It is not permitted any one, in the hours of study, to speak to another, except in Latin, either in the College or College yard.

The Senior Class, when required, shall read a chapter out of the Greek Testament into English, before morning prayers; the President or Tutors calling on whom they think proper of the class to perform this duty.

Every student shall attend public worship every first day of the week, where he, his parents, or his guardians shall think proper, provided that any who do not attend with any officer of instruction produce vouchers, when demanded, of his steady and orderly attendance.

N. B. — Such as regularly and stately observe the seventh day as a Sabbath, are exempted from this Law, and are only required to abstain from secular employments, which would interrupt their fellow-students.

The times of vacation shall be from September 6 to October 20, from December 24 to January 24, and from the first Monday in May three weeks.

The following Laws concerning the Library will be read with interest by the members of the American Library Association of to-day. They show that the little collection of "about five hundred volumes, most of which are both very ancient and very useless, as well as very ragged and unsightly," as Manning describes them in a subsequent letter to Dr. Stennett, was nevertheless highly prized, and guarded with jealous care.

The oldest Tutor shall be the Librarian, who shall open the Library once a week, at an hour appointed, and attend and deliver out such books as shall be called for, by such of the students as are permitted the use of them.

In a letter to the late Prof. C. C. Jewett concerning the early history of the Library, the Hon. Asher Robbins writes :—

At the reorganization of the College, in the autumn of 1782, I was appointed to the office of Tutor, and took charge of the Library as Librarian. It was then kept in the East chamber on the second floor of the central building (University Hall); the volumes it contained were quite limited in number—these mostly the primary editions of the works in folio and quarto.

All the students, except the members of the Freshman Class, shall be permitted the use of the Library.

Poor Freshmen! Obligated to wait upon the Seniors and be admonished by them, to make the fires and sweep the rooms, and denied the use of the Library. No wonder that they looked forward with eager expectation to the time when their tutelage would cease, and they be promoted to the upper classes.

The following conditions of taking out books shall be strictly regarded:—Each one shall sign a receipt for every book he shall take out, engaging to return it in the like good order within the time he is permitted the use of it, which shall be for a folio, four weeks; for a quarto, three weeks; for an octavo, two weeks; and for a duodecimo, one week.

In a manuscript catalogue of the Library made out about this time, the books are classified and entered under these four heads, viz.: Folio, Quarto, Octavo, Duodecimo; a very simple arrangement, involving no conflict of classification systems, and requiring no special knowledge of Bibliography. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, the celebrated auctioneers of literary property in London, observe this method to-day in their catalogues of the books which they sell.

No person shall be allowed to take books out of the Library, without the knowledge of the Librarian; and the Librarian shall enter down in the receipt the title and bigness of the book taken out and the time when it is taken and returned. For every book not

returned agreeable to his receipt, the delinquent shall pay for one month, for a folio, one shilling, and so in proportion for a longer or shorter term; two-thirds as much for a quarto; half as much for an octavo; and one-quarter as much for a duodecimo.

The final article in this admirable digest of Laws reads as follows:—

And whereas the statutes are few and general, there must necessarily be lodged with the President and Tutors a discretionary or parental authority; therefore, where no statute is particularly and expressly provided for a case that may occur, they are to exercise this discretionary authority according to the known customs of similar institutions, and the plain general rules of the moral law. And in general the penalties are to be of the more humane kind, such as are adapted to work upon the nobler principles of humanity, and to move the more honorable springs of good order and submission to government.

We should be glad, did space allow, to present further extracts from this digest. In the last paragraph, as here quoted, President Manning may be supposed to have embodied his ideas in respect to college government and discipline, which, says his pupil and successor, Dr. Maxcy, “was mild and peaceful; conducted by that persuasive authority, which secures obedience while it conciliates esteem.”

The old stock, so to speak, of students, having now become exhausted, there were no more public Commencements until the year 1786, at which time the Freshman Class of 1782 was prepared to graduate. The progress of events during this period can best be learned from Manning's correspondence, which we present in chronological order. From the following letter to Mr. Kane, it appears that his friend and former correspondent, the Rev. Benjamin Wallin, had made a bequest to the College. How large this bequest was we cannot readily determine, as no mention of it is to be found in the records of the Corporation.

TO MR. HENRY KANE, WALWORTH, NEAR LONDON.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 8, 1783.

SIR:—I sympathize with you in the loss of your late venerable and pious pastor, the Rev. Mr. Wallin. I hope the church may find some Elisha to take his mantle, who,

under the great Head of the church, may build you up. I am pleased to find that in his last will and testament he remembered the College. Mr. Mullett showed me the letter from you to him on the subject of discharging or receipting the papers. Mr. John Brown, our treasurer, who is empowered by the Trustees and Fellows to conduct all the money matters of the Corporation, has settled with Mr. Mullett, as you will see by his receipt, attested by the Chancellor and President. You may rely upon receiving his receipt at an early day.

The College has been dispersed during the war, but is again lifting up its head. The damages it has sustained, and the low state of its funds, call aloud for the assistance of its friends who are able to establish it. It has not yet received a name, for want of some distinguished benefactor. Such a person we should be glad to find amongst our friends in England unto whom God in his providence has given wealth and influence. We are making an effort to do something here in America, but the burdens of the war leave us but a gloomy prospect. Members of the Corporation have subscribed near seven hundred pounds lawful money, six shillings to a dollar, towards augmenting our little library and furnishing an apparatus, besides advancing near one-half of this sum out of their own pockets for the repairs of this edifice. Every testimony of regard for it will be most thankfully received and acknowledged by the Corporation, and especially by him who has the honor to be, sir,

Your humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

TO THE REV. JOHN RYLAND.

PROVIDENCE, NOV. 8, 1783.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

It is long since I have had the pleasure of receiving a line from you, but I congratulate you on the return of peace and the opening again of a communication between England and America. I shall not at present trouble you with my reasoning on this surprising revolution, but shall only say that I am convinced that it is of God. To recount the distressing trials through which we have passed during the war, would but open again the wounds and cause them to bleed afresh. I suppose Mr. Ryland has no less affection for his American brethren than hithertofore, and therefore take the liberty of addressing a line to him with the same freedom as before.

The state of religion throughout America has been on the decline for several years, and the most destructive errors have prevailed, excepting a revival three or four years since in New England, and some favorable appearances of late. I should have excepted, however, the frontier parts of the country, for the wilderness has blossomed like the rose, and the Baptist principles have greatly prevailed there. The College was broken up for nearly six years, and the edifice devoted to the uses of the army.

It is again revived, and twelve students now belong to it. More are expected. The edifice received great damage, but has been partially repaired, at the private expense of the Corporation, who have also subscribed near £700 lawful money to augment our little library and procure an apparatus. The catalogues are making out, and when ready will be forwarded to England to give our friends, with you, an opportunity of testifying afresh their attachment. We are making application also through this continent to get what endowments we can for the College, but our exhausted state promises little favorable. The College has the reputation of contributing not a little to the interests of religion, not to say civil liberty. This has interested the Baptist society in general to look with a more favorable eye upon literature. But the burden of taxes, with their losses through the war, furnish them with arguments to withhold their pecuniary assistance which the most able logicians cannot confute. Can you find a gentleman of fortune among you who wishes to rear a lasting monument to his honor in America? If you can, direct his attention to the Hill of Providence, in the State of Rhode Island, whereon an elegant edifice is already erected, which waits for a name from some distinguished benefactor. The Corporation is determined to do this honor to its greatest benefactor. Should some English gentleman deign to become such, it may serve to cement that union which I wish ever to see cultivated between the two countries, notwithstanding our independence. I promise myself your interest in finding such an one, if in your power. I must refer you to a letter to Dr. Stennett of this date for a more particular account of the state of affairs amongst us, as I have not time now to be particular. I should be happy to receive one of your old-fashioned long letters by the return of this vessel or the first which may come. It is probable there will be opportunity of transmitting letters as usual twice a year, as the trade from Providence is again opened directly to London. I should have written in the spring, but was absent when the vessel sailed. Our dear friend Mr. Wallin is released from the field of labor, as I learn by my letter from Dr. Stennett, who has done me the honor to begin a correspondence, and requested me to continue it. With this request I shall with pleasure comply. Please to present my Christian salutation to your worthy family, especially to your son, Mr. John Ryland, Jr., from whom a letter would be most acceptable to him who wishes you the highest felicity, and is with every sentiment of esteem, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother and servant in the gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

The Rev. Dr. Stennett, to whom Manning here refers, thus writes under date of May 14, 1783:—

DEAR SIR:

It is a long time since I had the pleasure of hearing from you. Among other evils that have been suffered from the late unhappy and unnatural condition between this country and North America, the embargo that has been laid upon epistolary correspondence is no inconsiderable one. But this evil is now removed, and you will give me leave to congratulate you on the event. We won't at present enter into the various political reasonings concerning this extraordinary revolution. God is no doubt bringing about his great purposes, and it is to be hoped that even during the late perilous times the temple of the Lord has been building with you as well as with us.

This letter my friend Mr. Mullett,¹ brother-in-law to Mr. Caleb Evans of Bristol, puts into your hands. He is a very worthy, sociable man, goes over upon very considerable affairs of a mercantile kind, and will be capable of giving you a variety of information. My brevity now, therefore, you will excuse. It will be an opening, I hope, to a familiar, happy correspondence between us. The state of religion with you, and of the College in Rhode Island, I should be glad to understand. Be so good as to remember me affectionately to all our Christian friends, the ministers in particular, Mr. Backus, etc., etc.

We have had many changes in our congregation by death; but I hope religion in our denomination is not on the decline. Of good Mr. Wallin's death you have no doubt heard. His place is not yet supplied. My health has of late been but indifferent, but through the goodness of God it is now better.

I am just publishing a volume of discourses on domestic duties, one of which either Mr. Mullett, or Mr. Stillman — who, I take it, is still at Boston — will put into your hands.

You will excuse my hurrying manner at present, and be assured that I am, very dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

SAMUEL STENNETT.

¹ Thomas Mullett, Esq., a merchant of the first respectability. He was a native of Taunton, England, and died at Clapham, Nov. 14, 1814, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He possessed, says his biographer, an excellent understanding, and was a firm friend to civil and religious liberty. The following anecdote is related of him in Evans's *Life of Richards*: —

"Thomas Mullett, Esq., was soon after the American war at Mount Vernon, the seat of General Washington. Besides other flattering marks of attention, Washington, when alone with him in his library, asked him if he had seen any individual in that country who was competent to the task of writing a history of the late unhappy contest. Mr. M. replied, with his usual presence of mind, 'I know of one, and one only, competent to the task.' The General eagerly asked, 'Who, sir, can that individual be?' Mr. M. remarked, 'Cæsar wrote his own commentaries!' The General bowed, and replied, 'Cæsar wrote his own commentaries; but, sir, I know the atrocities committed on both sides have been so great and so many that they cannot be faithfully recorded, and had better be buried in oblivion.'"

Manning's reply is one of unusual length, and seems to have been written with special care. It is of itself a history of the times during the American war: —

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 8th, 1783.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Yours of May 14th was lately handed me by Thomas Mullett, Esq., whom I find to justify, and more, the excellent character you gave him; though we have had but a small share of his agreeable company, owing to his attention to his widely-extended mercantile concerns. I most heartily rejoice to have a free communication again opened between England and America; for this I have earnestly wished ever since its first interruption. May heaven forbid its ever being again shut! But I feel peculiarly happy in the honor you have done me in the renewal of our correspondence. I congratulate you on the restoration of your health, and hope you may be long continued, a rich blessing to the church of God. The flourishing state of our society with you is pleasing.

During some of the first years of the war, God was pleased to display his power, in many parts of New England, in a glorious manner, and thousands embraced the Baptist principles; but those halcyon days soon ended, since which has ensued an amazing apostasy. The delusion of Relly,¹ in his book called the Union, etc., has been propagated with the most astonishing success by John Murray. The doctrine of universal salvation has been licked into various forms by its numerous zealous advocates; and as it so exactly coincides with the carnal mind, has been sucked in by multitudes, among whom are not a few professors of religion, with great avidity.

About the same time one Jemima Wilkinson², near this place, who had been educated amongst the Quakers, pretended that she had been dead, reanimated with a celestial spirit, and endowed with an extraordinary commission from heaven to preach the gospel. She sometimes called herself the Comforter; and sometimes, when in an audience of great numbers, pointing to herself, said that when Jesus Christ first appeared, he came in the flesh of a man, but that he was now come in the flesh of a woman. She has continued to traverse the country and publicly preach ever since, accompanied with a number of disciples who do her homage on their bended knees.

¹ "Doctrine of union between Christ and his Church. By James Relly." 8vo. London, 1731.

² Jemima Wilkinson was born in Cumberland, R. I., about the year 1753. In 1789 she and her followers removed to Yates County, New York, where they founded a colony. She exacted from her adherents the most complete submission and the most menial services. After her death, which took place in July, 1819, the colony was broken up. A narrative of her life and character, by David Hudson, was published at Geneva, N. Y., in 1821, making a duodecimo volume of two hundred and twenty-eight pages.

Many have been carried away with her delusion, and believe her to be the Saviour. But to close the rear, a number of people, who came from the west of England about the commencement of the war, under the direction of an old woman whom her adherents call *the Mother, the Elect Lady*, etc., etc., pretend that the new dispensation has taken place, and that they are the only and true church. They pretend to absolve the sins of their disciples, and of course require particular confession to be made to them. Their particular worship consists in dancing, turning round on the heel, jumping, singing, and embracing each other, while they pretend to talk in unknown tongues, work miracles, etc., etc. They interdict all intercourse between the sexes, declaring the marriage contract void, and pretending to a state of absolute perfection. Some carnal fruits, however, have inadvertently resulted from their chaste embraces. And — would you believe it? — vast numbers of those who once appeared serious, well-disposed persons, have followed their pernicious ways. They are not to be reasoned with; alleging that they know they are right, and they will rave like madmen when opposed, calling this the effect of the Spirit of God. While these delusions on the one hand attack the truth of the gospel, growing infidelity on the other lends all its aid totally to subvert and destroy it, whilst the professed friends of it seem too generally overwhelmed and in a deep sleep. This, you say, is a dismal picture, but not more so than true. Yet there are those who stand fast in the truth, and some late revivals encourage us to hope for better days. One thing, however, is favorable, — a spirit of toleration more universally prevails throughout New England, and the doctrines of religion as well as civil liberty are better understood by the people at large, against any infractions of which they are determined to guard.

It was a glorious time of revival in our church when the war first commenced, but when the town became a garrison, on account of the vicinity of the royal army on Rhode Island, the apprehensions of an attack, and the daily alarms to which we were subjected, induced numbers of families to retire into the more interior parts of the country, not only for safety but subsistence. This scattered our church and congregation abroad, which has never been collected since, near fifty of our members not having yet returned. These things, with the disinclination of many to attend public worship from the example of the army, have greatly reduced us. It has been a season of heavy trials with great numbers of our churches, several of which have been almost totally dispersed. After all, when I view the last eight years, and reflect on the amazing anxiety and distress through which we have waded, and the astonishing goodness of God in preserving so many of us to see the return of peace, I am lost in wonder; especially when I consider the ingratitude of our hearts towards our glorious Benefactor. Thousands and thousands of families, once living in affluence, have, by the war, been reduced to beggary. Sometimes famine, and several times pestilence, as well as the sword, threatened to combine for our destruction. But language fails in

communicating my ideas. I heartily wish you may never know by experience what it is to live in the midst of war.

In the fore part of December, 1776, the royal army landed on Rhode Island, and took possession of the same. This brought their camp in plain view from the College with the naked eye; upon which the country flew to arms and marched for Providence. There, unprovided with barracks, they marched into the College and dispersed the students, about forty in number. After this the College continued to be occupied for a barrack and an hospital alternately until June, 1782, when it was left in a most ruinous situation. The Corporation advanced out of their own pockets near one thousand dollars for the most necessary repairs, and ordered the course of education to recommence; but under these circumstances the number of students was small, as the former number had mostly completed their education in other colleges, or turned their attention to other objects. Last September, five young gentlemen, who had studied with me in private, were admitted to the honors of the College at a public Commencement. Their performances met such a universal approbation of a numerous audience, as inspired the Corporation with fresh zeal to promote the Institution. Mr. John Brown, the Treasurer of the College, offered to give a sum equal to what all the other members would subscribe, towards procuring an addition to our little library, and a philosophical apparatus. By this means we obtained subscriptions for near £700 lawful money, six shillings to the dollar, and the catalogues are being made out. This we propose to follow with an application to Europe, as well as throughout America, for further benefactions. We have nominated persons to this service, but we fear few if any of them will engage in the work, on account of the difficulty of leaving home, and the fears of not meeting a cordial reception in Great Britain. But I rejoice to find, from late accounts, that our friends remain friends to the College, and wish to know the state of it. This encourages us to solicit every assistance they can give, all of which we greatly need. I have the satisfaction to find that it has, under all its disadvantages, been instrumental in greatly promoting Baptist principles, and the spread of civil and religious liberty throughout New England. Our number of students is twelve, and more are expected soon; but the great objections which operate against us are the want of an apparatus and library, and the want of professors. Of these advantages the old colleges amongst us can boast. Our library consists of about five hundred volumes, most of which are both very ancient and very useless, as well as very ragged and unsightly.¹ Our prospects to remedy this, in America, are at present very unpromis-

¹ The friends of the College will observe the contrast between these five hundred "unsightly" volumes, arranged and kept in a dark and cheerless chamber in the College edifice, now University Hall, and the noble Library of the present day, consisting of eighty-five thousand standard books of approved editions, in choice and substantial bindings, and twenty-five thousand pamphlets; arranged in an elegant and costly building of approved modern construction, well warmed, well

ing. Last fall the state of the College was laid before the Associations in New England and Philadelphia, which strongly recommended to all the churches to make collections for endowing it; the same has been done this year,—from all which not £20 sterling has been raised, such is the scarcity of money, the burden of taxes, and the reduced state of the country. The society at large never appeared so disposed to assist if it were but in their power; but, generally speaking, the Baptists here are the poor of this world.

Several pious youth, who promise fair for the ministry, having picked up some grammar learning, have applied to me to know whether any way can open for their assistance in getting an education. This has led me to think of a plan to assist such, and I have sketched out the following: That the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Stillman, Gardner Thurston, Isaac Backus, John Gano, Hezekiah Smith, with the President, be a standing committee of the Corporation, and in case of the demise of any of them their number to be filled up from time to time by themselves, who, or the major part of them, shall examine and approve of such as shall be candidates to receive the assistance which may be proffered to worthy characters in that way, and to say in what proportions it shall be dealt out to them. It will be easy to procure a vote of the Corporation to invest this committee with all necessary powers to discharge this trust; and I have fixed upon men whose doctrinal and practical principles, as well as their character in this country, will entitle them to the highest confidence of benefactors to this fund. I was long since convinced that a plan of this kind would be vastly serviceable, and proposed it to some of my friends, whose only objection against it was its interference with endowing the College, which was an object of the greatest importance; but I am of opinion that many would be induced to give for this purpose who would not on any other consideration. Should a donation be offered, and these persons be mentioned for the trust, in this way I have suggested, by some gentleman out of the Corporation, I am convinced that it would immediately take, and that something considerable could soon be raised, which would be of standing benefit to our churches, and more widely disseminate the knowledge of truth.¹ Such has been the feeling, through New Eng-

lighted, and well ventilated; open at all hours of the day and evening, and accessible to students and graduates without distinction of class; the whole increased from time to time from the income of fifty-seven thousand dollars. Among these "five hundred volumes" was a copy of Eliot's Indian Bible, obtained perhaps in 1771 through Morgan Edwards, which is now regarded as one of the most valuable books in the collection, and worth a fabulous sum. It once belonged to Roger Williams, as it contains notes in his familiar handwriting, both in shorthand and in English.

¹ The system of scholarships, inaugurated by President Sears, is based upon the same general principles which Manning here develops; with this difference, however,—that the scholarships are not of necessity Baptist in their character, or confined exclusively to students who have or who may have in view the Christian ministry. These points are left for the respective founders of scholarships to determine. The majority of them, serve in carrying into effect precisely these

land, in favor of a college education, that our pious illiterate ministers are greatly circumscribed in their sphere of usefulness, of which many of them are sufficiently sensible, and heartily wish their successors may be enabled to obviate this objection. A great and effectual door is opened for the labors of Baptist ministers throughout our vast, extended frontiers, and many new churches have been lately constituted in that howling wilderness; and indeed the labors of our society seem there generally preferred.

I fear I have already trespassed upon your patience; but you wished for various information; and you must consider this letter contains the substance of a ten years' correspondence. I shall be happy to have your assistance and patronage of the College, and your opinions on the subjects proposed by the first opportunity. I had forgot to mention that, amidst the wreck of public credit, we have been so fortunate as to preserve, undiminished, our little fund, though as yet, from the exhausted state of the treasury, which has operated greatly to my personal disadvantage, we have not been able to command any interest. I have the assistance of a Tutor, and a grammar master keeps school in the College edifice.

I cannot say in what light you view the American Revolution, but to serious people here it appears to be of God; and if the counsels of Great Britain are conducted with wisdom and moderation, it will in the issue be of no disadvantage to her in a national view. In a religious view I am certain it should not operate to produce any discord among the subjects of that Prince whose kingdom is not of this world. As far as my acquaintance extends, I am convinced that, on our part, the former attachment still continues; and I am sure I have as little reason to doubt it on yours.

views of President Manning. At the meeting of the Warren Association held in the year 1791, the Rev. Dr. Stillman presented a plan, which, he stated, he had received from a friend, for establishing a charitable fund, "for the purpose of assisting such young men of the Baptist denomination as may appear to be suitably qualified for the ministry, with a collegiate education." Who this friend was we cannot positively state, but we have no doubt whatever in regard to the source whence the plan itself originated. After a second reading it was unanimously adopted by the Association, and a board of trustees, consisting of twelve, was chosen. This board was styled, "Trustees of the Baptist Education Fund." It was required that "so many of the Baptist Fellows of Rhode Island College who are members of churches shall be trustees of this fund," the remaining number to be chosen by ballot from and by the Warren Association. Of the College Fellows on the board, were Dr. Stillman, of Boston, Dr. Smith, of Haverhill, Rev. William Williams, of Wrentham, Dr. Maxcy, President of the College, and Robert Rogers, Esq., of Newport. Those elected by the Association, were Isaac Backus, of Middleborough, Dr. Baldwin, of Boston, Rev. Joseph Grafton, of Newton, Rev. Noah Alden of Bellingham, Rev. Thomas Green, of Cambridge, Rev. George Robinson, of Bridgewater, and Rev. Isaiah Parker, of Harvard.

In February, 1794, the Society thus commenced was duly incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts. In 1816 a separate organization was formed, which, in 1823, was incorporated under the name of "The Baptist Education Society of the Warren Association." At this time the funds, now amounting to \$3,600, were equally divided between this Society and the Boston Association, which had been formed in the year 1811. Hence the origin and present funds of the Society now known as the Rhode Island Baptist Education Society.

Mr. Mullett was kind enough to put into my hands your volume on domestic duties, and I heartily thank you for the pleasure which the perusal of it gave me. I wish there were more of them in this country. They are greatly needed, and I think would sell. Before the war, for supplying the College and my friends, I kept a small assortment of books, which I yearly imported from London. I still mean to do the same, and have thought of getting a number of our Baptist authors for the supply of our society in different parts of the country. I think there has not been sufficient attention paid to our own writings by our own people. Should you think proper to send any of your works for that purpose, on the same terms which booksellers with you have them, I shall exert myself to sell them, and directly remit you the money. I have mentioned my letter to you to Dr. Llewelyn, to whom, if you please, you may show it, and also to Mr. Ryland, and any other friend who may, in your opinion, be disposed to serve the College, or wish for the information which it contains. By every opportunity I shall be happy to receive letters from Dr. Stennett. With sentiments of esteem, I am, dear sir,

Your brother in Christ,

JAMES MANNING.

The distinguished scholar to whom the following excellent letter is addressed died on the 7th of August, three months previous to its date. What he would have done for the College had he lived, cannot of course be determined. It is certain that his feelings towards the Institution were friendly. In the original subscription book of Morgan Edwards, his name appears as the largest subscriber on the list. Among the duplicate books presented to the library by the Bristol Education Society, we notice a fine uncut copy of the "Biographia Britannica," in seven volumes folio, a gift from Llewelyn, who bequeathed his library to that society. It contains his book-mark, and states the time of his death. So also, "Dio Cassii Historia Romana," a superb copy in two large folio volumes, printed on linen paper, and bound in full Russia gilt.

TO THOMAS LLEWELYN, LL. D., LONDON.

PROVIDENCE, NOV. 8, 1783.

SIR: — By Thomas Mullett, Esq., for whose agreeable acquaintance I am indebted to an introductory line from Dr. Stennett, I had the pleasure of hearing that you are yet alive, and, though in a declining state of health, are still protracting your usefulness in the cause of the Redeemer and the best interests of mankind. Your known zeal in pro-

moting the Baptist society for a series of years, your ability to serve it, and the desire you expressed, in his hearing, of knowing the state of the College at Providence, have encouraged me to address you on this subject, at once to give that information and to solicit your patronage of an institution which has already, in the minds of unbiased judges, greatly disseminated the knowledge of civil and religious liberty through this country, and added respectability to the Baptist profession. Bleeding with the wounds of war, it now solicits the relief which the benevolent and opulent alone can afford.

From its first establishment until the commencement of the late unnatural war, it gradually increased in the number of students, which at that time was about forty. It then began to attract the attention of the public, and bid fair to have been greatly augmented in numbers, as many were then preparing with a design to complete their education here. This town becoming a frontier, in the year 1776, the troops took possession of the edifice, to which purpose it continued to be appropriated until June, 1782. Great waste and destruction, you will naturally conclude, were made upon it by men whose profession has destruction for its object. To repair the edifice the Corporation advanced money out of their own pockets, as also to fit up some rooms for the accommodation of students who are likely to enter soon. The number of these is now twelve, and more are soon expected. In short, we want nothing but a proper endowment to enable us to furnish a suitable library and apparatus, and properly support able instructors, to render the College very respectable; the grand objection against it is the want of these things, of which they can boast at other colleges. Those inimical to our profession are exceeding vigilant to prevent its growth, from an idea of its importance to the Baptist cause. Hitherto a very great part of our society in this country have been by no means friendly to it; but many have altered their opinion, and would assist if they could; but, reduced by the war and the weight of taxes, at present they can only wish it well. Cambridge College was so fortunate as to attract the attention of a Hollis, New Haven of a Yale, and New Hampshire of a Dartmouth, who have given their names to these seats of learning. We should think ourselves no less happy in the patronage of a *Llewelyn*. *Llewelyn College* appears well when written, and sounds no less agreeably when spoken. Nor do I know a name which would please me better to hear extolled on our public anniversaries as the founder of the Institution. The Charter, one of which I beg leave to present to you, empowers the Corporation to give the College a name in honor of its most distinguished benefactor, which they are resolved to do. I know your philanthropy and principles of liberty would not suffer you to object that we are now independent of the British Empire. You too well know that necessity, dire necessity impelled to this measure a people whose feelings revolted at the idea upon any other ground. Besides, subjects of the Prince of Peace cannot approve of strong local attachments. It is the ardent wish of the human mind to establish a

permanent fame. As this appears to be a passion natural to man, so it is doubtful whether he feels a stronger, or one that ceases to influence him later. And what can more effectually gratify this predominant affection, than the grateful recollection of the latest posterity that we have laid foundations for improving the human intellect, disseminating useful knowledge, and propagating the gospel of peace over almost half the globe? If we consider the rapid progress of religion, letters, government, and arts in this new world, where on earth can a theatre be erected, from which the human character can be exhibited to better advantage (in largely contributing to the progress of religion, society, and manners) than in America? But you, sir, need only consider that patronizing this College will directly contribute to the propagation of the gospel of Christ in its simplicity to bestow upon it your friendship. Of the prospects of this I have given some hints to Dr. Stennett, in a letter of this date, to which I refer you, as I have desired him to communicate the contents of it to his friends, and those of the College, particularly requesting him to show it to Dr. Llewelyn. Therein I have mentioned the state of our library, apparatus, fund, etc. The whole interest of the latter does not amount to more, if so much, as £60 sterling per annum. We propose to forward our catalogue as soon as it is ready, and invite our friends to lend us their assistance in purchasing the books. Should your views be different from mine in reference to the premises, I beg your forgiveness for troubling you on this subject through my zeal for the College; but should you think favorably of the proposal, you will do a singular favor to a grateful Corporation, the Baptist Society in America, and I doubt not to remote posterity, but to none more than to him who, with every sentiment of esteem, has the honor to subscribe himself, sir,

Your friend and servant in the gospel of Christ,

JAMES MANNING.

The members of the Warren Association, at its meeting this year, to which Manning in his correspondence alludes, prepared an address to their "friends and countrymen," which presents a faithful picture of the times at the close of the war, and exhibits in a pleasing light the views and prospects of the Baptist denomination. We cannot resist the temptation to introduce here the closing paragraphs. They have special reference to the College, and show how intimate, formerly, were the relations it sustained to the churches: —

Permit us to add a word concerning education, and we shall have done. In Genesis xvii. God made a covenant with Abraham, which constituted a church in his household, who had a large grant of choice lands that in due time they were to take posses-

sion of by destroying the heathen inhabitants; and as long as that state continued, they were to make a visible difference in commerce and government, as well as worship, between the circumcised and all other people in the world. In the same church the priests were to have the whole government in worship, and were also to declare what the sentence of the law was in capital cases; and the judges were to carry the same into execution (Deut. xvii. 8-12). When Christ came he fulfilled the law, and abolished those distinctions among men; and constituted his church upon a better covenant—established upon better promises. His word calls said covenant with Abraham the covenant of circumcision (Acts vii. 8), but in after ages deceitful men took away that name, and called it the covenant of grace; into which they essayed to bring children before they believed, or could choose for themselves. And all colleges and superior places of learning were entirely under the command of such men for many centuries; by which means, natural affection, the force of education, temporal interest, and self-righteousness, all conspired together to bind people in that way; wherein the orthodox have claimed a right to treat all others as others have not a right to treat them. But a college is now erected at Providence upon a plan of equal liberty, where education is to be had without any sectarian or party tests. Other colleges have been erected and much of their expense borne by governments; but this has been done, entirely by personal generosity; and some men of influence have tried to crush it; therefore it calls loudly, to all lovers of knowledge and liberty, to contribute their mite towards its necessary support.

News of the definite treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain arrived in Providence on the second day of December, 1783. This treaty secured to the Colonies their independence, and the possession, says Bancroft, of all the country from the St. Croix to the Southwestern Mississippi, from the Lake of the Woods to the St. Mary's. But who, says a writer, can estimate the price paid. We can count up the millions of dollars expended, and number the lives that were lost in that contest. But who can form an estimate of the sufferings of the inhabitants at large, and of the privations they bore, in raising that sum; or, of the affliction, and sorrow, and pain, that preceded and followed the deaths of the martyrs of freedom. How grateful to the citizens of Providence especially, who had suffered more than others, and were now, in consequence of the war, destitute of many of the necessaries of life, must have been the news of peace at last. A service of thanksgiving, at the request of the town, was held

in the Baptist Meeting-house. "Good Mr. Snow," says Howland, "offered the first prayer. He began by saying, 'Convened on this solemn occasion.' Doct. Hitchcock commenced, 'Assembled on this joyful occasion.' The text was, 'The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.' Doct. Manning read the Psalms, and offered the concluding prayer. These three were all the ministers then belonging to the town, except Mr. Graves, who had ceased to officiate."

CHAPTER XI.

1784-1785.

Letter to Manning from the Rev. Dr. Rippon, of London — Most of the Baptist ministers in England on the side of America in the war — Manning's reply to Rippon — Apostasy of Rev. Elhanan Winchester — Sketch of Hon. Asher Robbins — Baptists compelled to contribute to the support of Pedobaptist worship in Massachusetts and Connecticut — Resolution of the Warren Association in reference thereto — Letter to Rev. Thomas Ustick on the subject — Sketch of Rev. Elhanan Winchester — His troubles with the Baptist church in Philadelphia — Two letters to Rev. Dr. Smith — William Wilkinson and the College Grammar School — Extract from the *Providence Gazette* respecting the transfer of the school from the College to the brick school-house — Letter to Rev. Dr. Caleb Evans, of Bristol, England — Condition of the College — Efforts to add to its funds and to increase its library — Evans's reply to Manning — Illustration of Manning's numerous and perplexing cares — Letter from Rev. A. Booth — Manning's reply — Letter to Rev. John Ryland, Jr. — Letter to Rev. Dr. Rippon, introducing Dr. Solomon Drowne, of Providence — Sketch of Dr. Drowne — Letter to Hon. David Howell, in Congress — Letter to Rev. Thomas Ustick — Degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred on Manning by the University of Pennsylvania — Second letter to Hon. David Howell — Letter to Thomas Mackaness, Esq., of London — Manning's plan to establish a library for the Baptist Association in Kentucky — Letter to Rev. Dr. Evans — Manning's philanthropic efforts to enlighten the illiterate Baptist ministers of Kentucky and Virginia — Extract from Semple's History of the Baptists of Virginia — Letter to Manning from Hon. Granville Sharp, of London — Manning's reply — Library increased to two thousand volumes — Ecclesiastical matters pertaining to the Episcopal Church — Letter to Rev. Dr. Rippon — Biographical sketch of Rev. Stephen Gano — Character of Hon. Stephen Hopkins, the first Chancellor of the College — Letter from Rev. Dr. Evans announcing a donation of books to the College Library from the Bristol Education Society — Character of the donation and of the aforesaid Society — Letter to Hon. David Howell in behalf of the Corporation, urging him to use his influence with the members of Congress in favor of a petition for indemnity for injuries which the College building sustained during the war — Death of Hon. Joseph Brown — Correspondence between Manning and John Gill, of London, respecting the publications of Rev. Dr. John Gill — List of Dr. Gill's published works — Pleasant bibliographical "morceau" respecting the first volume of Backus's Ecclesiastical History.

THE following letter is from the Rev. Dr. John Rippon, of London, successor of the Rev. Dr. Gill. The remarkable statement which he makes, that all the Baptist ministers in London but two, and most of the Baptist clergy in the country, were on the side of the Americans in

the "late dispute," as he mildly terms the war, is as gratifying to us of the present day as it doubtless was to Manning and his friends. The reader of the correspondence now begun will readily perceive that Dr. Rippon, from his character and position, was well qualified to judge of the views and feelings of his brethren in matters of public moment.

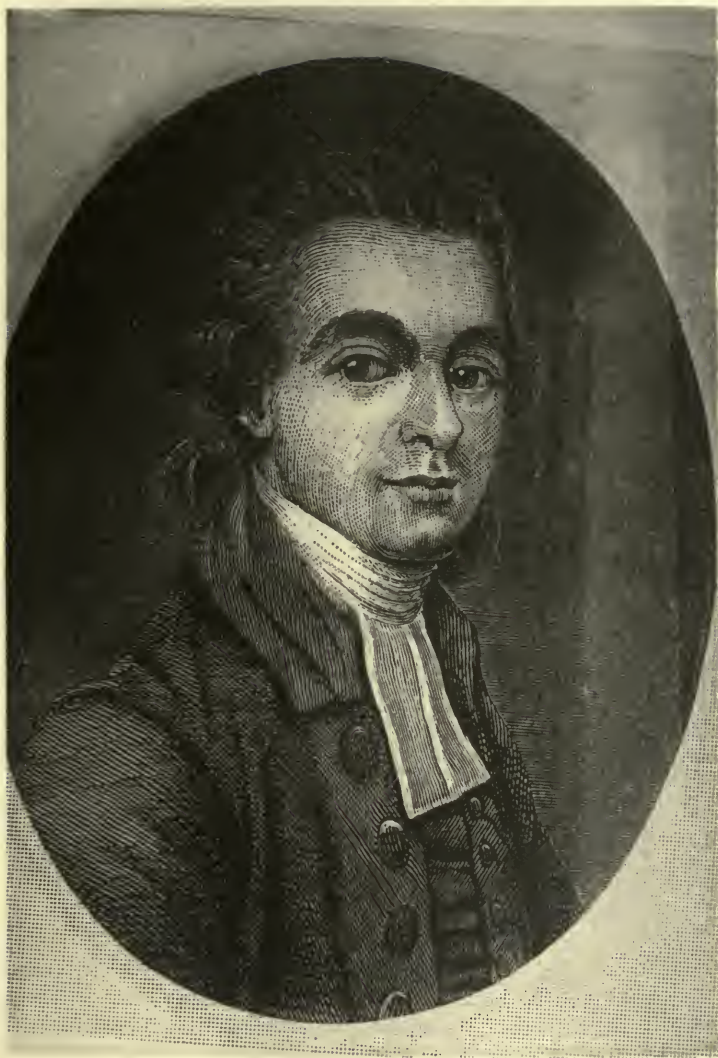
GRANGE ROAD, SOUTHWARK, May 1, 1784.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

I have long wished for an opportunity of introducing myself to you and to several other brethren on your side of the Atlantic. And as God in his wisdom has now put an end to the late bloody and unrighteous war, and opened a free communication between this country and America, I take the liberty, by the hands of your neighbor, Mr. Chase, (who speaks in the highest terms of you, Messrs. Stillman, Gano, etc.), of soliciting such a Christian correspondence as your wisdom may suggest, and your large connections and many avocations may permit.

To describe myself is a work *less proper* than what I wish to be employed in; but as it is probable my name has never reached your ears, it may not be altogether *improper* to hint that I was born at Tiverton, in Devonshire, about forty miles from Plymouth, and about sixteen from Upton, where my father is minister. I was called by grace, I trust, when about sixteen years of age, became a student at Bristol under the Rev. Messrs. Hugh and Caleb Evans when I was between seventeen and eighteen, and continued there between three and four years. After the death of Dr. Gill, I was invited thence to town as a probationer amongst his people, and with them have been comfortably settled as pastor for more than eleven years. The church now consists of about three hundred members, many of whom are very lively, affectionate, and evangelical. The declaration of their faith and practice, which they made at their admission, is at the close of the three volumes of sermons and tracts accompanying this, your acceptance of which will do me an honor, if you consider them as a small token of the great affection I bear you as a faithful and honored servant of our illustrious Master.

Whatever scepticism attacks my mind, of this I am certain, that there are brethren in your country "whom not having seen I love." This has frequently turned to me for a testimony of my having passed from death unto life. Nor did I least of all experience this in the year 1780, when Mr. Wallin (who left earth for heaven in the beginning of the year 1783) received a letter from Boston containing an account of a great revival through New England, and in which it was said Mr. Winchester was very instrumental. I sent this account to Mr. Evans, of Bristol, and he printed an extract from it in the following Western Association letter. It afforded a joy amongst many churches better felt than described. Some of us thought with pleasure on Isa. lix. 19.



JOHN RIPPON.

But, alas! the next account we hear is that this useful man has wofully changed his sentiments. Lord, what is man! A sermon of Mr. Wallin's, called the "Outcasts Comforted," on Isa. lxvi. 5, has been reprinted here, with an appendix said to be written by one Clarke, a mystic. It contains observations on the seventh trumpet, and a dissertation on the altar of brass called Ariel, etc. My heart has been grieved for the good man, and I have wept in secret places on his account. Is it true that Mr. Morgan Edwards, to whom I intend writing soon, has printed a book in vindication of him?

I believe all our Baptist ministers, except two, and most of our brethren in the country, were on the side of the Americans in the late dispute. But sorry, very sorry were we to hear that the College was a hospital, and the meeting-houses were forsaken and occupied for civil or martial purposes. We wept when the thirsty plains drank the blood of your departed heroes, and the shout of a king was amongst us when your well-fought battles were crowned with victory. And to this hour we believe that the independence of America will for a while secure the liberty of this country; but that if the continent had been reduced, Britain would not long have been free.

The last Warren Association letter that I have seen is dated 1779. It came with Mr. Backus's History. Since then many important things must have happened, and it may be there is much good news to be conveyed to us respecting our sister churches in the wilderness. Glad should I be to hear of the success of the gospel and of the prosperity of the College. When shall the priests of Zion be clothed with salvation, and her saints shout aloud for joy? O Lord, let "thy kingdom come," let it spread through all the world, and particularly let it come in my heart, and in the heart of thy honored servant for whom these lines are designed.

If I am not mistaken, the Baptist in this country is more flourishing than the Presbyterian or Independent. In most of our churches there is a cordial attachment to the truth as it is in Jesus, attended with a greater liberality towards others who differ from us than was formerly expressed. May a Christian contention for the truth and a general catholicism forever walk hand in hand, that unconverted men may have reason again to say, "See how these Christians love!"

This afternoon I have been employed in packing books as follows: Gill's Sermons and Tracts, 3 vols., blue boards, for yourself; do., in sheets, for that much respected man, Mr. Stillman, of Boston; a dozen of Watts's Hymns and Psalms, and half a dozen Bibles and as many Testaments, to be disposed of as you think best. Gill should have been bound neatly; but as Mr. Chase is likely to sail Monday morning, it cannot be done. Will you do me the favor of making this apology to Mr. Stillman if I have not time to write him, as I fear I shall not, for it is Saturday evening, nine o'clock, now, and it was past eight before I began this hasty scrawl.

With the above I have sent three prints,—one of the Rev. Dr. Gill, another of the

late Rev. Hugh Evans, my much esteemed tutor, and another of myself. I have not time to get them glazed and packed. The first two deserve a respectful place in the College, and the last courts no situation but a place of solitude under your hospitable roof. I shall be much obliged to you to circulate the proposals which relate to Saurin and Claude, and to notice the advertisement of Gill's books which I have sent. If any of your friends want any of them, I can procure them at bookseller's price, considerably cheaper than the printed list. It will rejoice me to be of any service to them, and more especially if they are poor ministers. I have not time to read this over now, as a person has been waiting for it while I write. Excuse my haste. Remember me respectfully, if you please, to Mr. Howell, your assistant. Pray for me, write me the first opportunity, and be assured I think it a great felicity to have any good reason to subscribe myself,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

JOHN RIPPON.

P. S. — I am this week thirty-three years of age.

Rippon is not the only one who has left on record the views and sentiments of the Baptists of England in regard to the War of the American Revolution. The celebrated Robert Hall regarded it as unrighteous as well as unpopular "with men of true liberal principles." In his published works, the well-known John Ryland, of Northampton, whom we have noticed in previous chapters as a correspondent of Manning, and a benefactor of the College, is quoted as saying on a certain occasion: — "If I were General Washington, I would summon all the American officers; they should form a circle around me, and I would address them, and we would offer a libation in our own blood, and I would order one of them to bring a lancet and a punch-bowl; and he should bleed us all, one by one, into this punch-bowl; and I would be the first to bare my arm; and when the punch-bowl was full, and we had all been bled, I would call upon every man to consecrate himself to the work, by dipping his sword into the bowl, and entering into a solemn covenant engagement by oath, one to another, and we would swear by Him that sits upon the throne, and liveth forever and ever, that we would never sheath our swords while there was an English soldier in arms remaining in America."

To this letter from Rippon Manning replies :—

PROVIDENCE, Aug. 3, 1784.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

I have now before me your most acceptable favor of May 1st, for which I return you many thanks, as well as for the package and its agreeable contents. I felicitated myself on a large and free correspondence with Christian friends in England on the return of peace, and accordingly wrote to Mr. Wallin, from New York, at the first dawn of it, but soon after received information that he had rested from his labors. By the first vessel from the State this was followed by letters to Drs. Stennett and Llewelyn and Mr. Ryland; but these, I conjecture from your letter, never reached them, since they contained such information as I judged would be wished for by our brethren on your side of the water, and such as in your letter you request. Nothing could be more agreeable than the correspondence you propose, which I shall endeavor to keep up with the greatest punctuality. Your letter did not give me the first information of your name, etc., as Mr. Wallin had favored me with the sermon and charge delivered at your settlement. But the interruption of all intercourse by means of the war, left me in a great measure ignorant of the state of our churches and ministers in England, until Dr. Stennett's letter, last fall, by Mr. Mullett, and a short acquaintance with Capt. Thomas Mesnard last May in New York, who gave me such a pleasing idea of Mr. Rippon, that I requested him to present my Christian salutation, and inform him that a letter would be highly pleasing to your unknown friend.

Your letter, it appears, was then written in consequence of Mr. Chase's recommendation, to whom I am obliged for his favorable opinion. As soon as the package of books and the prints came safe to hand, Mr. Stillman's were sent forward, together with his letter, and I shall distribute the Bibles, Testaments, Psalms, and Hymns as I think will be most serviceable to the poor. The proposals for Dr. Gill's, Saurin's, and Claude's works I have circulated; but the impoverished state of the country, and the disinclination to reading books on religious subjects, presage but a small sale at present. Some, however, will, I expect, be wanted, for which I shall expect your kindly proffered services. I most heartily rejoice at your success in the ministry, and the happy state of the church of which you are pastor. May the Lord continue to strengthen you for his service, and honor you with many more seals of your ministry. You speak the language of my heart towards brethren in your country when you express your affectionate regard for us. I conceive this results from the very nature of the religion of Jesus. Often has this prompted me to plan a voyage to Europe; but such have hitherto been, and most probably will continue to be, my embarrassments, that I shall be denied this privilege; but I hope to meet the whole family at home, and

forever enjoy their improving society above when our labors on earth are finished. The prints of Dr. Gill and Rev. Hugh Evans shall have a respectful place in the College, and as I daresay Mr. Rippon loves good company, he will excuse me for placing his there also. Not that I am unwilling to furnish it, and its agreeable original, with the best accommodations my house can afford, for this I should esteem a peculiar favor; but as I promise myself your future patronage of the College, I know of no place so suitable as that.

The apostasy of Mr. Winchester has been for a lamentation amongst us. Self-exaltation was the rock on which he split. Though he had from the first been remarkable for instability of character, he inflicted a grievous wound on the cause, especially in Philadelphia; but I think he is now at the end of his tether. His interest is declining, which will most probably prove a deadly wound. I saw him last May, and from his appearance think he has nearly run his race. His state of health will not admit of his preaching, and by a letter last week from the Rev. Thomas Ustick, who now supplies the pulpit in Philadelphia, I learn that Winchester and his friends have lost the case in their suit for the meeting-house and the property of the church. It really appeared that God owned his labors in the revival in New England. Perhaps for attempting to take the glory to himself, he has laid him aside as an improper instrument for his work, who justly challenges the whole of it as his own. From common fame, and from what I myself saw, I really think this to be the case.

Mr. Morgan Edwards has not printed in vindication of his principles, but he read me a manuscript more than a year since on that subject, which he did not own, though charged then with being the author. He did not deny it; whereby he was entreated not to add the printing of this to the long list of imprudent things which had already so greatly grieved his friends and so injured his reputation. This plainness did not please him, but I thought the use of it was duty.

Enclosed I send you the minutes of the Eastern Association since the year 1779; and as I flatter myself that my letters must have reached Dr. Stennett, etc., before this, I refer you to the information which they contain, observing in general that at the commencement of the war the glorious revival in which the College and the town of Providence, as well as many places adjacent, had so largely shared (during the continuance of which, in the course of a year, I baptized more than a hundred persons), began to decline; and except the visitation you refer to in your letter, the state of religion, saving in the frontier parts, has been on the decline until about the close of the war, since which public worship is better attended, and many souls have of late been hopefully converted. On a visit to New York and the Jerseys, the last spring, I found the people anxious for the Word, and hopeful appearances in almost every place where I was called to preach. By a letter the last week I find the work increases, especially under the ministry of Mr. Wilson, a young minister resident at Bordentown, in West Jersey, and

my Brother Gano, in New York. As Mr. Backus is here, I prevailed on him to give a sketch of the reformation between two and three hundred miles east of us, of which he has had some direct and late accounts. This, for your satisfaction, I also enclose. Lord's Day sennight I conversed with a person from there, who professed to be a subject of the work. He gave a most remarkable account of the display of God's power and grace amongst them. In general our churches appear to stand steadfast in the doctrines of grace; and indeed the Baptist churches are almost left alone in defending them against Arminians and Universalists, as our brethren of other denominations who are sound appear much discouraged. I believe I may say with truth, that the Baptist society in America increases more rapidly than any other religious denomination; but in general we are the poor of the world. God grant that we may be rich in faith.

I rejoice to hear that our Baptist brethren in England sympathized with us in our deep affliction. Our blood indeed was wantonly shed,—of this I have been a deeply interested spectator,—but I trust God meant it for good. I think I can say that I never in one instance doubted the justice of our cause, and I desire to bless God that I never thirsted for the blood of those who were shedding ours. But I wish to banish from my mind those scenes of horror.

Brotherly kindness prevails more amongst the several denominations throughout New England than heretofore, and of course the prejudices against the Baptists are greatly abated. Nothing is more common than the most cordial invitations into the pulpits of the Pedobaptists when I travel through the country. I rejoice to hear that the same spirit prevails with you. Union in Christ, in my opinion, should lead his disciples to the strongest expressions of love towards one another.

The College edifice suffered greatly by the troops, who had it in possession nearly six years. To repair these damages has been a difficult task, while denied compensation from the public, and destitute of funds for that purpose. The members of the Corporation have repeatedly submitted to make such partial repairs as were absolutely necessary to its preservation. With all these difficulties to combat, it begins, however, again to revive. It now consists of twenty-two members, and we expect an addition of several more this fall. Mr. Howell, my former colleague, has been for several years in the civil departments, and is now in the Continental Congress, where he has been upwards of two years. Mr. Asher Robbins,¹ an alumnus of Yale College, in Connecticut, is now a tutor.

¹ Hon. Asher Robbins, LL.D. He was born in Connecticut, and was graduated at Yale College in the year 1782. Soon after completing his collegiate course, he was elected a tutor under Manning, which office he held for eight years. While thus occupied in quickening the diligence of his pupils, and in imbuing their minds with a genuine relish for the varied forms of classical beauty, he sought every opportunity to cultivate his own taste for the classics, and indeed for every species of elegant learning. After resigning his tutorship, he studied law under the Hon. William Channing, of Newport, at that time the Attorney-General of Rhode Island. Here he established

Sept. 16th. As no opportunity presented to forward the above, I beg leave to add that at the anniversary meeting of the Corporation of the 1st instant, the Faculty testified their regard for Mr. Rippon by conferring on him the degree of Master in the Arts. I should have herewith sent the diploma, but could not get it written in time. Hope by the next opportunity to have it ready. Last week I attended the Association at Mr. Hunt's place in Middleborough. We had a most harmonious meeting; and though the addition to our churches is not so great as in some former years past, yet there are many promising appearances of a revival in them. There were present some ministering brethren from the eastern part of New Hampshire, and Mr. Case, of whom Mr. Backus makes mention, as being signally blessed as an instrument in turning many to God in the northeastern part of Massachusetts. They assured us that God was working wonders through a great extent of that newly-settled country, that gospel laborers were much wanted there, and that in the revivals great numbers embraced the Baptist principles. The most sorrowful accounts we received were from several places in the Massachusetts and Connecticut States, where Pedobaptists are again taxing our people, and seizing their persons and property, to compel them to support their worship. Poor men! They grudge their neighbors that liberty which they themselves enjoy, and for which, by their sides, they have fought and bled. This, however, in the issue may operate favorably. The whole body of Baptists seem determined to maintain their rights, and support those who may be called to suffer. This you will see by a resolution¹ entered into at the Association, the minutes of which I should

himself in the practice of law, and here he resided during the remainder of his life. From 1825 to 1839 he was an honored and useful member of the United States Senate. He seldom engaged in the debates of that body, but on no occasion, says Prof. Goddard, did he address the Senate without leaving on the minds of all who heard him a decided impression of his high intellectual powers and accomplishments, of his ability as a statesman, and his acquisitions as a scholar. He died at Newport, in 1845, having lived, "by reason of his strength," fourscore years and more.

Mr. Robbins was the first librarian of Rhode Island College, after the war, as we learn from a letter respecting its early history in which he thus writes: "At the reorganization of the College, in the autumn of 1782, I was appointed to the office of tutor, and took charge of the library as librarian. It was then kept in the east chamber, on the second floor, of the central building." A good likeness of Mr. Robbins is among the collection of portraits in Sayles Memorial Hall.

¹ The following is an extract from the minutes of this meeting of the Warren Association, held at Middleborough, Mass., Sept. 7, 8, 1784, of which meeting President Manning was moderator:—

"Accounts were received from various parts of our country, that distress has lately been made upon a number of our brethren and friends for the support of a way of worship which we conscientiously dissent from; which is not only a violation of the law of God, but also directly against the fundamental principles of the late Revolution in America;—therefore this Association is resolved to unite in the most prudent and vigorous measures for putting a stop to these oppressions and to maintain the just rights of our brethren and friends; and for that end makes choice of the following Committee of Grievances, to set in this cause according to their best discretion; and we will recommend it to our several societies to communicate their proportion of the necessary expense hereof. The committee chosen for this purpose are our beloved Elders Stillman, Skillman, Smith, of Haverhill, Backus, and Blood."

have now sent had they been printed. Probably Mr. Stillman may obtain and enclose them before Capt. Scott sails. Last Lord's Day our church received in two persons. I had not been called on to administer baptism before in near two years. Others appear under serious impressions. May the Lord graciously revive his work. I forgot to mention that the Hon. Joseph Brown, a member of the Corporation, a philosophical genius, was at our last meeting chosen Professor of Experimental Philosophy in this College; and Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, M. D., of Leyden, was chosen Professor of Natural History,—both of whom engaged to give lectures in their respective branches, without any expense to the College while destitute of an endowment.

I fear I have wearied your patience, and therefore, with every sentiment of esteem, rest, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother and fellow-laborer in the gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

P. S.—The enclosed packet I beg you to forward to Mr. Evans, free of expense, if you can conveniently, besides a letter to him containing a catalogue of the books in the College library. He has encouraged us to hope for those duplicates which they have by a late donation, and of which we are destitute.

President Manning's reply to a letter from the Rev. Thomas Ustick, to which reference is made in the foregoing, gives more in detail the persecutions of the Baptists under the oppressive laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut:—

TO THE REV. THOMAS USTICK, PHILADELPHIA.

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 17, 1784.

REVEREND SIR:

Yours of July 11th ult. came to hand; but having no good opportunity of sending an answer, and being much engaged otherwise, I omitted an answer until now. I am glad your long suit has determined in favor of the church. I hope God will dispose you to make a proper improvement of so distinguished a favor, and the people be disposed to employ their property to his glory. I have communicated the contents of your letter, agreeably to your request. Last week I attended the Association at Elder Hinds's, Middleborough. Had an agreeable meeting, but find the Congregationalists in Cambridge, Brookfield, Woodstock in Connecticut, with some other places, have made distress on the Baptists this last summer. Some went to jail; from others they took their stock, land, &c. This does not look much like liberty. The Association recommended the paying not the least attention to their ecclesiastical laws, and resolved that they were determined to maintain their claims of equal liberty, &c., and

would recommend to the churches to support the sufferers. I am surprised that they are not ashamed to hold up their heads, in this enlightened age, in such a shameful cause. But perhaps God means it for good.

We had several ministering brethren from New Hampshire and the northern parts of Massachusetts, who refreshed us much with good tidings from that quarter. Many have there been turned to the Lord, and the good work still goes on. The subjects of it generally adopt believer's baptism. There are great calls for gospel ministers in that quarter. I think the aspect of things is more favorable in our churches, public worship better attended, the ministry better supported, and some appearance of a revival of God's work. Even poor Providence seems to share a little. I baptized one young man last Lord's Day, and some more are under serious impressions. Mr. Ingalls preaches at Grafton. He told me the other day the people retained a great affection for you, and recently wished to hear from you. I think the College is in a growing state. I expect our number will exceed thirty at the close of vacation. At the last Corporation meeting the Faculty conferred the degree of LL. D. on Governor Hopkins, our chancellor, and of A. M. on Mr. John Rippon, Dr. Gill's successor. Mr. Joseph Brown was chosen Professor of Experimental Philosophy, and Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, Professor of Natural History. They have both engaged to lecture without salary from the College until there shall be proper endowments for those chairs. Miss Joey, daughter of Nicholas Brown, is in a decline. I believe the rest of your friends are well as usual. With sentiments of esteem and respect to Mrs. Ustick and friends,

I am, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

The Rev. Elhanan Winchester, to whom reference is made in the preceding correspondence, had been a Baptist clergyman of great repute in New England. He was born in Brookline, Massachusetts, on the 30th of September, 1751. At the age of nineteen he became pious, and united with the church in his native town. Soon afterwards he commenced the public work of the ministry. Subsequently, experiencing a change in some of his views of religion, he visited Canterbury, Connecticut, where he was baptized by Elder Ebenezer Lyon, and received as a member of the Baptist church. In the spring of 1771 he removed to Rehoboth, Massachusetts, where he remained one year. He afterwards preached in various parts of New England and South Carolina. His extraordinary memory, his eloquence, and apparent zeal, excited great interest, and multitudes flocked to hear

him. Unusual success attended his ministry, and his name became celebrated in all the churches. In the year 1781 he removed to Philadelphia, where he advocated the doctrine of universal restoration, and was excluded in consequence from the fellowship of the Baptist denomination.¹ He preached for several years to his adherents in Philadelphia, among whom his biographer includes the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush, and Dr. John Redman, first President of the College of Physicians in Philadelphia. In 1787 he removed to London. He pub-

¹ An account of this affair may be found in a little pamphlet entitled "An Address from the Baptist Church in Philadelphia, to their Sister Churches of the same Denomination, throughout the Confederate States of North America. Drawn up by a Committee of the Church appointed for said purpose," 18mo. Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Aitken, 1781, pp. 16. A few extracts from this rare pamphlet may fitly appear in this connection:—

"In the beginning of October, 1780, Mr. Elhanan Winchester, a native of Massachusetts Bay, New England, came as a messenger from the Warren Association to ours, which was then nigh at hand. Many of the members having, previous to this, repeatedly heard him preach, not the least suspicion existed but that he continued an advocate for that faith which we look upon as the *faith once delivered to the saints*. Accordingly, at a meeting for business the 9th of said month, it was agreed to use our best endeavors to prevail on him to stay, and preach for us a limited time. In two or three days after this, the Rev. Oliver Hart arrived in town from South Carolina; we were, therefore, from many considerations, prevented doing anything decisive, until the 23d, when, at an assembly both of the church and congregation, it was, by the majority then present, deemed most consistent with the resolution of the 9th (a deviation therefrom carrying with it an appearance of injustice) to give Mr. Winchester an invitation to tarry with us during the space of one year. Being waited upon, and made acquainted with the circumstances attending the choice, he answered, 'That he was sorry we were not entirely unanimous therein; but, nevertheless, consented to supply our pulpit for six months, at least, and longer if everything should prove agreeable.'

"Popular applause, the idol which too many worship, was soon discovered to be an object zealously sought for and courted by Mr. Winchester. To accomplish this, persons were every week hastily admitted to baptism, upon the slightest examination; though we really believe that among the number are several sincere Christians, who, during this season of trial, have not been ashamed openly to denounce his errors. Various innovations, contrary to our established discipline, were introduced through his means. The church undertook a reform. In some respects success attended us; in others, an obstinate adherence marked his character.

"The principal foundation of the greatest uneasiness we shall now proceed to consider. Early in the winter it was whispered to a few, that Mr. Winchester, notwithstanding his artful endeavors to conceal the same in his public discourses, held the doctrine of a final restoration of bad men and angels from hell; that the whole of Adam's progeny; yea, the devils themselves, at certain different periods, would be delivered from their torment, and made completely happy; in other words, that he peremptorily denied the endless duration or perpetuity of future punishment. The method taken by him, at first, to propagate this wicked tenet, was by 'creeping into houses, and leading captive persons of weak capacities,' wherein he met with too much encouragement. Alarmed at this authenticated report, he was at different times privately conversed with on the subject by several of the members. He did not presume to contradict it fully, and yet his confession was by no means satisfactory. Upon these occasions he would frequently intimate his inten-

lished many religious and controversial works, the most important of which are, Dialogues on Universal Restoration; Lectures on the Prophecies, 2 vols., 8vo.; Letters on the Divinity of Christ; Defence of Revelation; Oration on the Discovery of America, with an Appendix; Reigning Abominations; various sermons, etc. Mr. Winchester died on the 18th of April, 1797, aged forty-six years. He appears to have been a man of sincere piety, notwithstanding the change in his theological opinions. His biography, by the Rev. Edwin M. Stone, of Providence, was published by Brewster, of Boston, in 1836. The book, which contains an excellent portrait of Winchester, is now extremely rare.

The following letter, now for the first time published, gives interesting information respecting the College and the times:—

tion of going away, provided the smallest division took place on his account; while at the same juncture, as opportunity served, he failed not to use arguments in order to gain proselytes."

The result of all this, the Address goes on to add, was the introduction of the whole matter at a church meeting held on the 5th of March, 1781. Much debating ensued; the members became divided into two distinct parties, and finally a protest against the doctrine of universal restoration, as a dangerous heresy, was signed by sixty-seven of the most substantial and influential members of the church. This number was afterwards increased to eighty-six. Upon a motion made to wait on Mr. Winchester, and inform him that he could not, with propriety, be allowed to preach for them any longer, the protestors found themselves in a small minority, Mr. Winchester's adherents, including many of the "sisters" and younger members of the church, "being *rather* the most numerous." The church at this time numbered about one hundred and seventy. The protestors, however, conscious of having truth and justice on their side, viewed themselves as fully authorized to act independently of the new party. They accordingly appointed a committee of two to wait on Mr. Winchester at his lodgings. This committee, failing to find him at home, addressed him a letter, which he returned at once, unopened. On Thursday evening, March the 8th, his friends broke into the meeting-house, and took forcible possession thereof, Mr. Winchester preaching notwithstanding the confusion. On the ensuing Sabbath he administered the Lord's Supper. A council of ministers was now called, and committees representing the two parties were appointed to meet them, with a view to an amicable adjustment of the difficulties. Failing in this, the members of the New Party, so called, were, by advice of the council, formally excluded from the church. Subsequently Mr. Winchester was, by the action of the Philadelphia and Warren Associations, formally excluded from the fellowship of the Baptist denomination.

The Address, of which we have given the substance, was dated May 14, 1781, and signed by Samuel Miles, William Rogers, Thomas Shields, and John M'Kim. The suit for the possession of the house and property was, as we have already seen, finally decided in favor of the protestors, as they were then called. We have devoted more space than could be well spared to this matter, because of its importance, and also because it is frequently alluded to in Manning's correspondence. Indeed, Manning was himself prominent in the affair. Mr. Ustleck, Winchester's immediate successor, was received by the church on his recommendation; and he was a member of a committee appointed by the Philadelphia Association, in 1781, to investigate and report to said body the proceedings of the church in reference to Winchester and his doctrines.

TO THE REV. HEZEKIAH SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, March 18, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 25th ult. came to hand last evening. I heard that you had been threatened with a fever, and am happy in finding that you are restored again to health. We have been led through the gloomy path of affliction since I saw you. Mrs. Manning has been confined ever since the 14th of September last. For two or three of the first months I was very doubtful of her ever going abroad again. Some part of that time she seemed very near her end; but the Lord has had mercy on her, and on me also in so far restoring her, that she may venture abroad again when the weather becomes fine. Her disorders were highly bilious and very complicated. I am sorry to hear of the low state of religion with you. But you cannot draw a more dismal picture of it, than will answer to the life here, and I think you cannot well be borne down with greater discouragement than I constantly feel. Public worship here is most shamefully neglected. The College gradually increases. It consists of thirteen members, and several more are expected this spring. A catalogue of the books, which are to compose our new Library, is made out with great care and attention. It has cost me a great deal of care and labor through the winter, and we are now busy in collecting the books subscribed for here, in order to leave them out of the catalogue which Mr. John Brown is about to send to England this spring. The air pump, with its apparatus complete, is arrived. It cost fifty pounds sterling in London, and is perhaps the most complete in America, made on the new construction. Mr. Joseph Brown has not yet completed his list of the apparatus, for want of some information on that subject, which he has not yet been able to obtain.

If Mr. Wood means to enter the Sophomore Class next fall, I advise him to read with great attention, Cicero and the Greek Testament, and make himself master of the grammar of each language; also to study with great attention Lowth's English Grammar, and Sterling's, or Turner's Rhetoric, as preparatory to Ward's Oratory.—To read Horace, and Xenophon's Cyropædia, and accustom himself to compose in English. We use Guthrie's Geography, and Watt's, or Duncan's Logic;—But we do not commonly study these before the second year, as we wish to have their knowledge in the languages well advanced the first year. Should the class advance faster, I will let you know. I think a further attention at present to mathematical studies may not be advantageous. Board in Commons is down to seven shillings and sixpence per week, and I expect it will soon be lowered, perhaps the next quarter, to six shillings and ninepence. Tuition is twenty-four shillings per quarter, room rent six shillings.

We have had no account from the Jerseys since last December. All was well then. Our river is again opened, and the packets sailed for New York, so that I expect soon

to hear from that quarter. Mr. Gano removed into the city towards the last of December. We hear that the city has been greatly distressed for wood. It has sold as high as five dollars per cord. The people of Warren are building them a meeting house, and have applied to me to recommend to them a minister, who will also, at least for the present, undertake to teach a school. Perhaps Mr. Foster will be willing to pay them a visit, at least. Should you have an opportunity, I wish you to mention it to him. I am sorry your school has dwindled. But I wish you to persevere; it may rise again. Mrs. Brown died in December last, happily resigned to death, and expressing her unshaken hope in the Redeemer. I have conversed with few people in my life, who gave a more satisfactory evidence that they have slept in Jesus, than she. Mr. Brown has abundant satisfaction, as well as the rest of her friends. It has been a time of mortality with consumption this winter, in the town. Seven of my people, and some valuable friends have fallen thereby, whose loss I most sensibly feel. In the winter past, in consequence of some hints from Mr. Howell, the Corporation chose him to go to Europe this spring, and forwarded letters, etc., to him, to request him to get his business at Congress in such a train, as to comply with the request. Last week we had his answer, that he could not go on the footing of our resolution, which was to bear his necessary expenses, and give him $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. out of the proceeds of the money collected. Mr. Rogers is chosen to solicit to the Southward, and Mr. Vanhorn in the Middle States, at 10 per cent., and they complimented me with the New England States on the same terms. The Address, etc., executed to the King of France in the best manner, were also sent forward. And I wrote long soliciting letters to Drs. Stennett and Llewelyn, who have expressed concern to know the state of the College, the former in a letter to me by Mr. Mullett, an English merchant whom he recommended to me. I wrote many other letters to such as I thought were likely to patronize the College. From some of these I have reason to expect some fruit. But time must determine. In short it has been a busy winter with me in the interests of the College.

I should be happy to visit Haverhill this spring, but I believe I must go to the westward, as the state of my affairs calls loudly on me to do so. My stay, however, must be very short. I find business of one kind or another to engage all my time and attention, and I think the more so as I grow older. I hope I shall be ready and willing to quit this busy scene, when God shall call me hence. Mr. Howell is here, and desires to join with Mrs. Manning and myself and friends with best regards to you and yours, and all friends in Haverhill.

With sentiments of esteem, I am, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

From the following letter it appears that the College at this time, notwithstanding the financial embarrassments of the people in conse-

quence of the war, promised better than at any former period of its existence: —

TO THE REV. HEZEKIAH SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, July 3, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

By some means I mislaid your last to me in which you mention some buddings of a spiritual nature amongst you. I rejoice to hear it. Hope it may gloriously increase. I returned the 27th ult. Mrs. Manning sailed that day sennight to enjoy her last interview with her dear mamma, just about to leave us by a consumption, and very desirous of seeing her. She arrived at New York last Tuesday. Your friends, as far as I could hear, are in usual health. The Plains are destitute of a minister. They intend to try for Sammy Jones. Mr. Runyon is settled at Piscataway, where are some appearances of a revival. The general meeting was crowded, ten or eleven ministers present, and amongst them Mr. Hart, who, I think, will settle at Hopewell. Cranberry is visited with a revival, as are some other places in some small degree, especially under the ministry of Mr. Wilson, of Bordentown. Mr. Gano's meeting-house is completely repaired and his congregation very full. Things look rather promising in New York, though the people are poor after their exile. I never enjoyed more freedom in preaching in any journey in my life, nor was I ever more attended to. The College consists of twenty-three students, nine being added since the vacation. More than a dozen are expected to enter in the fall. We have a number of promising youth, and amongst them is my nephew Jimmy, son of Jeremiah. Mr. Wilkinson¹ is a good master. The school is

¹ William Wilkinson, who was graduated in 1783. He immediately took charge of the College Latin school, which charge he retained until 1792. He was eminently successful as a teacher, and fitted for College many of its distinguished alumni. In 1785 he was appointed librarian of the College. As the history of the Latin school forms a part of our College history, we may be pardoned for introducing here an advertisement from the *Providence Gazette*, by which it appears that the connection which had existed between the school and the College was for a time dissolved: —

“ William Wilkinson informs the public, that, by the advice of the school committee, he proposes removing his school from the College edifice, on Monday next, to the brick school-house; and, sensible of the many advantages resulting from a proper method of instruction in the English language, he has, by the committee's approbation, associated with him Mr. Asa Learned, as an English instructor. Those gentlemen and ladies who may wish to employ them in the several branches of the Greek, Latin, and English languages taught grammatically, arithmetic, and writing, may depend on the utmost attention being paid to their children. Greek and Latin at twenty-four shillings per quarter; English at sixteen shillings.

WILKINSON AND LEARNED.

PROVIDENCE, Oct. 20, 1786.”

In tracing further the history of this Latin or grammar school, we find in the records of the Corporation, under date of Sept. 4, 1794, the following: “ *Voted*, That the President use his influence and endeavor to establish a grammar school in this town, as an appendage to this College, to be under

nearly up to twenty, All the rooms in the two lower stories are now full, and we must go directly to finishing the two upper ones, at least the third,, if we can possibly devise ways and means; which I expect will be very difficult. I think the advice you gave Mr. Wood was right, and he will doubtless fare as well on the subject of advancement with us as at Jersey College. The Institution promises better now than at any period of its existence. Had we about one or two thousand pounds more to provide for a suitable tuition, I should rejoice. Secure of your interest in sending us scholars, I shall say nothing on that head, but as the bearer, Capt. Thivell, is waiting, must conclude with best wishes to you, lady, and all friends.

Yours, as ever,

JAMES MANNING.

P. S. — Miss Joey Brown, daughter of Nicholas, is fast declining. Her disorder is thought to be the consumption.

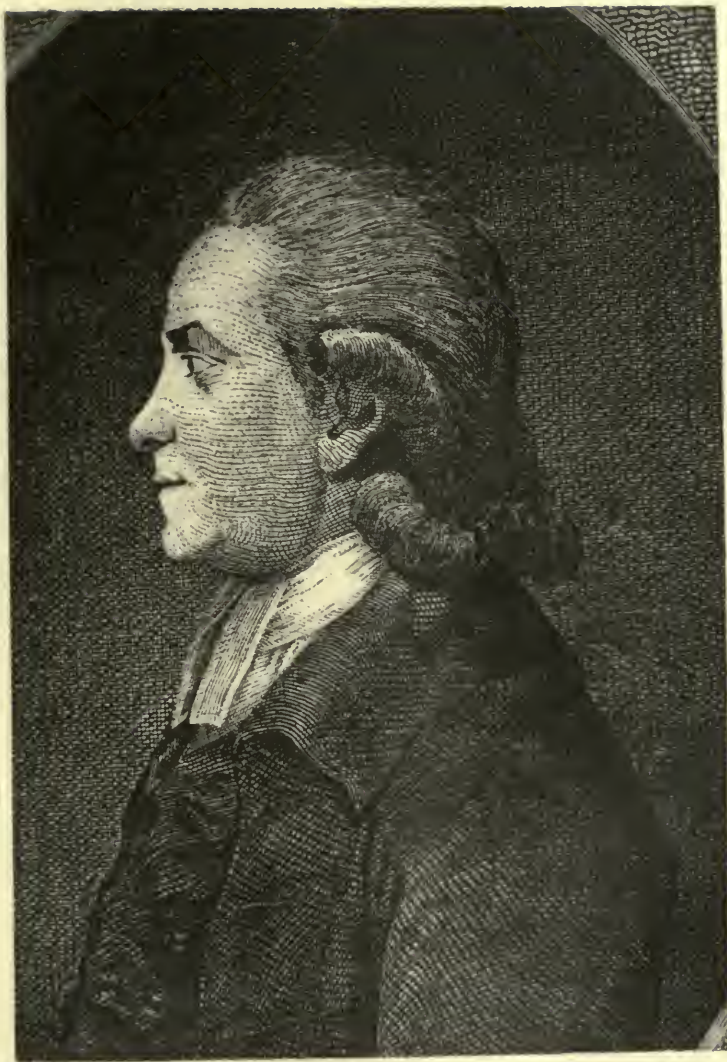
President Manning now begins a correspondence with the Rev. Dr. Caleb Evans, President of the Baptist academy in Bristol. His father was the Rev. Hugh Evans, one of the most distinguished Baptist ministers of his day. Dr. Evans proved to be a warm friend of the College, and was the means of securing valuable books for the Library. He died on the 9th of August, 1791, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He published a collection of hymns, and numerous sermons and addresses, the greater part of which are to be found in the Library. "Our Baptist College in America," says Dr. Rippon, "was proud to confer on him her highest honors, in which she was followed by the principal and professors of the King's College, Aberdeen, in the year 1789."

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 13, 1784.

REVEREND SIR:

I have long wished for a favorable opportunity of introducing myself to you, and am happy that one has at length offered, by answering your request in a late letter to my friend and brother, Rev. Samuel Stillman, of Boston. Enclosed is the catalogue of all the books now belonging to the College. Nearly one-half of them have their

the immediate visitation of the President, and the general inspection of the town's school committee, and that the President also procure a suitable master for such school." This resolution was doubtless carried into effect. Fifteen years afterwards, as we have already stated in a previous chapter, the Corporation erected a brick building for the accommodation of the school, at an expense of fifteen hundred dollars. This building, which has since been enlarged, is the one now occupied as the "University Grammar School."



CALEB EVANS.

bindings much broken, as they were old when presented. Besides the enclosed we have ordered out from London this fall about fourteen hundred volumes, a catalogue of which we sent to Dr. Stennett, requesting his advice to the merchants, Messrs. Champion and Dickinson, in the purchase of them, hoping that he may point out where they can be had second-hand, etc. Of this you may obtain a sight by applying to the Doctor. Together with that we sent a catalogue of books which we are not able to purchase, but which we should be glad to receive by way of donation, should any of our friends be so disposed. Were I not oppressed with cares, and at present destitute of assistance, I would send them to you also. If, however, I can make out a copy of these catalogues before the ship sails, they shall accompany this. The above-mentioned fourteen hundred volumes are a donation from our treasurer, John Brown, Esq., of Providence. The amount of two hundred pounds sterling was also ordered to be expended in the purchase of a necessary philosophical apparatus, in addition to what we already have, consisting chiefly of a telescope, an air-pump and its apparatus, globes, and a thermometer. The money for this order was subscribed by other members of the Corporation last fall. A list of these articles was also forwarded to Dr. Stennett.

Your kind attention to the interests of the College, and the proffer of your services, were sensibly felt by the Corporation at their annual meeting this present month; and it is in obedience to their commands, imposed by the following vote, that I now write: "*Voted*, That the Rev. Messrs. President Manning and Samuel Stillman be a committee to write to the Rev. Hugh Evans, of Bristol, and other gentlemen in England, and enclose the catalogue of books belonging to the College, and endeavor to procure such donations in books, apparatus, and money as may be obtained from thence; and also consult Dr. Stennett on the expediency of sending a person to England to solicit donations for the College."

At the commencement of the war the College was in a growing state. The number of students was about forty, and there was a good Latin school in the edifice. In 1776 it was delivered up, or rather taken possession of, by the troops as a barrack and hospital, and continued to be occupied by the militia, Continental and French troops, and seamen, until June, 1782. During this period the house sustained great damages, for which we have received no compensation yet, nor have we much prospect of it in future. This has thrown a heavy burden on the Corporation, and greatly embarrassed them in making the necessary repairs, especially as our fund is small. This we have made many efforts to augment by collections, etc., in this country, but to so little purpose that our whole fund produces but about sixty pounds sterling per annum. The distressed and exhausted state of the country by war, leaves us little room soon to hope for much from this quarter, especially as money is become so scarce that our people in the country, although possessed of property, cannot command sufficient to pay their

taxes. We are unwilling, however, to relinquish our design, as it is evident that the Institution has already greatly contributed to the perpetuity of our denomination, and begins again to attract public attention. The number of students already in College, and of those we expect in the course of the fall, is upwards of thirty. In teaching I have the assistance of one Tutor. A small Latin school is kept up in the College. Any services you can render in endowing it will be most acceptable to the Corporation.

Last week I attended our Association at Middleborough, and though several of the remote churches did not send messengers, a great number of Christian friends met and enjoyed a harmonious and agreeable interview. Were the minutes printed I would enclose them. In several places there is a happy revival of religion, especially in the eastern parts of Massachusetts, and I am not without encouragement under my poor ministry. The doctrine of religious, as well as civil liberty, is in general better understood in New England than before the Revolution, notwithstanding in places the persons and property of several of our friends have been seized on for ministerial rates. I think it not improbable that the rapid increase of our society will provoke some of our neighbors to give us much trouble; but it affords encouragement that the whole body are determined to maintain their rights and support the burden which may first fall upon individuals. Possibly the knowledge of this resolution entered into at our last annual meeting may deter our oppressors. If not, may the great Head of the church furnish us with grace to suffer like Christians.

I have often heard of your Education Society, and of its great utility in training up young men for the ministry. My highly respected friend and your brother-in-law, Thomas Mullett, Esq., gave me the best account of it which I have yet received; still, if it be not too troublesome I should be glad to receive further information respecting it, and I will engage to repay it in any information you may wish for in my power to give.

In a letter to Dr. Stennett, last fall, I gave a pretty full account of the state of religion and some other matters in this new world; it was in answer to his request in a letter by Mr. Mullett. If this letter reached him, it is not improbable that you have seen it, as I requested him to communicate the contents to those of our friends who might wish to hear from us. On the opening again of the communication between both countries, it was pleasing to find our brethren in England, at least a great number of them, so much interested in our welfare. How strong a proof this of the reality of that Christian love and unity in the spirit which is the genuine fruit of a gracious principle! The same temper is manifested here towards our brethren in England. There is the same joy expressed on hearing that Christ's kingdom is advancing with you which appeared before the war. And why should it not be so, since his kingdom is but one? Dependence or independence therefore should make no difference amongst his subjects, who consist of the elect out of different people, nations, and languages. The

privilege of a correspondence with Mr. Evans I shall highly prize, if not too troublesome to him; and he may depend on punctuality on the part of his unworthy friend and brother,

JAMES MANNING.

To this letter Dr. Evans replies: —

BRISTOL, ENGLAND, Jan. 26, 1785.

DEAR SIR:

As the extensive connections in which my brother is engaged on your wide-extended continent render it advisable for him once more to traverse the mighty waters, and to pay a visit to his American friends, in which number you hold a distinguished place, I gladly embrace the opportunity of accepting your correspondence, and replying to your favor of the 13th of September last, which I received in due course in November. I shall be truly happy to do anything in my power to promote the prosperity of the infant College over which you so worthily preside, and shall omit no opportunity that offers of testifying my regards to it. Charity, you know, the old proverb says, should *begin* at home, but I think it should not *end* there, but flow on without control to the utmost limits of possibility. I had so little time with Dr. Stennett when I was in London that we had no opportunity of entering upon the affairs of your College as I wished to have done, nor could I have a sight of the catalogue of the books lately purchased. I shall nevertheless pursue the design of obtaining for you such of our duplicates as may be worthy your acceptance, without strictly adhering to what you already have, because you may easily exchange, as you observe, such as may prove superfluous. But this cannot be accomplished till August next, as our Society will have no meeting till that time. As to a person's coming over here to solicit benefactions, I rather fear it would not at present be advisable; but should Dr. Stennett think otherwise, and a proper person should come, especially if it were either yourself or Dr. Stillman, I would readily use my utmost efforts to promote his success. Our friends in general are well enough affected to America, but many of them have very little idea of the utility of academical institutions, though it is evident the prejudices are wearing away. I am sorry to see, as well by the account Mr. Mullett gives me as by your letter, that religion is at so low an ebb amongst you, though I doubt not the time will come when it will again run and be glorified. There have been on your continent, in years past, many enemies against revivals, and your set time to favor Zion will, I doubt not, yet come again. Your church is, however, I hear, flourishing, as also Mr. Stillman's, and some others. Blessed be God, we have cause for thankfulness here. One of our churches in this city lately baptized twenty, and probably before this letter leaves this place I shall have the pleasure of receiving something more than an equal number to

the solemn rite. And yet still we have much cause to complain of lukewarmness and formality. Dr. Stennett's Discourse on Domestic Duties you have probably seen, and probably Mr. Booth's treatise on Baptism, the most elaborate and decisive performance upon that subject that has ever yet been published, or probably ever will be. I enclose you one of our last Associational letters, and a sermon lately published by one of our ministers on Walking by Faith, which I beg your acceptance of, as also a fifth volume of Saurin to complete the set which Mr. Mullett tells me he presented to your College, and which he had of me for his own use on the voyage. Amongst the books you may expect in the fall are the Polyglott General Dictionary, 10 vols., including Bayle's Biographical Dictionary, and many others equally valuable. I shall wish your direction how to send them. I will, my dear sir, detain you no longer than to express my warmest wishes for the increasing prosperity of the church and College over which you preside, the revival of the interests of literature and true religion through the American continent and the whole world, and recommend my brother to your continued friendship. I remain,

Yours affectionately, in the endearing bonds of gospel love,

CALEB EVANS.

In his correspondence with Evans, Dr. Manning, it will be observed, speaks of being "oppressed with cares." The number and variety of his cares may be inferred from the following amusing extract from a letter written by Dr. Waterhouse, which we find quoted in the memoir by Professor Goddard: "I never shall forget what Dr. Manning, in great good humor, told me were among his 'trying experiences.' He told me that his salary was only eighty pounds per annum, and that for this pittance he performed all the duties of President of the College; heard two classes recite every day; listened to complaints, foreign and domestic, from undergraduates and their parents, of both sexes, and answered them, now and then by letter; waited generally on all transient visitors into College, etc. Nor was this all. 'I made,' said Dr. Manning, 'my own garden, and took care of it; repaired my dilapidated walls; went nearly every day to market; preached twice a week, and sometimes oftener; attended, by solicitation, the funeral of every baby that died in Providence; visited the sick of my own society, and not unfrequently the sick of other societies; made numerous parochial visits, the poorest people exacting the longest, and, in case of any seem-

ing neglect, finding fault the most.'” Amid all these perplexing cares, which allowed him but scanty time for premeditating his sermons, we have the testimony of Dr. Waterhouse for adding that “the honorable and worthy man never complained.”

REV. ABRAHAM BOOTH TO MANNING.

LONDON, June 30, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

It is with pleasure that I reflect on a restoration of intercourse between Great Britain and America, after so long an interruption by so destructive a war. May a kind Providence yet render the two countries mutually useful to each other. Having a favorable opportunity, I here present you with a publication. Shall be glad to hear of their obtaining your approbation.

You will much oblige me by transmitting the enclosed parcel to Mr. Stillman; and you will increase the obligation by favoring me with a few lines your first opportunity.

Taking it for granted that Dr. Stennett will give you some account of the state of religion amongst us in the country, I have nothing to add but my ardent prayers that a kind Providence may bless your confederated provinces with peace and prosperity, and that the great Head of the church may cause pure and undefiled religion to flourish in all your academies, your churches, and through all your extensive country. I conclude, and remain,

Your cordial friend and unworthy brother,

A. BOOTH.

P. S.—Mr. Benjamin Wallin died upwards of two years ago.

To the above Manning replies:—

PROVIDENCE, Oct. 3, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

On my return from New York, four days ago, I was so happy as to find a line from Mr. A. Booth, accompanied with the publications mentioned. My present hurry has permitted me to examine but little more than the titlepages, but from my predilection for the author of the *Reign of Grace*, I am persuaded any publication of his will be highly acceptable. My next shall inform you of my opinion of the publications on perusal. In the mean time I beg you to accept my hearty thanks for the donation. By the ship *Hope*, belonging to this town, and by the bearer, Dr. Solomon Drowne, who goes as a passenger in her, I embrace the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of yours. Mr. Drowne is a son of the College, a gentleman of remarkable modesty, who,

having passed through the best medical schools in this country, now visits Europe with views of further improvement in the line of his profession. He is a member of the Corporation, and of unblemished character, on whose information you may safely rely respecting the College, or any other matters. As such I beg leave to introduce him to your notice, and refer you to him for particulars.

The restoration of public tranquillity and a free intercourse between the two countries, after so long an interruption, is matter of thanksgiving to God. Few, perhaps, in either country, more sincerely regretted this interruption than your unworthy friend; to which no consideration could ever reconcile him except that of making a part of the plan of His administration who is infinite in wisdom. Conciliatory measures, I doubt not, will render both countries reciprocally useful.

I have transmitted the letter and parcel to Mr. Stillman by a safe hand. I have not yet been so happy as to receive a line from Dr. Stennett, which I am daily expecting, with the wished-for information. Enclosed I send you a copy of our last Association minutes. This will give you a general view of the state of a number of our churches. Since that time I have received authentic accounts of a most glorious work of God, in what is called the State of Vermont, formerly the Hampshire grants, on the west side of Connecticut River. It extends over well-nigh half the peopled part of that territory, and appears increasing. The eastern part of Massachusetts continues still to be remarkably visited in the same way, and the prospect brightens at New York and in many parts of the Western States. Some drops have also fallen on Providence, Newport, and Swansea, with several other places. My attention, however, is so much called for at the College, that I cannot visit, as I wish to, and rejoice together with them. A long letter to Dr. Stennett, last fall, which you have probably seen, gave some general accounts of the state of religion amongst us since the commencement of the war. I shall not therefore repeat what I then wrote, — only observe that two of the leaders in what they called the New Dispensation, but others the Shaking Quakers, have, notwithstanding their boasted immortality, lately died; one of whom was, as they termed her, the elect lady. The adherents, I am told, to that fanatical system, are falling off and renouncing it. Their folly indeed has been abundantly manifest. It is the general opinion of serious people that these shakings presage something glorious to the church of God. May the Lord grant an accomplishment of their wishes.

The mournful news of Mr. Wallin's death reached us more than a year ago. When he died a truly great man in Israel fell; but I doubt not it was his gain.

Your ardent wishes for our national prosperity, but more especially for that of the churches of Christ in this new world, are peculiarly acceptable. Permit me to repay them by wishes as ardent for Great Britain and Ireland, those lands of our forefathers' nativity, and for the advancement of the glorious kingdom of our common Lord throughout the whole world.

A line from Mr. Booth will always be very acceptable to his sincere friend and unworthy brother,

JAMES MANNING.

TO THE REV. JOHN RYLAND, JR.

PROVIDENCE, NOV. 12, 1784.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

I beg leave to embrace this opportunity to confess my fault in not forwarding your diploma before now. By some unaccountable neglect it was mislaid till a few days since.

You will forgive the execution, as the writing is but indifferent, nor could we at that time procure it done otherwise. It is, however, a small testimony of our regard for the merit of Mr. Ryland, and as such we beg you to accept it.

The long and agreeable correspondence I was honored with by your father (to whom I have written since the war) leads me to wish for the continuance of it. But if his advanced age or engagements forbid it, I wish for it from his son, and, as I am told, successor in the school at Northampton. I heartily wish you success in the important employment of educating youth, and in preaching the gospel of our glorious Saviour.

We have seen days of sorrow during the late calamitous war, but blessed be God that I have lived to see a period to it, and a free intercourse again opened between us and Great Britain. Some agreeable letters have already reached me from several friends in England, more of which I hope for soon; also more particular accounts of the state of religion in general and your society in particular. I long to read some of those old-fashioned letters from Rev. John Ryland in this way. They will, however, be very acceptable from his son.

The College is reviving. Thirty students have already entered, and more are expected. We have in part repaired the damages of the house, which were very great, by the wanton waste of the soldiery. I have the assistance of one Tutor. We need more help, but the low state of our funds will not support another, and the scarcity of cash at present in this country forbids our hopes of augmenting our little stock. We were so fortunate, in the wreck of public credit during the war, as to preserve our little fund undiminished. In the eastern part of Massachusetts and in the State of Vermont there is a most glorious work of God, which has continued for some time and still increases. Please to present my best regards to your honored father, and believe me, with every sentiment of esteem, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother,

JAMES MANNING.

TO THE REV. DR. RIPPON.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 12, 1784.

This will be handed you by my friend, Dr. Solomon Drowne, of Providence, a son of the College, a gentleman of great modesty, who visits your city with views of further medical improvement. I beg leave to recommend him to you as a man of good character, and a Fellow of the College. Through him you may receive what information you wish respecting the College, etc. Together with this you will receive the diploma I mentioned in my last. We beg you to accept it as a testimony of our respect for the character and merit of Mr. Rippon. I must apologize for the writing. It was done in a hurry and by a young hand.

The Lord's work still goes on gloriously in the eastern parts of Massachusetts and Vermont. By recent advice from these parts we are assured that whole congregations, almost, of Congregationalists, embrace the Baptist principles; and in one instance their minister was baptized with his people. Several useful ministers are raised up amongst them lately in that wilderness. This looks somewhat like the coming of our Redeemer's kingdom. With me you say amen! Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. In great haste, I am, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother and fellow-believer in Jesus,

JAMES MANNING.

We have already referred to Dr. Drowne in a previous chapter as a graduate in 1773. Upon his return from Europe, he practised medicine in Providence for awhile, then removed to Ohio, thence to Pennsylvania, and finally settled in the town of Foster, Rhode Island, where he passed the remainder of his days in professional and agricultural pursuits, and in the cultivation of his taste for botany and for elegant letters. He died in 1834, at the advanced age of eighty-one years.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 23, 1784.

TO THE HONORABLE DAVID HOWELL,

MEMBER OF CONGRESS IN PHILADELPHIA:

SIR:— Before you receive this, you will doubtless be advised of the melancholy situation of our common friend, Mr. Joseph Brown, who, upwards of four weeks since, received a violent shock of an apoplexy and numb palsy combined, which for some time caused his physicians and friends to despair of his life. But though he is much recovered, as to the use of his limbs and his speech, it forbids, in a great measure, our indulging a hope of his restoration to former usefulness. Joey, daughter of Nicholas Brown,

still survives, but is in the last stage of her disorder. Mrs. Thurston, wife of the elder, died of the small pox last Friday. He and his family have it by inoculation, and are in a hopeful way to recover. I left Newport last Monday morning. Your family are in usual health, for aught I have heard to the contrary since my return. Mr. Wilkinson speaks favorably of Jeremiah's proficiency in, and attention to, Greek.

I have nothing new to advise you respecting the College. Our number is above thirty. We have heard that you very soon adjourned to Philadelphia, after your meeting at Trenton. I suppose you find better living and more diversion in the city; to which, if members of Congress are not entitled, I beg leave to know who are? I hope you will be good natured, unanimous, and attentive to the public business, conducting it to the great honor and advantage of the United States.

What think you of an application to Congress for the rents and damages of the College? Will it do this session or not? I fear it will become an old story, and that we, in the issue, will lose the whole, if we defer it longer. What we ask is not only just, but greatly wanted at present. I beg you to feel round amongst the members, and form a judgment of the probability of success in case of an application. Should things appear promising, I will forward the papers, and indeed will come myself, *Deo volente*, in the spring, if you think it can be of any use.

You remember I mentioned to you the case of our farm in the Jerseys, and our thoughts of selling it for public securities. What is your opinion? Will Congress, this session, provide for paying the interest on final-settlement notes equally with that of loan-office certificates, or not? From the face of things at present with you, is it your opinion that public securities will appreciate soon? If so, which species of them are the most likely to do so? If Congress takes up this subject, how long do you expect it will be first? I wish a resolution of these queries when your leisure will permit. Are you likely to open a land-office soon, to dispose of any of the Western territory? What concessions have the Indians made to the commissioners sent out to treat with them? Will they sell any part of their lands to the States? or do they oppose our extending our settlements? What will be the terms, if Congress opens an office, on which they will dispose of their lands? It is the ardent wish here that something may speedily be done with our new acquisitions towards raising our public credit, and alleviating the burdens of taxation, under which the people at present groan. And if the way is paved by the commissioners, I see no reason for losing time, as money daily grows scarcer. This must affect the price of them greatly, at a future distant period, unless some expedient can be hit on to replenish the States with that useful article. Will not Congress establish a mint for the Union? I think this measure would be attended with advantage. While we neglect it, do we not, apparently, betray a diffidence or distrust of the continuance of our independence? A national coin would serve to strengthen the sinews of government, in my opinion, and might be managed

so as to secure a medium in the country, I should think, which is certainly a great national object. But you will begin to smile at my scribbling politics, and I shall provoke your risibilities no further; concluding by inquiring how you found friends in the Jerseys, requesting a line from you at your first leisure, and, joined with Mrs. Manning, presenting my best compliments. With sentiments of esteem, I am, respectfully,

Yours, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

TO THE REV. THOMAS USTICK, PHILADELPHIA.

PROVIDENCE, March 4, 1785.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Unwilling to saddle you with postage to the amount of three or four shillings, as I had no other medium of conveyance, I have now before me yours of December 24th, and January, to which I have given you no answer. I presume, from not mentioning in your last the indisposition of your family, that your children are recovered. This, at least, I hope, is the case. In addition to the procedure of the Pedobaptists, mentioned in my last, I now have to inform you that some time in this winter they took three of Mr. Thomas Green's people for minister's rates, and put them into Cambridge jail. You recollect that he lives in that town. Our friends have prosecuted them, and the trial comes on there the 9th inst. Perhaps a degree of this opposition to the truth of the gospel is necessary to engage a suitable attention to its importance. It is no argument in favor of the disposition of those who make it, but it may be a means of great good to those against whom it is made.

Some revivals in various parts of New England are encouraging amidst these trials. Providence in a small degree is blessed with some quickenings amongst Christians, and a few instances of late awakenings. I hope you may yet rejoice on this account in Pennsylvania.

The state of the College is as promising as we could reasonably expect. Our number is thirty-one, and more are expected to enter this spring. Mr. John Brown is about finishing the third story, which we expect to want in the course of this year, if those whom we expect should come. I believe our students are as orderly, industrious, and as good scholars as at any one period of the Institution. One Tutor is all the assistance which I have at present, Mr. Robbins, from Connecticut, who gives good satisfaction. Probably I shall be able to answer your request relative to Mr. Brown this spring before I visit the Jerseys, which I expect to do in May, without some unforeseen cause should prevent it. The Corporation at that time had resolved on an application to Congress for reparation of the damage done the College during its appropriation to public uses through the war, and have resolved to send me on that errand. In this I

shall want every assistance from the friends of the Institution, by letters to the members, etc. If your acquaintance with any of them will enable you to aid me, I know I am sure of that aid.

Mr. Joseph Brown's indisposition is indeed a very heavy stroke to us. The College and the church particularly feel it. There is little probability of his ever being restored to his former usefulness, though he again goes a little abroad. I have attended to your request in respect to the minutes you enclosed. I am sorry to hear of the acrimony among you respecting the officers of government. I think it very imprudent in the Presbyterians, as well as injurious, to wish to engross these to themselves. But that profession has been of old impeached of a propensity this way, and, as St. Paul somewhere says, I partly believe it.

As I am thoroughly conscious of my want of qualifications for the honor you mention, so I do not wish it. It is perhaps, at best, but an empty sound, and rendered, in too many instances, still more so by the character of those on whom it has been bestowed, for a place in whose catalogue I have no ambition. I thank you, however, for your kind attention. You have my hearty thanks for your expressions of friendship to the College. You reason rightly with the Baptists respecting this matter, who, one would think, have sufficient proofs of the propriety of it, from the struggles amongst themselves. But we are, and ever have been, in these respects, a wrong-headed people. I am happy to have a better opinion of their hearts. I hope Mr. Rogers's lecturing may be of use, and that you may both labor with great success, and, as father Alden says, "with good agreement."

I am sensible that your attention to a school must greatly interfere with your discharge of the duty of a pastor, but I hope this may not be without its good effect to counterbalance that loss, since there appears to be a *needs be* for it. In your letter to Mr. Pitman you mentioned Winchester, in possession of his fifth wife and a red coat. Please, in your next, to give us the particulars of that eccentric genius, his adherents, success, etc., etc.

Mrs. Manning has been restored to her health for some time, except a cold, which at present incommodes her. Joey Brown died in the fore part of winter,—as ripe for heaven, by every evidence which could be wished for, as almost any person I ever saw. Many have dropped off this winter in this town and Newport by chronic complaints, but at present good health is more prevalent.

With best respects to Mrs. Ustick and friends, in which Mrs. Manning joins, and with sentiments of esteem, I am, as ever,

Yours, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

It appears from this letter that Mr. Ustick, who was now the esteemed pastor of the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia, had inter-

ested himself in obtaining for his beloved President and Instructor the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity, which he soon afterwards received from the University of Pennsylvania. The original parchment, which is in the writer's possession, is dated May 6, 1785. It is signed by "Johannes Ewing, S. T. D. Phil. Nat. Prof. et Praefectus, Samuel Magill, S. T. D. Phil. Mor. Prof. et Vice-Praefectus," and Professors James Davidson, Robert Patterson, Henry Helmuth, William Shippen, Adam Kuhn, and Benjamin Rush. Dr. Rush is said to have been, before the war, one of the hearers of Dr. Rogers, — attracted, doubtless, by his eloquence. He was in College with President Manning at Princeton two years, having been graduated in the class of 1760. The parchment, which is exceedingly interesting as an illustration of the way in which honorary degrees were conferred a century ago, thus commences: — "Quum Honos sit Virtutis praemium, ideoque apud omnes Academias usitatum sit, ut qui moribus, ingenio et optimarum Artium cognitione prae caeteris eminent, ii maximis laudibus et summis honoribus afficiantur: Nos igitur Universitatis Pennsylvaniae Praefectus, Vice-Praefectus et Professores hoc scripto testatum volumus, virum admodum Reverendum Jacobum Manning Ecclesiae quae est Providentiae in Nova Anglia Pastorem et Universtatis ejusdem loci Praesidem Sacrosanctae Theologiae Doctoris titulem," etc. President Manning, it will be observed in his letter to Mr. Ustick, refers to his "want of qualifications" for the honor, and adds: — "I do not wish it," etc. As it was conferred, in the language of Rev. Augustus Toplady, "like grace from heaven, unthought of, unimplored," he did not refuse it, and carefully preserved the parchment as a choice treasure.

PROVIDENCE, March 21, 1785.

TO THE HONORABLE DAVID HOWELL,

IN CONGRESS AT NEW YORK:

SIR:— And the snow three and four feet deep! what do you think of that? How do you think Mrs. Howell fares this inclement, protracted winter?— not to mention the cows, old Sorrel, etc., in regard to hay. But I beg pardon for calling your attention from that higher region where you are conversant, in settling the nation, to these sub-

lunary things. To be serious, we have not only had a hard winter, but the spring thus far, is much of the same tenor. We talk here of removing to the temperate climate of Kentucky to avoid this snow and frost, which throw us into a torpid state so great a part of the year. I saw your papa and family at meeting yesterday; all well. Your friends in general are well. I have enclosed Mr. Carter's paper of the 12th instant, containing the law made at the last session of the General Assembly in relation to the impost, in Mr. Van Horn's letter, which I authorize you to open that you may see it, provided you have not yet received it. But I beg you to reëndorse it and direct it to Mr. Van Horn, to be left at Mr. Ustick's. The College remains *in statu quo idem*, the church, congregation, politics of the town, etc., for aught I know. I thank you for the newspapers you sent me. I think the address to the York Assembly *labored*. Will it compass their ends? It is diverting enough to hear Doctors Ewing and Rush endeavoring to expose each other for their *latent* zeal for the *Kirk*, and exhibiting to the world the *naked truth*. If, by their quarrel, *an old proverb should be verified*, it might afford matter of rejoicing to many. But they are members of the *militant* church, and so I leave them to box it out. I told you in my last that the Corporation had resolved to send me forward in the spring to Congress, as you desired. But as you did not give much encouragement of success from the application, I beg leave to inquire what you think of the probability of our procuring a grant of some part of the Western territory, instead of a grant of money, as I perceive, by your letter to Mr. Brown, you expect a land-office to be opened in the spring? This would not augment the public debt, and would in time be productive for the College. Rather than get nothing, I should be glad to accept of this. This, however, is only a thought of my own, and suggested for your consideration, on which I should be glad of your opinion, in your next, that I may take the sense of the Corporation on this subject before I set out.

Pray, how go final-settlement notes and other continental securities in New York at present? You need not have been quite so short in your last, for I make a point of writing whenever I can find anything to say; and would you wish, after reading this, to have me write again and say nothing? If so, I can spill ink and spoil paper as fast as most of my neighbors.

Pray, what is likely to be the result of the wranglings of the Dutch and the Emperor? Will there be a general war, and if so will it reach us? You stand on the watchtower, and can tell us, we presume, what may be depended on. Now there is a claim entered for a very long letter, by next post, by, sir,

Your humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

To Thomas Mackaness, Esq., of London, to whom, it seems, Dr. Manning had shown kind attentions while a captive at Providence during the war, he thus writes : —

PROVIDENCE, July 10, 1785.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of April 27, 1785, with the box of books, containing five volumes quarto of Witsius's Works, in Latin, came safe by the hand of Mr. Fry. When they arrived I was absent at New York, or I should have embraced an earlier opportunity of presenting my thanks to Mr. Mackaness for the donation, and the kind attention which you have been pleased to pay to me. Your letter last winter, by your son-in-law, came safe to hand, but I had not the pleasure of seeing him. I took the earliest opportunity of forwarding you a letter, by the care of our common friend Deacon Mason, of Boston, in hopes it might have reached Mr. Harvey's hands before he sailed. I am sorry you did not receive it. A visit from you to your Providence friends was greatly wished for, and indeed expected. Messrs. Jos. Rogers and Geo. Benson are well. The former is mourning the loss of a dear and amiable wife. He feels that the hand of God has touched him. He could sympathize with you in calling to remembrance the tender and afflictive scenes through which you have passed. I am glad to find that you think, however stormy the path, that you have been led the right way towards the city of habitation. I sincerely wish your affliction may be sanctified, so as to work for you "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." I hope you may be so happy as to settle your children to your mind; but I should not think they had fixed upon the most agreeable place. Yet contentment and industry will, anywhere, answer the purposes of this life, which is, at best, but a short passage to a long eternity.

The kind mention which you say you have heard made of me by your honorable friend is pleasingly flattering, as, from his universal character, there are few men on earth of whose approbation I should be more ambitious. The little services, if they may be termed services, in my power to render you when here a captive, gave me, I am confident, a much higher degree of pleasure than they could possibly afford you. That "it is more blessed to give than to receive," I have found to be true as often as God has given me a heart to make the experiment, and I hope he will give me more of that disposition. Whether I shall ever be gratified in my wishes to see the place of your nativity or not, I have yet to learn. At several different times I thought the point nearly decided; but I am yet on the Hill at Providence, overwhelmed with cares. And though I think my services of little importance to the church and College, my brethren and masters, it seems, think my presence here of some importance to both. I have the satisfaction, however, to see my flock, both in the church and College, again collected, beyond what they have been since the war until lately. I have little to say of my

success in the ministry. Yesterday I baptized three. The season was solemn. The audience is both large and attentive, and I hope among them are some inquiring souls. One of the members of College has lately, I hope, been brought to know the Lord. Our number of students is about thirty-five, with a prospect of increase. But as we are destitute of an adequate fund, this does but increase my labors, as I am confined to constant teaching.

The Lord is gracious to many parts of this land, in of late pouring out his Spirit upon the people. Mr. Gano has a rich blessing in New York. The eastern part of New Jersey is also visited. In Vermont there is a day of God's power, and so also in several of the interior parts of New England. May that glorious kingdom come over all the earth! I long to hail the approach of the King of Zion, and I *partly believe* I shall live to see the accomplishment of at least *some* of the glorious things spoken of the city of God

By recent accounts from Kentucky, five hundred miles down the Ohio below Fort Pitt, I learn that God has done and is still doing wonders in that wilderness. Seven or eight Baptist churches are here settled, and a number of faithful, but very unlettered ministers, are engaged in the harvest. To spread the knowledge of the Redeemer (who came preaching in the wilderness of Judea) in the wilderness, has long been with me a desirable object. And with this view I have conceived a design, if possible, of furnishing their untutored minds with books. My plan is to establish a library for the Baptist Association (to be established there this year) of such books as are best adapted to their situation, to qualify their ministers more thoroughly for their ministerial work, and to assist those young men of promising abilities for the ministry with useful knowledge before they enter on the work. With this view I am about to make collections of books in America, and I recommend the same to my correspondents in England, and request them to send forward to the Rev. Thomas Ustick, minister of the Baptist church at Philadelphia, with a line to him informing him of the donors and the design. He will take charge of the same, till they can be safely forwarded to Kentucky, for the uses mentioned. Any services you can render in so good a cause will be kindly accepted. They are almost wholly, I am told, destitute of all kinds of books. I propose there shall be a book kept by the association, in which shall be entered the donors' names, and what they contributed. You have my best wishes, in which Mrs. Manning joins.

Your unworthy friend,

JAMES MANNING.

P. S.—Should I not have the pleasure to see you, please to present my Christian salutation to Mr. Thornton when you return.

TO THE REV. DR. CALEB EVANS.

PROVIDENCE, July 21, 1785.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of 26th and 31st of January came to hand last month while I was in New York, the perusal of which gave me great pleasure, especially that paragraph which mentions the additions to the churches in Bristol. May you be so happy as to see the good work increase. Things, in reference to religion, remain much as when I wrote last, except a greater attention paid to public worship. Lord's Day before last I baptized three persons. In several parts of New England the Lord is evidently at work. In Vermont there is a glorious shower of divine influence, as also in the city of New York, and the eastern part of the Jerseys. My Brother Gano is greatly blessed, upwards of forty having of late been added to his church, among whom are two of his sons and one of his daughters. When I heard last from there the work was increasing. I had the pleasure of a short interview with Mr. Mullett in New York, and he twice or three times gave us the pleasure of his company, though but a short time, as he passed to and from Boston. He was kind enough to engage to transmit my letters safely to England. Your kind proffers of service to myself or Mr. Stillman in soliciting for the College, should either of us be sent, are very acceptable, but we have yet had no advice on that subject from Dr. Stennett. Your account of the ideas of the Baptists with you, respecting literary institutions, are very similar to those of the American Baptists. We shall gladly receive the books you mention, and any others which you can spare, or procure for us. As there is no direct communication between Bristol and Providence, shall wish you to send them *via* New York, to the care of my brother-in-law, John Stites, merchant, at the corner of Queen and Chapel Streets in that city, with a line advising him where to send them. I shall inform him of this advice to you, and request him to forward them immediately to me. Dr. Stennett's Discourses on Domestic Duties I have, and highly esteem them. I wish every family were possessed of the book. Mr. Booth's treatise on Baptism, and his tract on Church Communion, he was kind enough to present to me last year. Upon reading, I recommended it in almost the same words in which you mention it; alleging that I thought it would supersede the necessity of any future publications on the subject. I wish it could be circulated throughout this continent, and am determined to use my endeavors for that purpose. I shall write him on this subject by this opportunity. The Association Letters, the sermon on Walking by Faith, and the fifth volume of Saurin's Sermons all came safe to hand, for which I beg leave to present to you my hearty thanks, and wish, in my turn, it were in my power to afford you equal pleasure by transmitting some valuable American publications, but this is a barren soil. The embarrassments of trade, especially in the New England States, open before us a gloomy prospect, producing an amazing stagnation of business, which must continue till

new channels are opened, or the restrictions on the American trade are taken off in the ports of Britain and France. Our merchants at present sink money by all the trade they drive. This renders it next to impossible to make remittances to Britain, as bills are eight per cent. above par. Were it otherwise I should try to send over for some books on my own account; especially for some of the publications of our ministers, in order to circulate them in this country; and for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, a book we expected in our catalogue, but it did not come. From the accounts we have had of it I presume it must be a work of the greatest utility.

The College continues to increase gradually in the number of students, which at present is thirty-seven, one of whom, I have reason to believe, has been recently converted. I have long wished for an account of your Education Society, — the foundation, who are admitted and with what qualifications, the course of studies pursued, manner of teaching, time required in completing the course, etc., etc., — but I fear I should be troublesome to ask it of you. Some information I received on these subjects from my dear friend Mr. Mullett, but he referred me to Mr. Evans, and, if I rightly recollect, mentioned a book published from whence I could draw this information. If giving this information should be troublesome, I do not wish it, as from your situation you cannot surely be in want of employment. One thing more I wish to mention, which is, that the new settlement of Kentucky, five hundred miles down the Ohio river below Fort Pitt, was first settled by Baptists. It now contains more than thirty thousand souls. There are seven Baptist churches and eight ministers, who propose forming an Association this year. They inform me that they are extremely destitute of books, and the ministers are illiterate, but wish for the means of information. I have proposed to my friends the establishing of a library of some useful books for the benefit of the Association, that the ministers and those who are candidates for the ministry may have the use of it; and thus, may I add, laying the foundation of a seat of education. To this end I have written to my friends in different parts to collect what books they can, and send them to the care of Rev. Thomas Ustick, minister of the Baptist church in Philadelphia, to be ready to be sent forward by the first good conveyance. Could your ministering brethren in England be induced to send their works, they would compose an excellent library for this purpose. I find by a publication of a Presbyterian, under the title of a History of Kentucky, that his denomination mean to monopolize and gain an establishment there in a literary way. We have in contemplation the putting in for a share. I have paid some attention to this subject, and don't mean to lose sight of it. Your assistance and influence in favor of this design will be the most acceptable. *Charity should not, indeed, end at home.*

With sentiments of esteem, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

P. S.—It is proposed to have a book in the intended library, containing the names of the donors, and the donations made by them, that posterity may know what attention the present generation paid to the disseminating of useful knowledge in the wilderness. Whether the design succeeds or not, I shall have the satisfaction to do good; and if I am not greatly deceived, a little laid out in this way will turn to good account. I mean to send them, if possible, soon, a person of our denomination to open a seminary amongst them; and, indeed, were I not confined to the College, should spend, God willing, the next winter there myself. Bibles and religious books which are printed to be distributed *gratis* amongst the poor, would be well bestowed there, for the people are religiously disposed. The fullest confidence may be placed in Mr. Ustick, that everything sent to his care will be forwarded to them. He is a man of principle. As the term of human life is so short, and the sphere of our activity so contracted, it behoves us to exert ourselves to fill it up, to the utmost, with acts of public utility, especially in promoting the interests of the Redeemer.

Dr. Manning, as all his writings show, considered piety as the first and indispensable requisite in a minister. No degree of genius or of mental cultivation was allowed by him to compensate for the want of a heart renewed by the Holy Spirit, and moved to undertake the care of souls by the constraining love of Christ. He believed, nevertheless, in an educated ministry. How earnestly he labored to secure this for the churches more especially of his own denomination, the College of Rhode Island and the Warren Association are perpetual witnesses. In these letters to Thomas Mackaness and Dr. Evans we have an illustration of his philanthropic efforts to enlighten the illiterate Baptist ministers of Kentucky, and to provide instruction for the rising generation in that then remote wilderness; and this, too, when “overwhelmed,” as he expresses it, with his own cares and duties. For a fuller development of his plans with reference to Kentucky, the reader is referred to a letter addressed to the Rev. Dr. Rippon, dated July 22. Three years later we find Manning, according to Benedict, corresponding with the Baptists in Virginia, and encouraging them, through their established organizations, to found a seminary of learning for the special benefit of their rapidly-increasing numbers in that section of the country.

In reading Semple's History of the Baptists of Virginia, we find

that, among the papers presented at a session of the General Committee, held August 11, 1788, was a letter from President Manning, recommending and encouraging the Baptists of Virginia to erect a seminary of learning. The subject was taken up, and they came to the following decision, viz.:

Resolved, That a committee of five persons on each side of James River, be appointed to forward the business respecting a seminary of learning; accordingly Samuel Harriss, John Williams, Eli Clay, Simeon Walton, and David Barrow, were appointed on the South; and Robert Carter, John Waller, William Fristoe, John Leland, and Reuben Ford, on the North side of said river.

During the year 1784 Dr. Manning, it appears, addressed a letter to the Hon. Granville Sharp, LL. D., of London, a zealous member of the Established Church, but liberal to Protestant Dissenters of all classes, and noted for his opposition to the American war. He was also distinguished for his opposition to negro slavery, and for the zeal with which he engaged in various patriotic and philanthropic movements. His publications, which were numerous, he presented to the College Library, with a set of the works of his grandfather, Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York. He subsequently sent other valuable presents to the Library. The following letter was written in reply to one from Manning: —

OLD JEWRY, LONDON, 21st Feb., 1785.

REVEREND SIR:

On the 22d ult. I received your obliging letter of the 12th October, 1784, by the hands of Mr. Drowne, who seems highly worthy of the excellent character you gave me of him.

My best thanks are due to you for the satisfactory intelligence of the safe arrival of the books which I sent for the Library of the College in Providence, and also for your full and explicit account of that very useful Institution.

Some additions have been made, I believe, to my tracts on Congregational Courts since I sent the copies of them by Mr. Watson; and therefore I have now sent another copy for the College Library, and one for yourself; though indeed the tract is still incomplete by the want of an index; for I have not had leisure to revise and correct the index that has been made for it by a person whom I employed for that purpose some time ago.

Two of the additional tracts relate to the laying out of settlements on uncultivated lands, — a subject of very important consideration to America; for if care is not taken in these early times before land becomes scarce, to reserve a due proportion of cottage-land, and common-land around every town, as well as around new settlements, for the accommodation of poor industrious families, and also small portions of land for the maintenance of schools and other public establishments, it will be very difficult, a few years hence, to procure land for such purposes.

A well-regulated agrarian law would also be exceedingly beneficial to America to prevent monopolies of land; for when large tracts of land are engrossed in a few hands it necessarily occasions not only internal weakness, and an inability to defend a country against foreign invaders, but it also inevitably reduces to slavery the industrious laborers who cultivate the enormous tracts of the haughty overgrown landholders; for this is the very foundation of the detestable aristocratical oppression and monarchial despotism in Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Germany, France, and all other countries under the unmerciful dominion of the two beasts of tyranny, which are now preparing themselves for a speedy retribution of the divine vengeance!

A mediocrity in the proportion of landed possessions in the hands of freeholders, together with an ample provision of cottage-lands for the laboring poor, and common-lands for all other housekeepers, will certainly be most beneficial for every community; and such mediocrity of landed possessions may be gradually obtained, without injury to the rights of the present possessors, by restraining inheritances to an equal distribution in gavel-kind amongst all the sons of landholders; or, if the first-born is to be allowed a preference, it should be only to the amount of a certain limited number of acres (as many as shall be deemed a reasonable competence for an independent gentleman), and the overplus to be divided amongst the nearest of kin, whose possessions are below the said limited competence of landed inheritance, unless the remainder of the land be otherwise legally disposed of, by the will and testament of the late possessor.

The inheritances of heiresses should also be subject to the same limitations; so that if the husband has the legal competence of land already in his own right, the mother's estate should be reserved for the eldest son; but to be held by the latter, when of age, no longer than during his father's life; with an option, however, to give up either his father's or mother's inheritance to the younger children. By this means the overgrown possessions would be soon reduced to reasonable competences, and the number of substantial, independent landholders would be greatly increased, for the general security of the country, wherever such regulations shall take place. This would set bounds to the insatiable thirst of realizing, which prompts some thrifty men to "lay house to house and field to field;" for they would be compelled, by a just agrarian law, to find some more beneficial mode of employing their superfluous wealth, and the most avaricious of them would undoubtedly be induced to employ it in trade, which

would greatly promote the extension of commerce, and consequently the welfare of the whole community. I have enclosed a copy of a letter which I wrote to a friend of the Abbé de Mably, to show that the defects which he observed in some of the American constitutions would be effectually remedied by the ancient system of Frank-pledge (as described in my last work), which was manifestly the polity of the commonwealth of Israel whilst under the theocracy; for the same arrangement of the people into exact numerical divisions of tithings, hundreds, and thousands, was then ordained as a part of their political constitutions, though it was even at that time too frequently neglected; whereby the people fell into confusion and anarchy, and "every man did what seemed right in his own eyes." But this was not occasioned by any defect in the constitution itself, but merely by the neglect of it; for I know of no other method but this, if duly maintained by annual renewal, whereby liberty, equal right, and national security can be so effectually supported.

Probably what I have written concerning the popular right of electing bishops (see tract No. 5) may seem superfluous, as well to yourself as to some other learned professors of divinity, who have not been educated in an Episcopal Church; nevertheless, it is a subject worthy your consideration, especially as it will be found that the most important objections that have usually been made by Protestant Dissenters to the order of bishops, would be effectually removed by the restoration of popular right in the election of them; and that all danger of tumults in such elections would be obviated by electing two of the most eminent presbyters, of unimpeachable morality and virtue, whose appointment to the dignity should be decided by lot, after solemn prayer by the whole congregation, according to the apostolic example related in Acts i. 15-26. I remain, with due respect and esteem, reverend sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

GRANVILLE SHARP.

To this letter Manning replies: —

PROVIDENCE, STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, July 26, 1785.

DEAR SIR:

In May last, just before I left Providence for New York and Philadelphia, I received by the ship *London* your most acceptable letters of February 21, 22, as also the copy of your letter to a friend of the Abbé de Mably, dated Dec. 30, 1784, and your letter of March 4, 1785, together with the two copies of your last work on Congregational Courts. As the *Hope* had a long passage, I received the letters and books by the *London* first, but the duplicates by the *Hope* came safe. I have complied and shall comply literally with your desire of making them public. Your letter relating to ecclesiastical matters,

after perusal, I communicated to my ministering brethren of the Episcopal Church in my vicinity, who took a copy of it. I then took it to New York and communicated it to some of the members of Congress; lent it to Dr. Provost, the rector, who desired liberty to copy it, which I granted him, withal requesting him to communicate it to his brethren. He proposed doing so, and laying it before the convention of the Episcopal clergy of Virginia and New York inclusive, to meet in September next at the city of Philadelphia. Two weeks since, I received from General Knox, *via* Boston, Archbishop Sharp's Sermons and Works, in seven volumes, with two volumes of Sharp on Congregational Courts. The General informed me that by some accident they had been wet. This had marred the beauty of the binding, but had not injured the print. No letter accompanied them, but I presume they were designed for the library, where I shall place them. The kind attention of Mr. Sharp to this College has laid me and the friends of it under great obligations, which I beg leave most heartily to acknowledge, by returning him, as well in behalf of the College as myself, our united thanks. Shall comply with your wishes respecting Bishop Wilson's works, whenever they may arrive. Your treatise on Frank-pledge, with that on Congregational Courts, I handed to the Hon. Messrs. Howell and Ellery, members of Congress for this State; but they had fixed upon the plan of laying out the back lands before my arrival. As I was pleased with your ideas on that subject, I strongly recommended to them an examination, and an adoption of your plan where it would be an improvement upon theirs. I mean by this opportunity to furnish you with their publication on this subject, if I can procure it. I thank you for the interest you feel in the welfare and future happiness of America, and for your generous and benevolent exertions to promote the same. These exertions I doubt not will meet a due reward from the supreme Judge and Rewarder of merit. Your publications are highly approved by the gentlemen of my acquaintance. To point out an inadequate mode of defending the rights without laying a foundation for subverting the liberties of mankind, is, in my view, the great desideratum of government, and I have yet seen nothing which promises fairer to accomplish this than your scheme, a part of which, at least, I expect will be adopted by the United States.

I concur with you in sentiment exactly concerning the importance of a mediocrity in the proportion of landed possessions in the hands of freeholders. It is the real strength of a nation, and most agreeable to the dictates of reason and the rights of man. In New England a system was adopted when the country was first settled, which remains in full vigor to this day; so that it is hard to find many here in the extremes of poverty or wealth. It was this spirit which, in the last war, captivated British armies, or repelled them from their borders, as it is calculated to disseminate knowledge and the love of liberty throughout the whole community. Many if not most of the States have enacted laws by which the estates of those who die intestate shall be equally

divided amongst all the surviving children, both male and female, or at most give the oldest son but two shares. In consequence of this many people make no other will, but appoint executors to execute that which the law has made for them. This is a guard against the danger arising from overgrown estates, as many who devise them by will or otherwise conform, nearly, to what the law points out as equitable. This renders an agrarian law in a measure unnecessary.

For your friendship and assistance afforded Mr. Drowne, I thank you, and shall be happy, in my turn, to testify my readiness to repay the kindness. I have the pleasure to inform you that the College at Providence daily increases in reputation and number of students. Some valuable though small additions have been lately made to our library, which consists now of upwards of two thousand volumes. The prospects from this country of augmenting our funds, so as to establish an adequate number of professors, from the decay of trade and the scarcity of money are at present rather gloomy, but we hope some generous benefactors may yet arise and obviate this difficulty.

I have the pleasure to inform you that there is an evident alteration for the better in the morals of the people throughout this country. Religion, too, begins to raise her drooping head; and what affords me peculiar satisfaction is, that a spirit of moderation prevails beyond what has been known since the first settlement of New England. The various denominations of Christians are cultivating a spirit of brotherly love by an unreserved intercourse with each other. Among the many mischievous consequences resulting from the late war, we are happy to find that the prevalence of a spirit of toleration, and a more general knowledge of the doctrine of religious liberty, in some measure counterbalance them.

That you may long live to promote the great interests of mankind by your shining abilities and indefatigable labors, and have the happiness to see the good effects of them on society, and at last be admitted to receive an ample reward of all your labors in the regions of bliss, is the ardent wish of, dear sir,

Your sincere friend and very humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

The little library of five hundred volumes had now, through the generosity of John Brown, and the gifts of friends, been increased, Manning here states, to two thousand volumes. They were kept in a chamber on the second floor of what is now known as University Hall. These literary treasures, few as they were, seem to have been thoroughly appreciated by their conservators, and guarded with unceasing vigilance. We have already, in a previous chapter, given some of the

regulations of the Library, as a part of the College Laws of 1783. The following is an additional regulation : —

The students shall come to the Library four at a time, when sent for by the Librarian, and they shall not enter the Library beyond the Librarian's table, on the penalty of three pence for every offense.

As the Librarian's table was in the centre of the room opposite the entrance, this last regulation would seem to supersede a previous one, requiring that the Librarian "in delivering out the books, should suffer none of the students to derange or handle them on the shelves."

In the early days when books were few and costly, "FREE CIRCULATION," of which we boast to-day, was a thing unknown, and even the Holy Bible was chained, PRESERVATION being the leading consideration in the minds of those to whom was entrusted the care and management of public collections. How does the dark chamber of 1785, to which the three upper classes were admitted once a week, when "sent for four at a time," contrast with the elegant, spacious, and well lighted Library Building of to-day, open day and evening for all students, professors, and graduates, its alcoves open, its shelves free, and the books handled at will without loss or injury.

Resuming now Manning's correspondence : —

TO THE REV. DR. JOHN RIPPON.

PROVIDENCE, July 22, 1785.

MY DEAR BROTHER :

Yours of Dec. 24, 1784, came to hand last month, together with the pamphlet occasioned by the death of that eminent man, Dr. Gifford, for which please accept my best thanks. That of Feb. 23, 1785, came by the *Hope*, together with the acceptable presents of Deacon Shepherd and Rev. John Ryland, for which, in the name of the College, please to present them my most cordial thanks. This should have been done by the Corporation, had a meeting of that body been held since. I am greatly pleased, as well as instructed, by both these valuable works, though my attention has been of late so much taken up in other ways that I can command but little time for reading. With you I regret your want of timely information of the catalogue of books sent for the

College; and I make no doubt of your being both able and willing to have made a considerable saving for the College. Had I been then as well acquainted with your character as I have been since, I should have addressed you on the subject. We did then, as we thought, the best we could do; but my expectations were disappointed, I confess, in the price of the books. Should we ever be so fortunate as to have more money to lay out in that way, which I see but little prospect of, we shall take the liberty to solicit Mr. Rippon's assistance. I am pleased to hear that Dr. Gill's Exposition is to be completed. Many of them are now wanted; but the difficulty of making remittances from New England, and the inconceivable scarcity of cash, have almost put an end to business. New channels of trade will probably soon open, but not, I fear, before many of our mercantile people are ruined. I rejoice to hear that the cause of religion is on the advance in your churches, and that our denomination increases in some of the counties. Mr. Evans gives me agreeable information from Bristol of considerable additions to two of our churches in the city.

And though stupidity greatly prevails in general, we still have some agreeable revivals in different parts on this continent. The wilderness of Vermont still continues to blossom as the rose. New York and the eastern part of New Jersey are blessed with a joyful harvest. My Brother Gano appears to be the principal instrument whom God honors in that city, so lately filled with violence. Three of his own children are in the number of converts; and if I augur rightly, one of his sons, a doctor,¹ must

¹ The Rev. Stephen Gano, M. D. He was born in the city of New York, Dec. 25, 1762, being the third son of the Rev. John Gano. At the age of thirteen he was placed under the care of his maternal uncle, Dr. Stites, to be educated for the medical profession. Having made honorable proficiency in his studies, he received an appointment as surgeon in the army, and entered the public service. He was at this time nineteen years old. His mother, who had been the principal agent in procuring for him the appointment, having buckled on his regimentals, said to him as they parted, concealing her tears, "My son, may God preserve your life and your patriotism;—the one may be sacrificed in retaking and preserving the home of your childhood; but let me never hear that you have forfeited the birthright of a freeman." He continued in the service two years, and then retired to settle as a physician in Tappan, now Orangetown, New York. Soon after his conversion he was impressed with the idea that it was his duty to preach the gospel. He was accordingly ordained in the Gold Street Church, New York, his father and President Manning participating in the exercises of the occasion. This was on the 2d of August, 1786. He at once engaged in missionary labors on the Hudson, and wherever he went his preaching awakened a deep interest. He was successively pastor of the Baptist church at Hillsdale and at Hudson. In 1792 he received an invitation to become the pastor of the Baptist church in Providence, which invitation he accepted. Some members of the society, it is understood, at first objected to his being the pastor of a church whose relations with the College were so intimate, on the ground that he had never himself received a collegiate education. These objections, however, were soon removed, and the most cordial and friendly relations were established between himself and his people. Here he continued during the remainder of his useful life. He died on the 18th of August, 1828, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, greatly beloved and respected throughout the entire community. The event was immediately made known by the tolling of the city bells, and the children who were assembled in the several schools were dismissed, out of respect to his memory. His funeral was

preach Christ to others. Upwards of forty have been lately added, and the work, by late information, is on the increase. Grace reigns also in several places in New England. Some drops have, in mercy, fallen on Providence. Three I baptized Lord's Day sennight. Public worship is better attended than since the war, in our meeting. I should be happy to receive a letter from Mr. Rippon on spiritual things, but business, at proper times, calls for our attention. I thank you for your kind attention to Mr. Drowne, as he is modest to an excess. And since you cannot command, or at least make use of the wings of a dove to visit America, what think you of substituting in their place those of a ship? I would engage that you should have the fervent prayers of many of your American friends for a safe and speedy passage, and a most kindly welcome to these western shores; and *withal I have prepared you a lodging*, which (as a minister once said of his bed), if homely, is a sincere one. I am confident no house in your capital would please me better than Mr. Rippon's, should I ever be permitted to visit your country; nor should any be preferred to it as a home; but I almost give over the expectations of seeing my English brethren till I meet them above, the prospect of which often gives me pleasure. There I hope to see and converse with the whole family at home, without the aid or necessity of pen and ink. In the meantime I feel my obligations to diligence in the business of my holy calling, that I may be found ready.

The College still increases, though gradually. Our number is thirty-seven; one of whom, I hope, has been called by grace. Last week we buried our venerable Chancellor,

attended by an immense concourse of people, and a sermon appropriate to the occasion was preached by the Rev. Dr. Sharp, of Boston.

During his pastorate of thirty-eight years Dr. Gano was permitted to witness many signal manifestations of the divine power and presence. In one year he baptized one hundred and forty-seven converts, swelling the number of church communicants to six hundred and forty-eight. As an evidence of his general usefulness, it may be mentioned, that for nineteen consecutive years he presided as moderator at the meetings of the Warren Association. "He had," says the Rev. Dr. Jackson, "a fine, commanding figure, being more than six feet in stature, and every way well proportioned. His voice was full, sonorous, and altogether agreeable. His manner was perfectly artless and unstudied. He had great command of language, and could speak with fluency and appropriateness, with little or no premeditation. His discourses were eminently experimental."

Dr. Gano was married on the 25th of October, 1782, to Cornelia, daughter of Capt. Josiah Vavasor, of the city of New York. By her he had two sons and two daughters. On the 4th of August, 1789, he was a second time married to Polly, daughter of Colonel Tallmadge, of New York. By this marriage there were also four children, three daughters and one son. His third wife was Mary, daughter of Hon. Joseph Brown, by whom he had one daughter, Mrs. Eliza B. Rogers. In 1801 he was married to Mrs. Joanna Latting, of Hillsdale, N. Y., who survived him many years. Of his six daughters, four have married clergymen: namely, the Rev. John Holroyd, the Rev. Peter Ludlow, the Rev. Dr. Benedict, and the Rev. Dr. Jackson. Dr. Gano was an honored and useful member of the Masonic fraternity, having been initiated in Mount Vernon Lodge, Providence, on the 10th of July, 1801. Twenty-five years afterwards (Jan. 5, 1826), he, in company with the late Right Rev. Bishop Griswold, took the Knight Templar's degree in the Providence Encampment.

Stephen Hopkins, Esq., LL. D., for many years Governor of the Colony, and one of those distinguished worthies who composed the First Congress. He was one of the greatest men our country has reared, At the first meeting of the Corporation he was chosen Chancellor, and continued in the office till his death. In him the College has lost a most valuable member and officer, and I myself a particular friend. Mr. Van Horn has obtained something for the College by his solicitations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in which business he is still employed. I carried in May last an application to Congress, by a memorial, etc., for compensation for the rents and damages done the College by the troops during the war, but as yet got nothing done. The papers were read and a committee appointed while I was there, before whom we had a hearing, and their promise of a speedy report; but I fear little is to be expected from that quarter.

In the new settlement of Kentucky, five hundred miles down the Ohio below Fort Pitt, I am credibly informed that there are upwards of thirty thousand inhabitants, amongst whom are seven Baptist churches and eight ministers; that the people incline much to be of our denomination; that the ministers are not only very illiterate, but that there is not a person of our persuasion capable of teaching even the languages amongst them; and that they have a desire to enjoy the means of education, more especially as the Presbyterians, though greatly inferior in numbers, and later on the ground, appear to be manœuvring to avail themselves of advantages from being first in promoting literature in that quarter. I conjectured this from reading a pamphlet, written by one of that society, giving an account of the first settlement of that country. Accordingly I wrote my thoughts on the subject to our Western ministers, withal requesting them to possess themselves of the best information they could get before the next Association at Philadelphia to be held in October, that something might be done to encourage them. Since then I am informed that they propose establishing an association there this year. With a view to assist them, I have proposed the raising of a small library, of such books as may be more immediately serviceable to the ministers, and those who are candidates for the ministry, and am using my endeavors to procure what books I can for that purpose in America. But as I expect the contributions will be small, I greatly wish for the assistance of our English friends. The proposal is to forward the books to the Rev. Thomas Ustick, Baptist minister in Philadelphia, to be forwarded by the first good opportunity; that a book shall be kept in which the names of the contributors shall be enrolled, with an account of their donations, that posterity may know what exertions were made, and by whom, to propagate knowledge and religion in that wilderness. I mean to have this library under such regulations, as that it may form the basis of a literary institution there. Those of our ministers who are able, by contributing their works, would greatly assist in laying this foundation; and I doubt not that posterity will rise up and call them blessed. If you think well of this proposal, I doubt not but you will be willing to lend your influence to carry it into effect. I mean not only to

propose, but, according to my ability, assist in this matter; and also to promote, as far as possible, an academy amongst them, in which I have some prospect of succeeding. As I shall not write on this subject to any but Mr. Evans and yourself, I would thank you to mention it where and to whom you think proper. Those Bibles and religious books printed by societies to be distributed among the poor, would be well bestowed there at present. I shall be happy on all occasions and by every opportunity to receive a line from Mr. Rippon. With sentiments of esteem,

I am yours, in Jesus,

JAMES MANNING.

Dr. Manning's brief eulogium upon his "particular friend," Governor Hopkins, the first Chancellor of the College was well deserved. This great and good man closed his long, honorable, and useful life on the 13th of July, 1785, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. "From the vigor of his understanding, and the intuitive energy of his mind, he had established," says his biographer, "a character not only prominent in the annals of his country, but in the walks of literature. Possessing a commanding genius, his constant and assiduous application in the pursuit of knowledge eminently distinguished him in the first class of literati. A leading and active promoter of literary and scientific intelligence, he attached himself in early youth to the study of books and men, and continued to be a constant and improving reader, a close and careful observer, until the period of his death. Holding all abridgments and abridgers in very low estimation, it is cited, in exemplification of his habitual deep research, and the indefatigability with which he penetrated the recesses, instead of skimming the surface of things, that instead of depending upon summaries and concentrated authorities, he perseveringly pursued the whole of the great collection of ancient and modern history, compiled about half a century ago, by some distinguished scholars in Europe; and that he also read through all of Thurloe's and other ponderous collections of state papers." Governor Hopkins professed the principles of the society of Friends, at whose places of worship he was a regular attendant. He was a firm believer in the Christian religion, but not bigoted in his belief, treating all societies of religious

people with respect. As we have before stated, he was a warm friend of the College, and labored zealously to promote its interests.¹

The following brief letter from the Rev. Dr. Caleb Evans conveys the pleasing intelligence that the books, to which allusion has already been made, had been voted to the College by the Bristol Education Society:—

BRISTOL, Sept. 5, 1785.

DEAR SIR:

I take this opportunity, by my worthy young friend Mr. Waldo, of informing you that at our late annual meeting of the Education Society here, Aug. 24, I obtained a vote in favor of your College, respecting the many valuable books we have to dispose of, and am empowered to send such as I may approve of. I shall take an early opportunity of doing this, and when received shall hope for the favor of a line from you.

I have also to request the favor of a diploma of A. M. for my worthy colleague, the Rev. James Newton, a gentleman whose sound learning and amiable character will do more honor to the title than the title will do to him. He is totally ignorant of this application, nor should I have made it but that it hurt me to think so worthy a man should appear to be neglected, whilst Mr. Hall and myself, who are connected with him in the academy, and esteem it sufficient honor to be his equals, are each of us graduated. And by a late regulation our names will appear very conspicuously in our Museum.

I write this in haste, and remain, with every wish friendship can dictate for the happiness of you and all your extensive connections, dear sir, your affectionate

Friend and brother,

CALEB EVANS.

This donation—consisting of Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* with Castell's *Lexicon*, in 8 vols. folio; Bayle's *Dictionary*, 5 vols. folio;

¹ President Manning furnished for the *Providence Gazette* for July 16th, three days after Governor Hopkins's decease, a most interesting and appreciative sketch of his "particular friend." He attributes to him "a perfect acquaintance with the history of mankind, the politics of the civilized world, the principles and systems of laws, and the profound art of governing the hearts, as well as the persons of men." He describes him as "a father of the people, and the sacred guardian of their rights, liberties, and privileges." The account of his funeral mentions "a prodigious concourse of respectable citizens." The first extended account of Hopkins appeared in Sanderson's "Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence." This account is based mainly on materials furnished by Moses Brown. Innumerable biographies have since appeared in magazines, encyclopædias, and dictionaries. The most recent and the most complete and exhaustive biography is entitled, "Stephen Hopkins, a Rhode Island Statesman." By William E. Foster. Two parts in 1 vol., small 4to. Providence, 1884.

Chambers's Cyclopædia, 2 vols. folio; several Fathers of the church, and standard works in science, history, and literature — was received early the following year. Such evidences of kind feeling on the part of those with whom this country had so recently been at war, must have been highly gratifying at the time, as they most certainly are even at the present day. This society was founded in the year 1780, in aid of the Baptist Academy at Bristol, "to the end that dissenting congregations, especially of the Baptist denomination, in any part of the British dominions, may be more effectually supplied with a succession of able and evangelical ministers." The society has been eminently useful. It is now in the possession of a very valuable library, containing the collection of books, paintings, etc., of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Gifford, for many years sub-librarian of the British Museum, and the library of Thomas Llewelyn, LL. D.

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 9, 1785.

TO THE HONORABLE DAVID HOWELL,
MEMBER OF CONGRESS IN NEW YORK:

SIR: — At the annual meeting of the Corporation yesterday, we were appointed a committee to address you, in their name, on the subject of their petition to Congress for an allowance for rents, and for damages done the Edifice while occupied by the public, which is so justly due to them; and to request you to exert yourself to bring that business to an issue as speedily and favorably as possible before you leave Congress; more especially as they expect to have no member to succeed you who will have it in his power or in his inclination to serve the interests of the College equal to its Secretary.

It is imagined that your intimacy and interest with the committee appointed to report on our petition, will enable you, before the report is made, to discover what will be the tenor of it. Of this advantage we wish you to avail yourself; and should it wear an unfavorable aspect, prevent its being made. Such a report might preclude us from ever obtaining any allowance from our own Legislature; but if the petition is either pending before Congress, or the prayer of it rejected by them, our prospects of assistance and relief from this quarter will be very unpromising, however they might prove otherwise.

You may rely that this is, by your best friends here, considered as a matter of no small importance; and they believe that your interest in Congress can even obtain the prayer of our petition, if it is in any wise practicable; and they also think that it will

be no inconsiderable accession to that rich harvest of honor which, as a delegate of this State, you have already reaped. With sentiments of esteem, we subscribe ourselves,

Your friends and fellow-citizens,

JAMES MANNING,	}	<i>Committee.</i>
JOHN BROWN,		
ENOS HITCHCOCK,		

On Saturday, December 3, of this year, the Hon. Joseph Brown, LL. D., of whose sickness Manning in his correspondence makes mention, died at his house, in the fifty-second year of his age. "His funeral," says his obituary, "was attended by a numerous train of mourning relatives, and the most respectable inhabitants of the town, and a discourse suitable to the occasion was delivered by Dr. Manning. . . . The Faculty and students joined the procession as mourners, and felt the loss of a Mæcenas." His character and life we have already given in our sketches of the Brown family. (Manning and Brown University, pp. 162-6.)

We close this chapter with a correspondence between Manning and John Gill, a goldsmith of London. It relates principally to the publications of the Rev. Dr. John Gill,¹ and will on this account be found interesting. The last letter contains a pleasant bibliographical "morceau," relating to Backus's Ecclesiastical History.

¹ This distinguished Baptist divine died at his house at Camberwell, Oct. 14, 1771, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was pastor of the Baptist church and congregation at Horselydown, Southwark, near London, for fifty-one years. The following is a list of his published writings, all of which are to be found in the Library of the University, having been bequeathed to the College by the author (see Chap. IV, p. 190): (1.) *Ancient Mode of Baptizing by Immersion maintained.* 8vo. London, 1726. (2.) *Defense of Ancient Mode of Baptizing by Immersion.* 8vo. London, 1727. (3.) *Exposition of Solomon's Song.* Folio. London, 1728. A fourth edition of this work was published in 1805, in two octavo volumes. (4.) *Prophecies respecting the Messiah fulfilled in Jesus.* 8vo. London, 1728. (5.) *The Cause of God and Truth (in answer to Dr. Whitby on the Five Points).* 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1735-8. A fifth edition was published in 1838, in one octavo volume. (6.) *Exposition of the New Testament.* 3 vols., folio. London, 1746-8. (7.) *Exposition of the Old Testament.* 6 vols., folio. London, 1748-63. A new edition of both Testaments, with a memoir by Dr. Rippon, and a portrait, was published in 1816, in nine volumes quarto. Vol. I. of another edition was published in 1852, in royal octavo, and the Old Testament was published by Collingridge, of London, in 1854, in six royal octavo volumes. (8.) *Anti-Pedo-baptism.* 8vo. London, 1753. (9.) *The Argument from Apostolical Tradition in favor of Infant-Baptism considered.* The third edition of this was published in 1765, in octavo. (10.) *Dissertation on the Antiquity of the Hebrew Language, Letters, etc.* 8vo. London, 1767. (11.) *A Body of Doctrinal and Practical Divinity.* 3 vols. 4to. London, 1769-70. This has gone through several editions, the latest of which was published in 1839, in two volumes octavo. (12.) *Sermons and Tracts, with memoirs of the author.*

TO PRESIDENT MANNING.

LONDON, March 13, 1784.

REVEREND SIR:

I take the liberty to inform you of the death of Mr. George Keith,¹ bookseller in London. He died Dec. 4, 1782, and left me his sole executor. I find by his books that you stand indebted to his estate £2 9s. 9d., which I doubt not you will honorably discharge. At the same time, I beg leave to acquaint you that I have several sets of Dr. Gill's New Testament, five volumes quarto, at £3 15s. each set, in boards. According to the proposals at first delivered out, subscribers for six sets to have a seventh, I am willing to dispose of them on these terms, or, if a less number is wanted, will allow twenty per cent. on delivery, payable by a merchant or trader in London. There is also the Old Testament in quarto, begun by Mr. Keith, but I cannot get any bookseller in London to complete it. It begins with Genesis and ends with the 132d Psalm, in six volumes. These I have to dispose of at £1 16s. The subscription price was £4 10s., or 15s. each volume. Also some few sets of the Doctor's tracts, collected together and printed in three volumes quarto, with memoirs of his life, at £1 16s., or 12s. each volume. Also his Cause of God and Truth, and his Exposition of Solomon's Song, at 12s. each volume, all printed on the same size and paper as the New Testament. As I wish to promote the sale of the Doctor's works in America, on that account I have charged them at a low price, when the discount proposed is considered. A line directed for me to be left at Mr. Ash's, bookseller, No. 15 Little Tower Street, will be conveyed to me. I am, reverend sir, with all due respect,

Your humble servant.

JOHN GILL.

MANNING'S REPLY.

PROVIDENCE, July 9, 1784.

SIR:—Yours of March 13 reached me the last month. I had before heard of the death of Mr. George Keith, and sympathize with you and the family in the loss. I had no knowledge of a balance due to him till I received your letter, as I had many years ago given orders to a friend of mine, whom I have not since seen, to pay the balance, if any remained due. By this conveyance goes a letter from Mr. Backus to Mr. Henry

2 vols. 4to. London, 1773. A new edition of Gill's Sermons, in three volumes octavo, has appeared. In addition to the list here given, Dr. Gill published many occasional sermons and tracts on Baptism, most of which are in the College Library.

"If any man," says the Rev. Augustus Toplady, of the Episcopal Church, "can be supposed to have trod the whole circle of human learning, it was Dr. Gill. While true religion and sound learning have a single friend in the British empire, the works and name of Dr. Gill will be precious and revered. . . . With a solidity of judgment and with an acuteness of discernment peculiar to few, he exhausted, as it were, the very soul and substance of most arguments he undertook."

¹ Mr. Keith was a brother-in-law of the writer, having married his sister Mary, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Gill.

Kane, executor to Mr. Wallin, to pay you the sum of £2 9s. 9d. on my account, as he had money in Mr. Wallin's hands. If you will please call on him he will doubtless discharge the debt. Of this please to advise me by the first opportunity. I shall be extremely sorry if the edition of Dr. Gill's Bible in quarto cannot be completed, as I had sold my former set, in full confidence that I should soon be able to replace mine from this edition. Others here wish to purchase, but they also wish to have the work complete. They especially wish for his Exposition of the Prophets. Would it not be better for your family to complete the work, than to lose in a great measure the sale of what is already done, and deprive the world of such a valuable treasure? I have on hand some of all the rest of his works you mention; besides, at present it is extremely difficult to make remittances to England, as the mercantile affairs of the country have been so long and so greatly deranged; to which I may add the great inattention, in general, to the reading of books on religious subjects, — the natural consequence, perhaps, of such a kind of war as that in which we have been involved. This, it is to be hoped, will soon alter for the better, when I shall watch every opportunity of making Dr. Gill's works as much known as possible. This I have hitherto ever had in view, and it was no inconsiderable motive in parting with his Exposition, above mentioned. I was lately desired to inquire whether those editions complete could be obtained in England, by a gentleman who wishes to purchase them. The state of religion amongst our denomination in America appears rather on the gaining hand, as there are revivals in many of the churches. The College, too, although greatly injured by the war, promises soon to regain its former state. The government of it, through the smallness of its funds and the great repairs necessary, find themselves amazingly embarrassed, and consequently wish for every assistance from the friends of the Institution, from every quarter. I am, sir,

Your friend and servant,

JAMES MANNING.

TO PRESIDENT MANNING.

LONDON, Oct. 14, 1784.

SIR: — I received yours in the month of August last. Have applied to Mr. Kane, Mr. Wallin's executor, who informs me that he has no money in hand for Mr. Backus. Mr. Backus sent seventy copies of his History of the Baptists, which never came to the late Mr. Wallin. Mr. Kane intends to acquaint Mr. Backus of his disappointment. I am much obliged to you, sir, for the great regard and kind intentions expressed in your letter of promoting the sale of Dr. Gill's works among your friends. I have now the pleasure to inform you that the quarto edition of the Old Testament will be completed. It is now in the press, and will be finished with all convenient speed. What was contained in my former letter is now set aside, not having any of the Old Testament to sell at the price therein mentioned. What I have will now be wanted to complete sets. I

can supply you with a set of the folio edition at ten guineas, and also a set of the Prophets at two guineas. I shall be glad to hear that religion is in a flourishing state among you, that the churches of Christ are increasing, and that you, sir, may again see that Seminary of learning over which you have the honor to preside retrieve its former state, and be attended with all the success and usefulness desirable. I am, sir, with great esteem,

Your obliged, humble servant,

JOHN GILL.

MANNING'S REPLY.

PROVIDENCE, July 24, 1785.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of Oct. 14, 1784, came to hand in May, since which I have had no opportunity of sending you an answer. Soon after the reception of it I saw Mr. Backus, who had received the information you mention respecting his books, but informed me that he expected still to obtain them, by getting information of the captain who carried them; but should he be disappointed in his expectations, he had sent a considerable number of the second volume of his History, from the net proceeds of which he had ordered you paid, so that I expect, by or before the arrival of this, your money will be ready for you. He engaged to write you that you might know on whom to call. I am sorry for the disappointment, but hope your money is safe. I am rejoiced to hear that the Doctor's Old Testament is to be completed, and you may be assured that what little influence I possess shall be employed in the sale of his works. But such at present is the scarcity of money, and difficulty of making remittances to Great Britain, by the high price of bills, that business is almost entirely stagnated. We hope, however, for better times. I thank you for your kind expressions of regard for the College with which I am connected. Great indeed have been the damages which it sustained by the war, for which hitherto we have received no compensation; nor are our prospects of it in the future very flattering. The Institution, under all its disadvantages, begins to flourish, and the number of students increases as fast as might be reasonably expected. Religion, too, begins amongst us to hold up its head. In several parts there are great revivals, some account of which I have mentioned to Mr. Rippon in a letter of this date. Should my expectations of discharging that balance, through Mr. Backus, be again disappointed, upon advice from you I will take measures which will prove effectual to accomplish it. With sentiments of esteem, I am, sir,

Your humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

TO PRESIDENT MANNING.

LONDON, March 28, 1786.

REVEREND SIR:

A letter of yours, dated July 24, 1785, was not received by me until about the middle of December. I should be glad when favored with another letter from you, to be informed by whom it was conveyed to me, as no name was mentioned to whom I might apply for the small sum you expected to be paid me by some person in London. I am surprised to find Mr. Backus has not heard what became of the first volume of his History of the Baptists. Last summer a Mr. Thomas saw a sheet of his History brought into a house where he was, wrapped around a pound of cheese or butter. Mr. Thomas went immediately and purchased all the paper relating to that History the cheesemonger had; since which I am informed he has received the second volume, and now makes complete sets. Whether this is done for his own emolument, or whether he intends it for Mr. Backus's advantage, I cannot tell. Honor and justice seem to decide it in favor of Mr. Backus. But as I have no acquaintance with Mr. Thomas, I can say no further about it.

I am sorry to inform you that the printer who had engaged to finish the Exposition has failed and left London. There is now no hope of its being completed. The six volumes of the Old Testament, reaching as far as the 132d Psalm, may now be had at £1 16s., which I think was mentioned to you in a former letter. If your friends choose to have any of them sent, shall allow you twenty per cent. for your trouble. I remain, sir, with all due respect,

Your humble servant,

JOHN GILL.

On the back of this letter Mr. Manning has written "answered." Of the reply, however, no copy has come to our knowledge.

CHAPTER XII.

1786-1788.

Manning as a patriot statesman — Appointed a member of Congress — Account of this event, by Hon. Asher Robbins — Rev. Dr. Perez Fobes appointed to take charge of the College in Manning's absence — Letter to his brother, Jeremiah Manning — Letter to Rev. Dr. Rippon, giving his reasons for entering upon political life — Interests of the College paramount to all others — Manning's description of a minister such as he might wish to succeed him in the pastorate of the Baptist church — Letter from Nicholas Brown to Rev. Dr. Smith, respecting Manning and a proposed vacancy in the pastorate of the church — Letter to Rev. Dr. Evans — Letter to Rev. Abraham Booth — Rev. Dr. William Gordon, of London, author of a history of the American war — Letter to him — Letter to Rev. Dr. Smith, giving an account of his position as a member of Congress — Letter from Dr. Drowne to Manning in Congress — Letter to Governor Collins — Letter to his colleague, Gen. Nathan Miller, giving an account of his own embarrassed condition from the want of funds, and urging him to take his seat as a delegate — Second letter to Mr. Miller — Letter to Manning from Dr. Gordon — Public exercises of Commencement resumed — Sketch of Hon. Nicholas Brown — Extract from a letter illustrating the difficulties against which the College at this time had to contend — Letter to Rev. Dr. Smith — Severe reflections on the General Assembly of Rhode Island — Trying period in Manning's life — Commencement of 1787 — Sketch of Hon. Samuel Eddy — Biographical sketch of Rev. Dr. Jonathan Maxcy — Confederation — Federalists and Anti-Federalists — Manning's influence in favor of the "New Constitution" — Attends the Convention in Massachusetts for the adoption of the Constitution — Anecdote respecting him — Letter to Rev. Dr. Smith alluding to his attendance upon the debates of the Convention — Bitter hostility of the Anti-Federalists to the new Constitution — Almost a civil conflict on the occasion of a Fourth of July celebration in Providence — Letter from Rev. Dr. Rippon — Letter to Rev. Thomas Ustick — Letter to Rev. Dr. Smith — Biographical sketch of Rev. Dr. Asa Messer — Commencement of 1788 — Sketch of Hon. James Burrill — Letter from Rev. Morgan Edwards — Letter from Rev. Dr. Evans — Letter to Rev. Dr. Smith — Early schools of Providence — Manning's efforts in behalf of popular education.

DR. MANNING is now to be exhibited in a new character and in new relations. Hitherto, says Prof. Goddard, we have seen him ministering at the altar, or dispensing the oracles of wisdom amid the shades of the academy. We are now to note his career as a patriot statesman.

The articles of confederation adopted by the United States in 1781, proved, as is well known, utterly inadequate to the purposes of govern-

ment. Commercial embarrassments multiplied; the public credit was impaired; and the great interests of the nation, nay even the whole political fabric, was threatened with destruction. At this crisis of depression and alarm, Dr. Manning was, by a unanimous resolution of the General Assembly, appointed, at its March session in 1786, to represent Rhode Island in the Congress of the Confederation. The story of this interesting event in his life is thus told by the Hon. Asher Robbins, in a letter to Prof. Goddard, which we find in his memoir of Manning.

Though he had other merits and ample for this appointment of delegate, I have no doubt the dignity and grace for which he was so remarkably smoothed the way to it. It took place in this wise: There was a vacancy in the delegation, and the General Assembly, who were to fill it, were sitting in Providence. No one in particular had been proposed or talked of. One afternoon Dr. Manning went to the State House, to look in upon the Assembly and see what was doing. His motive was curiosity merely. On his appearance there, he was introduced on the floor, and accommodated with a seat. Shortly after, Commodore Hopkins, who was then a member, rose and nominated President Manning as a delegate to Congress, and thereupon he was appointed, and, according to my recollection, unanimously. I recollect to have heard Commodore Hopkins say (it was at the house of his brother, Governor Hopkins, where I shortly after met with him) that the idea never entered his head till he saw the President enter and take his seat on the floor of the Assembly; and the thought immediately struck him that he would make a very fit member for that august body, the Continental Congress.

Congress under the old confederation sat, as you know, in conclave; no report of their debates was published. How far Mr. Manning mingled in them, therefore, I cannot say. I recollect his speaking of one in which he participated (the subject I have forgotten), on account of a personal controversy to which it gave rise between him and a fiery young man, a delegate from Georgia by the name, as I think, of Houston. This young man in his speech had reflected upon New England and her people. Mr. Manning repelled the attack, and by way of offset, drew a picture of Georgia and her people. This so nettled the young man that in his passion he threatened personal violence. The next day he appeared in Congress with a sword by his side. This produced, at once, a sensation in that body, the symptoms of which were so alarming that he thought proper to withdraw, take off his sword, and send it home by his servant. In the course of the day he took an opportunity to meet with Mr. Manning, and to make him an apology.

He must have given himself much to business then, as he seemed to be master of all

the important questions which had been debated, and could give the arguments, *pro and con*, offered by the different speakers.

The famous Dr. Johnson, of Connecticut, was a member at the same time, with whom Mr. Manning became intimate, and of whom he always spoke with admiration. The Doctor once paid him the compliment of holding the pen of a ready writer, which Mr. Manning very highly valued as coming from such a man. It was upon an occasion of drawing up a report for a committee, of which both were members, and which report the Doctor professed to be much pleased with.

Dr. Manning at first pleaded his connection with the College as a sufficient reason for declining his appointment; but many of the Corporation were gentlemen of high political standing, who, regarding the interests of the Institution as involved in the character and reputation of the State and the course of public measures, advised him to take his seat, and designate a suitable person to preside in his absence. Accordingly, at a special meeting of the Trustees and Fellows held at his house, March 13, his request for absence was granted, and the Rev. Perez Fobes, LL. D., pastor of the Congregational church and society in Raynham, Mass., was appointed to take charge of the Institution from June 1 to September 1, as Vice-President. Mr. Fobes was a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1762. He accepted the appointment, and discharged the duties of the place with fidelity and good success. Shortly afterwards, it may be added, he was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy, which position he occupied twelve years, coming in from Raynham once or twice a week, during portions of the year, to deliver lectures. In 1795 he was elected one of the Fellows of the College.

The following letter to his brother, Jeremiah Manning, Esq., in Bonham Town, may be introduced here:—

PROVIDENCE, April 19, 1786.

DEAR BROTHER:

This will probably be handed you by cousin Robert Randolph, who sails this morning for New York. Your son's letters and his information, will render unnecessary any particulars respecting family matters, or indeed any other information. You probably may think strange of my appointment to, or at least my acceptance of, a seat in Con-

gress. Probably I can satisfy you on this head, when I have time and opportunity to come to an explanation on this subject, which may soon offer, as I have contemplated a visit to New York before long. Suffice it to tell you I mean not to assume, for any length of time, the political character. Though the unanimous suffrage of the Legislature called me to this office, it was a matter to me most unexpected, as it had been by me or my friends totally unsolicited. One of the first characters in the Government strongly solicited me to accept the appointment when made; yet my first determination was to decline it. After reflections reconciled me so far to it as to conclude to accept it till next November, but no longer. Accordingly I have utterly interdicted the mention of my name at the ensuing election. The College and congregation are, I hope, in the interim well provided for. Your son has concluded not to return to Jersey this vacation, as he wishes to pursue his studies with attention, and prepare the Salutatory Oration for Commencement, to which he is appointed. This is the same which was assigned his uncle in 1762 at Princeton.

My nephew, I suppose, has informed you what articles, if they can be procured more easily than money, will suit for remittance, especially what kind of family supplies will be most wanted. I expect to be in great want of cash in New York, as I fear Government has an empty chest; hence I shall be able to advance but little towards my expenses at my first going. This will necessitate me to call on those upon whom I have demands to furnish the needful.

With every wish for yours, and your family's temporal and spiritual welfare which fraternal affection can dictate,

I am, dear sir, your unworthy brother,

JAMES MANNING.

The following letter to his friend the Rev. Dr. John Rippon, gives the reasons more especially which induced Dr. Manning to accept this appointment, and also his views in regard to entering the political arena. The interests of the College, it will be observed, in this as in other matters, were uppermost in his mind: —

PROVIDENCE, April 7, 1786.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

Yours of June 23, 1785, came to hand too late to comply with your request relative to Mr. Dunscombe, as it did not reach me till November. He is on my list for the honors of the College next Commencement.

Of Mr. Booth's merit I am fully conscious; but what apology shall I make to him for not informing him that the degree of Master in the Arts was conferred on him before the

Letter to Rev. Dr. John Rippon

April 7, 1786

late war, and that he stands on our printed catalogue graduated in 1774? Some difficulties respecting making out diplomas for him and a number of gentlemen in England delayed it till the late confusion commenced, which totally deranged the affairs of the College, and effaced the memory of it till of late, especially as our Secretary had omitted entering the graduations on the records. This but lately came to my knowledge. The multiplicity of cares which divide my attention and engross all my time, together with the above, is the best excuse I can make. By Dr. Gordon I now send him this feather, as a token of our respect for his great merit. This, with a letter to him, and letters and diplomas to several other gentlemen graduated before the war, I take the liberty to enclose to you, and beg of you to forward them the first good conveyance. During the late war we have been so tremblingly alive, that we have lately started up as from a dream. Of this at least they may be assured, that they were not treated designedly with neglect.

Pray, don't be alarmed should you hear that I am in Congress. The motive of my accepting this most unexpected, unsolicited, but unanimous appointment of the State to that office, was the recovery of a considerable sum due to the College, for the use taken of the Edifice, and the damage done to it by the public in the late war. It was thought by those most acquainted with the state of our application to that honorable body, that my presence would facilitate that grant; more especially as none of the persons likely to be elected would greatly interest themselves in that business. My appointment is only from our late session till next November, when I mean to relinquish the office, as in general I always considered politics out of my province. Accordingly I have interdicted my name being mentioned in the next nominating. Both the College and the congregation are, I hope, well provided for during my absence. The latter are now looking out for a minister. I ever declined the pastoral care of the church as quite incompatible with my engagements to the College, though I have preached, administered ordinances, visited the sick, attended funerals, etc., for the last fifteen years, without assistance. Convinced that I cannot hold that place with advantage to them and hold the Presidency of the College, I have strongly recommended to them to obtain if possible a minister, and they are now looking out for one. But there is little probability of their finding the man soon on this continent. A man of letters, politeness, strict piety, and orthodoxy, of popular talents, possessed of a good share of human prudence, and no bigot, — in a word, a truly Christian orator is the man they want. Should any of our English brethren of this description incline to visit America, I wish him to take Providence in his way. And should he like the people, and the people him, I believe our congregation would afford him an honorable support, as it is large and composed of some of the most wealthy men and first characters in the State. Pray, have you no Mr. Rippons, Booths, Evanses, etc., to spare from your side of the water? I should for one be very happy to see them on our American shores.

The number of students in College is about fifty, and our prospects would be flattering were it not for the scarcity of money in this country, which embarrasses all kinds of business. A fund to educate pious youth of our denomination is what I have long wished for, but have not yet been able to accomplish. Several hopeful youth for want of this are denied an education, who promised fair to have been ornaments to the ministry. The state of religion, except in Boston, Newport, and in Vermont, is not very flourishing. With sentiments of esteem, I am, sir,

Your assured friend and humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

P. S.—Some drops of mercy have, I trust, fallen upon Providence. Our common friend, Dr. Drowne, requested me to mention to you that the gentlemen who appraised the loss he sustained by the bad package of the medicines he received from Mr. Pine, are noted apothecaries, and men to be trusted. Such, indeed, I esteem them; and have every reason to think the Doctor took the utmost pains to render the loss as small as possible. In justice I think myself bound to say this.

The letter herewith enclosed from Mr. Nathaniel Dummer is from one of my particular friends. His wife is a member of our church, and truly an excellent woman. He applied to me to get the information through some of my friends in England. He feared to intrust it to a person in whom I could not place the highest confidence, as he feared he might not get the best information. If it would be compatible with your business to procure the information requested, soon, and transmit to me directed to New York, and inform me what the expense is, I will engage to see you paid the expense and trouble which it may cost you, over and above thanking you for your kindness. As the information of Governor Dummer is thought worthy to be relied on since he came to America after he was grown up, it is thought highly probable that my friend is the next heir to the estate. Should the information coincide with his wishes, he means immediately to embark for England to attend to the business. Pray, let me hear by every good opportunity of your welfare. With every wish which the sincerest friendship can dictate for your temporal and eternal felicity, I subscribe myself,

Your very unworthy fellow-servant in the gospel of Christ,

JAMES MANNING.

“A man of letters, politeness, strict piety, and orthodoxy, of popular talents, possessed of a good share of human prudence, and no bigot; in a word, a truly Christian orator,”—such is Dr. Manning’s brief and expressive description of a minister to succeed in the pastorate of the

Baptist church at Providence. How unconsciously has he here presented his own character as a preacher and pastor!

In reference to Manning's appointment to Congress and the consequent vacancy in the church, Mr. Nicholas Brown thus writes to the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, under date of April 2, 1786:—

You will perhaps think it strange to hear of Mr. Manning's going to Congress, but I reserve giving a full account of this matter, hoping this may have some influence in inducing you to come at the time proposed, when you will hear all. I will only say here, that as the College increases, Mr. Manning urges, and with reason, that he cannot possibly attend to the duties of both President and pastor, and that the church has suffered for the want of time on his part to visit, etc. He has therefore recommended to the church and society to look up a suitable person as his successor, and as the College funds are not of themselves, in their present state, sufficient for his support, he goes to Congress to get what is due for rents, damages, etc., during the war. . . . The committee before mentioned are not only to obtain supplies in his absence, but to look up a suitable person to take charge of the church as a pastor. You know he must be a man of learning, and prudently popular. The society will engage such an one a genteel living, etc. Your advice, my dear friend, if nothing more, is absolutely necessary at this juncture. No one, let me add, will be more acceptable, *on all accounts*, than yourself, as a candidate for this important place.

The following letter to the Rev. Dr. Caleb Evans is very similar to the one to Dr. Rippon, and bears the same date. We give it, however, as a part of Manning's correspondence, omitting a portion to avoid needless repetition.

PROVIDENCE, April 7, 1786.

DEAR SIR:

Some time in November last I received your most acceptable favor of Sept. 5th, forwarded by Mr. Waldo. I am happy to hear that your Education Society, at their meeting in August last, empowered you to send such valuable books as they have to dispose of to our College. As you intended sending them by an early opportunity, and as I have heard nothing on the subject since, I fear they may have fallen into bad hands, or have been lost at sea. This induces me to write now that you may know they have not arrived.

If spared to see another annual meeting of the Corporation, at which only we have ever conferred degrees, we shall remember your worthy colleague, the Rev. James Newton, and confer on him the degree of Master in the Arts. Your recommendation

of any gentleman for the honors of the College will always meet with particular attention.

The College consists of upwards of fifty members, and would flourish greatly were it not for the scarcity of money in this country, which exceeds description. This scarcity peculiarly affects us. The appropriation of the Edifice to public uses during the war was productive of great damage to it, for reparation of which, as well as for the rents, the Corporation sent me last year to Congress, with the state of our accounts and claims and sufficient vouchers. We obtained a hearing before a committee appointed to report on the subject of the petition, and obtained a favorable report, but lost it before Congress when the report was acted upon. Our late Professor Howell was then a member, and had great influence; but as he had effectually opposed some continental measures, he thinks the question was lost by that means, together with the small number of the states represented on the floor. By the articles of the confederation, he is not again eligible for three years; nor could we find any man, probably, to be chosen, who would deeply interest himself for the College. This induced me, at his earnest importunity, together with his giving the greatest encouragement that a grant might be obtained, to accept the unanimous appointment of our Legislature, at their late session, as their first delegate in Congress till next November,—an appointment to me most unexpected, as I had considered politics out of my province, and on that account had declined a former nomination to that office. The interests of the College lay near my heart, and the necessities of it call aloud for the exertions of all its friends. I thought proper to give you these hints, lest upon hearing of my being in Congress you might think I meant to assume the political character; than which, in general, nothing is more remote from my intentions, notwithstanding the great importunity of many of the Legislature for me to continue in the office. I hope the College and congregation will be well provided for during my absence, and I do not doubt it from the arrangements made.

The state of religion in this country at present is low; yet our churches in Boston and Newport the last winter and this spring are mercifully visited, and some drops of mercy have, I trust, fallen upon Providence. With every wish for your happiness, I remain, dear sir,

Yours, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

TO THE REV. ABRAHAM BOOTH.

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, April 7, 1786.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Your most acceptable favor of the 25th of March, 1785, never reached me until September last. I heartily thank you for your translation of Dr. Abadie. I esteem it a

masterly performance, and wish it to have a general spread through this country, which, in imitation of the old country, is rejecting the ancient gospel. Dr. Chauncey's book in favor of universal salvation, printed in London, has made many proselytes amongst the New England Congregationalists. Mere nominal Christian ministers now begin to show on whose side they are. I am convinced, however, that these trying times are necessary, and will eventually subserve the interests of the Redeemer. False friends are more dangerous to religion than avowed enemies.

After a cursory reading of your "Pedobaptism Examined" last spring, I loaned it to my Brother Gano at New York, who at that time had great need of it, and I have never been able to get it since. I read it with great pleasure, and shall be happy to see a second edition, without any corrections except such as the judicious author may see fit to make. It is out of my power to comply with your request to criticise it. Some hints when at New York led me to suspect on whom you animadverted in the note you mention. It grieves me that such fine abilities should be prostituted in the support of error. Hope he may return to a better way of thinking. You need not fear any discoveries to your disadvantage.

I thank you for your attention to my friend Dr. Drowne. Having gained his object in France, he returned last summer, and is now well, and retains a high sense of the favors received in your family.

I hope the amiable and worthy Dr. Stennett is recovered, and will yet be spared to do much service to the cause of the Redeemer, in addition to the important service he has already rendered. I rejoice to hear that his son is such a worthy character. I wish he may fill his honored father's place, when he, having served his generation according to the will of God, shall sleep with his fathers.

It is pleasing to hear that the cause of God gains ground in England, and especially in our denomination. Sorry am I to hear of the dissolution of two Baptist churches in London. Dr. Gibbons was an intimate acquaintance of my old President Davies, and through that channel I became acquainted with his character. I esteemed him a worthy, good man. Some more of Mr. Backus's first volume, he tells me, are found in London.

Your letter, accompanying a copy of Dr. Abadie, I forwarded immediately to Mr. Stillman, who received it.

Our Baptist churches in Boston and Newport have had through the winter, and still have, a gracious visit. Considerable additions have been made to them, and the good work continues. I have also good tidings of the same kind from Virginia. Some scattering drops I hope have fallen upon Providence, but the number of late conversions is but small.

What apology shall I make for not advising you that the College conferred on you the degree of Master in the Arts in 1774? Directly after Commencement I was called

away to the Southern states, and on my return the Lord was pleased to pour out his Spirit on the people of my charge in a glorious manner, which engaged both my time and my attention till that fatal 19th of April following, when hostilities commenced at Lexington, which cut off all intercourse between the two countries, and so deranged the affairs of the College that it is but lately that I recollected that diplomas had never been sent to you and several other gentlemen graduated upon the recommendation of Mr. Riley, of Northampton. If these excuses, with more somewhat similar, are not sufficient, and I seem really to doubt myself, I must take the blame of neglect on myself, and make the best apology I can by complying with my duty at this late hour. As a testimony of our respect for your merit, be pleased to accept the diploma which accompanies this; and if you can, excuse the omission of giving you timely advice. To one not a resident in America it is hard to conceive into what confusion the war threw us, from which it will not be easy to recover soon. The College, however, is in a more prosperous state than ever, and promises fair to hold a rank amongst literary institutions in this new world; but the scarcity of cash greatly embarrasses the College at present, as it is extremely difficult for people of property to raise money to educate their children.

I shall be glad to have a letter from Mr. Booth by every opportunity.

With every wish for your temporal and eternal felicity which the sincerest friendship can dictate, I remain, dear sir,

Yours, in Christ,

JAMES MANNING.

The following letter is addressed to the Rev. Dr. William Gordon, who, it will be remembered, came from England in 1770, with a letter of introduction to Manning from the Rev. Dr. Stennett. He settled in Massachusetts, and was ordained pastor of a Congregational church in Jamaica Plain, Roxbury, on the 6th of July, 1772. When the Revolution commenced, he took a very active part against his native country, and was appointed chaplain to the Provincial Congress. He preached a Thanksgiving discourse, Dec. 15, 1774, which is published in Thornton's "Pulpit of the American Revolution." In 1786 he returned to England, and two years afterwards published, in four octavo volumes, "The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America,"—a candid and impartial work, says Alibone, of which there have been several editions. He died at Ipswich, Oct. 19, 1807, aged seventy-seven. Manning, it seems,

cultivated an intimacy with him. In this letter he speaks of a donation of books which Gordon made to the College Library. Among them we notice Caryl's Exposition, with Practical Observations upon the book of Job,—a work in two huge folios, published in London, in 1676, of which Charles Lamb playfully says, "What any man can write, surely I may read."

PROVIDENCE, April 13, 1786.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 21st and 27th ult. were long in coming to hand, and the reasons of my delaying to answer them were that I mistook one week in the time set for your sailing, and my having a number of letters to write and several diplomas to get ready to send to some gentlemen in England. All these I have enclosed to Rev. John Rippon, successor to Dr. Gill, who will take care to forward them as directed. I must beg the favor of you to see Mr. Rippon, and deliver them with your own hand.

It was my intention to have seen you myself and brought Mrs. Manning down, who was exceedingly desirous of it, that we might have had the opportunity of a parting kiss; but, unfortunately, my horse is disordered, and unable to perform the journey. Though denied the pleasure of one more interview with you here, I trust the grace and mercy of God will favor us with one infinitely more agreeable in a better world. You have my unworthy prayers for your own and your family's safety while on the ocean, and my sincere desires for your and their prosperity in your native country, from whence I shall ever rejoice to receive letters from you, and return the favor. I have been informed that you have been greatly abused in the Boston newspapers. You know that is a talent our neighbors there possess. They are ingenious to provoke. I am sorry your success in subscriptions is small here; but such is the scarcity of money that many who wished to be possessors, and amongst the rest your humble servant, were necessitated to forego it. But I hope to see better times. Shall be proud to place Dr. Gordon's History of the American War in the College Library at Providence, as a token of his remembrance and friendship for that Institution.

Don't imagine that I mean to exchange the sacred for the political character, because until the next November I have accepted an appointment of the State to a seat in Congress. It is purely with a view to obtain, if possible, a grant to compensate the rents and damages for the use of the Edifice by the public during the war.¹ However strongly solicited, I have not the least idea of suffering my name to be used in a sub-

¹ Dr. Manning did not succeed in his endeavors. Fourteen years afterwards (April 16, 1800), through the exertions mainly of Mr. John Brown, Congress voted compensation, as we have stated in a previous chapter.

sequent election. More than a thousand pounds is our just due from the public. With our small funds this is too much to lose. I wish with all my heart you may succeed to your wishes in returning to your native country. Mrs. Manning joins in her best regards to you and Mrs. Gordon. We wish you every facility which the sincerest friendship can dictate, both in time and eternity.

I rest, yours, etc., in gospel bonds,

JAMES MANNING.

P. S.—By Mr. Brown, the wagoner, we received the box of books in good order, and I beg leave in the name and in behalf of the Corporation to present you the hearty thanks of the College for the donation. They are delivered to the Librarian, and ordered to be set up and your name to be enrolled amongst the benefactors of Rhode Island College.

JAMES MANNING, *President*.

TO THE REV. DR. HEZEKIAH SMITH.

NEW YORK, 17th May, 1786.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 27th ult. came safe to hand, for which I thank you, and should have answered it before had not my hands been full. Mrs. Manning informed me of the application to you to be my successor in the meeting at Providence. I should be happy in your society, and should Providence order your lot there, I shall while there contribute my best endeavors to render your life happy, and useful to the people; but I think it best to interfere as little as may be with their determinations in settling a minister, as I conceive it might lessen my influence in his favor, after his settlement, should they have it in their power to say, when his support might be felt, that I was any means of it. Not that I hereby mean to excuse myself from doing my personal duty in that case, which I hope would be a pleasure. Should you accept of their invitation, your piety, I trust, would more than compensate the defect of politeness,—a high degree of which I cannot deem primarily essential in a gospel preacher, any more than distinguished rusticity. Habits of easiness in access, and gentle, unaffected manners, are most pleasing in that character.

I hope you may have the pleasure to find that your labors at Providence are followed with a blessing. The Lord is doing wonders in this city and its vicinity, but especially in the Jerseys, at the Plains, Mountains, Piscataway, and Cranberry. I attend the June meeting. Mr. Runyan, on Saturday, baptized twelve; the Sabbatarian minister three. Great power appeared to attend the preaching. Multitudes appeared deeply affected, and during the meeting several professed to be brought into gospel liberty. Such a meeting I believe was never seen at Piscataway before. I am told the

Thursday following twelve were baptized at Quibbletown, and Lord's Day thirteen at the Plains. There appears a considerable turn in the minds of the people throughout that quarter. Mr. Wilson flames out and is remarkably blessed, and goes on preaching, exhorting, and baptizing from place to place with surprising success. The Lord indeed is doing great things in the land.

Of your mother I can give no information, but presume she is living, otherwise Mr. Guthrie, or your brother Jeremiah, would have told me of her death. My situation here is indeed very awkward, without a colleague, without money, and in doubt what to resolve on. Our public affairs wear a cloudy aspect. I hope it is that the interposition of Heaven may be seen in extricating us from difficulty. His former unmerited favor to this guilty land encourages me to hope for it though it should almost be against hope.

The savages have begun their barbarous depredations on our western frontiers, but probably not without provocation from some of that lawless banditti which forms the van of those settlements. It is expected that, on investigation, this will be found true. Many of the innocent must doubtless be involved in ruin in consequence of it. The wretched, deranged finances of the Federal Government, will allow us, if disposed, to afford these people but feeble aid.

I am treated with respect by Congress and the heads of departments. The present Congress possess great integrity, and a good share of abilities; but for want of more states on the floor the public and important business is from day to day neglected. We are, however, in daily expectation of a fuller delegation. If personal matters could be so adjusted that I were not disquieted, I should be very happy in my situation here; for I commonly preach once or twice on Lord's Days, either in town, on Long or Staten Island, or in the Jerseys.

Please to present my best respects to Mrs. Smith and friends, and believe me to be

Your old, unvarying friend,

JAMES MANNING.

The following letter from Dr. Drowne directed to the Hon. James Manning, D. D., member of Congress, New York, happily illustrates the politics of the times:—

PROVIDENCE, June 23, 1786.

DEAR SIR:

I have the pleasure to inform you of the general health of your friends here, though the body politic labors under a threatening malady, the *furor pecuniae nothae*. The monstrous production has at length come to light, and we heartily wish it may come speedily to that other light spoken of by Longinus. This mock money is forced on

some, taken by a few others; but more generally refused in this town and Newport. Next week its fate will in some measure be decided. Should the General Assembly order a tax of about thirty thousand pounds, its circulation may be preserved awhile, otherwise it will inevitably perish. I am sorry your residence in New York should be rendered any way disagreeable to you, as I fear it must from your colleague's withholding himself, and also from disappointment with respect to pecuniary supplies. But these are only a small part of the ills the statesman has to cope with. Thorny is the political path, and I am almost of the opinion of a celebrated Frenchman, that the man who devotes himself to politics, from the vexations he must necessarily encounter, does not actually live as long as he whose mind is employed in contemplating the beauties of nature, or admiring the excellent productions of the fine arts.

Wishing to make some of your *uncongressional* hours agreeable, I would bring you acquainted with M. Otto, *Chargé des Affaires* from the Court of Versailles. From the intimacy which subsisted between us on board the French Packet, I found him a man of good heart, of extensive knowledge, of obliging manners, and therefore a worthy companion. If you have already been introduced to M. Otto, yet I could wish a safe conveyance of the inclosed letter to him, as it contains a request, which, I expect, will draw a line from him. I must not forget to mention that I am blessed with another daughter. That you may be favored with health and success is the sincere wish of your

Friend and humble servant,

SOLOMON DROWNE.

The following letter which we find in Staples's "Rhode Island in the Continental Congress," presents a striking view of the difficulties of President Manning's position, and of the crisis in national affairs, which resulted in the National Convention of 1787, and the formation of the Federal Constitution:—

TO GOVERNOR COLLINS.

NEW YORK, May 26, 1786.

SIR:—Agreeably to the directions of the General Assembly, at their session in Greenwich, I proceeded to New York and took my seat in Congress, as a delegate, the 2d of this month, in full expectation that General Miller would follow me in a few days, with the necessary supply of money to support us. But, to my surprise, I have not heard from the General since my departure from Rhode Island. Destitute of money to defray my necessary expenses, and at a loss to conjecture the reasons of the General's delay, you must naturally conclude that my situation is far from being agreeable.

I wish to be informed whether the State means to support a representative in Con-

gress or not, that I may act accordingly. My private purse will not support me here, and you, sir, know the expense attending this character too well to be informed that money in hand is necessary for the support of our delegation. Congress is highly displeas'd with the conduct of Rhode Island, in not sending forward her delegates. I have made the best apology I could for this neglect, but am oblig'd now to be silent, as I have no advice on the subject.

I think it my duty to inform you that this honorable Body is not a little alarm'd at the present crisis; with an empty treasury, while press'd on all sides for money; the requisitions not complied with in many of the states; the collection of taxes post-poned; our trade embarrass'd and almost prostrate; and the Barbary powers fitting out more formidable armaments than ever sail'd out of the Straits. Great Britain, too, through our Minister, has absolutely refus'd the surrender of the western ports, until the United States comply, on their part, with the fourth article of the treaty, which provides that British merchants shall be under no legal impropriety of recovering, in sterling money, their bona fide debts from the citizens of the United States. Against this article, since the passing of the money bill in our State, nine states in the Confederacy have pass'd acts, and several of the Indian tribes, as we learn from recent dispatches, have already commenc'd hostilities on our Western frontier.

This is our deplorable situation, and Congress is oblig'd this day to adjourn for want of a sufficient number of states, to proceed in the necessary and most important business of the Confederacy. In a word, sir, all the old members have look'd serious, and are alarm'd for the safety of the Confederacy. A motion is made, and it is propos'd to assign a day to go into the state of the nation, in a committee of the whole House, that we may send forward to the states without loss of time, the dangerous situation of the Federal government, that they may acquit themselves of censure should disastrous events happen through the neglect of the states. This motion has only been post-poned for a fuller representation, as they were in daily expectation of having both Rhode Island and New Hampshire on the floor.

I assure you, sir, that the above is not an exaggerat'd account, but done in the words of truth and soberness. We have lately been employ'd in reducing the expenses of the civil list, which we have done upwards of ten thousand dollars; nor do we mean to stop here, but embrace every opportunity to retrench as much as possible the expenses of the Federal government. I have the pleasure to inform you that I think the present delegation in Congress, Rhode Island apart, possess great patriotism, ability, and unanimity, but the want of energy in the Federal government, and in the respective governments of the states is, by every true friend of this country, to be lamented.

With the highest sentiments of esteem,

Sir, your humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

Dr. Manning's colleague was Brig.-Gen. Nathan Miller, of Warren. To him he thus writes, giving a graphic description of his own embarrassed condition for want of funds, and urging him in the present crisis of affairs to take his seat as a delegate, and by his presence and influence aid in preventing an impending dissolution of the Federal Government. That Manning fully comprehended the great questions which agitated this Congress of 1786, and which finally led to a more perfect union of the states, is evident from his correspondence, and from the great interest which he felt and the efforts which he made to secure the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

NEW YORK, 7th of June, 1786.

DEAR SIR:

I think if for a moment you would figure to yourself my situation, alone here for more than a month, reduced to the very last guinea and a trifle of change (which is the case); my lodging, washing, barber's, hatter's, tailor's bills, etc., not paid; without the favor of a single line from you advising me whether you mean to come or not, or sending forward the one hundred dollars on hand, which you proposed doing from the election if you were not likely to follow me soon,—I say if you would but realize my situation, you could not but pity me from your heart. I wrote you long since. I begged an answer from you, one way or another, that I might know what measures to take. But as I am now situated, I can neither stay nor go, except to the new City Hall, if my creditors exact it; and strangers have no more compassion on me than the State that appointed me. I must interest you to forward that sum of one hundred dollars, if no more can be had, by the first opportunity, with a line advising me of your real intentions. Matters highly interesting to this Confederacy, and indeed I think the question whether the Federal Government shall long exist, are now before Congress, and there are not states represented sufficient to transact the necessary business, as we now have barely nine states on the floor. Our affairs are come very much to a point, and if the states continue to neglect keeping up their delegations in Congress, the Federal Government must *ipso facto* dissolve. I have written the Governor on these subjects, and desired his answer, whether we should keep up our delegation or not. I shall wait till a reasonable time for an answer from you, and quit if I do not receive it. Send me by the post or packets. Frank your letters by the post. I shall impatiently wait the event, and with sentiments of esteem, I have the honor to be, sir,

Your humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

TO THE SAME.

NEW YORK, 12th of June, 1786.

SIR:—Yours of 27th ult. came to hand two days ago. Am mortified exceedingly that you have not come forward, nor sent on the money on hand; for I am reduced to but a few shillings, and my bills are not paid. My situation—without a colleague, without money, and without any instructions or favorable prospects from Government—is painful. Rhode Island has not many more strides to make to complete her disgrace, and ruin too; but that is not all. She is likely to hold a distinguished rank amongst the contributors to the ruin of the Federal Government. Never, probably, was a full delegation of the states more necessary than now, for you may rest assured that in the opinion of every member of Congress, and in the several departments, things are come to a crisis with the Federal Government. You say you think the present House does not want a Congress; the members may, it is more than probable, very soon see the accomplishment of their wishes; for without a speedy reform in the policy of the states, the Federal Government must be no more. The flagrant violations of the public faith, solemnly plighted, in the late emissions of paper money, on the conditions on which it is emitted, are here considered as the completion of our ruin as a nation: but I wrote you before on this subject; it is too painful to repeat. Pray send me on the money on hand, or come and bring it yourself, without loss of time; at least, write me by every vessel. With sentiments of esteem, I have the honor to be, sir,

Your humble servant,

JAMES MANNING.

The following letter from the Rev. Dr. Gordon will be found especially interesting, in view of the author's position as a defender of America on English soil:—

STOKE NEWINGTON, ENGLAND, Sept. 13, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have appropriated a few of my busy moments to your friendship, on which I set a high value. You will have heard of our safe arrival. The passage was, blessed be God, good upon the whole, and though longer by a week or two than we could have wished, yet not lengthy. We were in London within six weeks, lacking two days, after leaving Boston, and had a slight sea-sickness only the first day. Many of our friends and acquaintance, and some of our relations, had been removed; but we had the pleasure of finding as many still living as we could reasonably expect. I took care to deliver the parcel for Mr. Rippon safely, of which you will probably have received an account before this arrives. It would have been great pleasure to us to have seen you

and Mrs. Manning before our departure; but that having been prevented, I trust with you that the grace and mercy of God will favor us with an interview infinitely more agreeable in a better world. I am exceedingly busy upon my History, and when I have finished it shall not be unmindful of your College Library. The abuse in the public papers hindered the subscriptions very much. I hope, however, they will be made up in Britain. The beginning of next month I mean to have the proposals circulating; but am apprehensive that the book will not go to the press so early as I intended. Every one tells me that I must be extremely cautious how I word myself, in speaking of individuals in Britain, lest I should be prosecuted for libelling; and prudence will require my advising with some gentleman learned in the law, that I may avoid falling into the clutches of the malevolent. You would wonder at the coolness with which I have been treated by several, even of my brethren in the ministry, for the part I took while in America; this, however, has not made me repent of engaging on the side of liberty. The Rev. Mr. Martin, of your persuasion, at the Westminster end of the town, was a most bitter enemy to the Americans, as I have heard; and one and another of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were not less so, and would have rejoiced to have had the promoters and encouragers of the Revolution, whether in civil or sacred orders, hanged as rebels. But Heaven has disappointed and mortified them. They, however, spit out their venom at times.

We are at present with Mrs. Gordon's brother, who is exceedingly friendly. Where we shall settle is wholly uncertain; but a kind Providence, I hope, will direct in much mercy. Should like to be in the neighborhood of London, for the benefit of corresponding with my American friends, and doing them any particular service. Such a situation would place me also in the midst of my relations and British acquaintance. These matters, however, must all be submitted to infinite wisdom; and I desire not to be at my own disposal and direction.

We have been favored with good health since our arrival. I am concerned that your State should be so overseen as to make paper money, etc. Such policy will never make you prosper, and instead of preserving will drive away property and plenty from you. The Americans must make all kinds of property secure, or confusion will follow. I am most hearty in wishing them virtuous and honorable, and am therefore pained when anything takes place that is prejudicial to their public character. Mrs. Gordon joins in best regards to self and Mrs. Manning. Remember me to Mr. Nicholas Brown, Mr. Benson, and other friends. Let me hear from you by the first opportunity. Direct to Mr. Field's, Apothecary, Newgate Street. I remain,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

WILLIAM GORDON.

This year the public exercises of Commencement were resumed. Fifteen young men took their Bachelor's degree. James Manning, a nephew of the President, had the Latin Salutatory, and Lemuel Kollock, of South Carolina, the Valedictory. The President was in New York, attending to his duties as a member of Congress, but his friend Smith, from Haverhill, was present, and on the succeeding Sabbath preached three sermons in the Baptist meeting-house. Among the fifteen who took this degree was also Nicholas Brown, Jr., afterwards the distinguished benefactor of the College. He was at this time but seventeen years of age, having entered the Freshman Class in 1782, when the College again began to live. Mr. Brown commenced his benefactions in February, 1792, by presenting to the Trustees and Fellows of the College the sum of five hundred dollars, to be expended in the purchase of law books for the Library. This he did, in the language of the letter announcing the donation, "under a deep impression of the generous intentions of my honored father, deceased, towards the College in this town, as well as from my own personal feelings towards the Institution, in which I received my education, and from a desire to promote literature in general, and in particular the knowledge of the laws of our country, under the influence whereof not only our property but our lives and dearest privileges are protected." In 1804 he presented to the Corporation the sum of five thousand dollars, as a foundation for a professorship of oratory and belles-lettres. It was on this occasion, in consideration of this donation, and of others that had been received from him and his kindred, that the name of the Institution was changed, in accordance with a provision in its charter, from Rhode Island College to Brown University. In 1822 he erected at his own expense the second college building, which he presented to the Corporation, in a letter bearing date Jan. 13, 1823. At his suggestion it was named "Hope College," in honor of his only surviving sister, Mrs. Hope Ives. In 1835 he erected the third building, which he also presented to the Corporation, with a request that it might be named "Manning Hall," in honor of the memory of his own distinguished instructor and revered friend, President Manning. Mr. Brown died

Sept. 27, 1841, at the age of seventy-two. A discourse commemorative of his character and life was delivered by President Wayland, in the University Chapel, which discourse was afterwards published. The entire sum of his recorded benefactions and bequests to the University amounts to one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, assigning to the donations of land and buildings the valuation which was put upon them at the time they were made.

“Many years,” says Professor Gammell, “have now elapsed since he descended to the tomb, but the monuments of his wise and pious benefactions are all around us,—in the University with which his name is associated; in the Butler Hospital for the Insane, and the Providence Athenæum, to whose founding he so largely contributed; and in the churches and colleges and institutions of philanthropy over the whole land, to which he so often lent his liberal and most timely aid. So long as learning and religion shall have a place in the affections of men, these enduring memorials will proclaim his character, and speak his eulogy. *Hi sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores.*”

A few years before his death, at the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1835, Mr. Brown was formally requested to sit for his likeness, which was taken, at full length, by Harding, one of the most celebrated American artists. It now graces the collection of portraits in Sayles Memorial Hall. The visitor will gaze upon it with renewed interest as successive years roll on. It is greatly to be regretted that the portraits of his worthy sire and ancestors cannot be placed by its side.

Returning now to our narrative, we learn from the following extract from a letter addressed by Mr. Nicholas Brown, senior, to the Rev. Dr. Hezekiah Smith, dated Nov. 9, 1786, that Dr. Manning resumed his accustomed duties at the College in the beginning of November of that year. The extract is introduced as an illustration, in part, of the difficulties with which the College had to contend, owing to the scarcity of money and the confused state of the times.

NICHOLAS BROWN TO DR. SMITH.

Mr. Manning arrived here early in this month, so that we have been destitute of a supply for the pulpit only two or three Sabbaths. The Corporation were put to the

necessity of beginning College exercises with the new tutor, young Mr. Flint, several days after the scholars had arrived, Mr. Robbins having been detained at New London, waiting for a passage, until after Mr. Manning left. The worst of all is that we are still destitute of a steward, several having applied for the place who were not judged suitable, and several having been applied to who have declined. The want of some officer of College to attend the place of the Institution, will, I fear, be a disadvantage. But the badness of the pay heretofore, and the scarcity of money, the paper currency, and the confused state of law and justice, both in your State and in our own, where the scholars come from, are real difficulties. The fact, too, that the students are obliged to board out, instead of boarding in commons, has greatly increased the expenses. Yet, I believe, if due attention is paid by the officers, we shall have many students in, at least by next Commencement.

DR. MANNING TO THE REV. DR. SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, Jan. 18, 1787.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 15th ult. came to hand a few days ago. Am happy to hear of your welfare, but am sorry to hear of Mrs. Smith's indisposition. Hope it has proved of short duration. About a month ago I was seized with a violent fit of the bilious colic, which confined me about a fortnight, and threatened my life. Through divine favor I am happily recovered, and we all enjoy usual health. The town is generally healthy. Mr. Nicholas Brown has lost his new-born 'son. Mr. Jonathan Jenckes is married to the widow Bowers, who lived across the way. No late intelligence from the westward. Trade amongst us is very declining. Brown and Benson, by a seizure at Surinam, have lost four thousand dollars, and Jenckes, Winsor, and Co, about the same sum by the like means in Virginia. The paper money of this State has run down to six for one, notwithstanding which the Legislature continue it as a tender, and mean to do so, and to pay off all the State debts with it, be it as bad as it may. At the last session I petitioned them to pay my advances, and the remainder of my salary as delegate, amounting to upwards of four hundred dollars. This they offered to do in their paper, but in no other way. Besides, they have ordered all the impost orders brought in and exchanged at the treasury for paper at par, so that I must lose five-sixths of my salary so paid to me. A more infamous set of men under the character of a legislature, never, I believe, disgraced the annals of the world. And there is no prospect of a change for the better. Of all the arrearages of tuition for the last year, and the quarter advanced in this, I have not received ten pounds. I was taken sick the day after the second great snow, with no provisions in the cellar except one hundred-weight of cheese, two barrels of cider, and some potatoes; with not a load of wood at my door; nor could I command a single dollar to supply these wants. The kindness of my neighbors, how-

ever, kept me from suffering. But when a man has hardly earned money, to be reduced to this abject state of dependence requires the exercise of more grace than I can boast of. I feel for you in the situation which you mention, but it is a very trying time, and few of the ministering brethren are exempt from these trials. Nor would it probably be easy for you to better yourself. I have serious thought of removing to the farm at the Jerseys, and undertake *digging* for my support. Should things wear the same unfavorable aspect next year, I believe I shall make the experiment, if my life is spared.

The College consists of about the same number as it did before Commencement, but the delinquency of the students in paying their bills must, if not altered, break up the College, as the affairs cannot be supported, especially, as all assistance from our fund is cut off, if indeed it is not totally annihilated, which I greatly fear from the temper of the times.

I completed your business at New York, I believe, agreeably to your wishes, and have your securities and papers all by me ready for your commands, but I did not choose to send them by an uncertain conveyance. You mention an agreeable journey last October, but don't tell me where. I think with you that there is something god-like in preaching to the poor, who cannot recompense us; but it is our misfortune to be so generally of that number that we can only contemplate it. I supply the pulpit when able, but have had no application from the church, as such, to do it. Religion is extremely low with us, and confusion in State matters seems to increase. Please to present my best respects to Mrs. Smith and family, with all friends, in which Mrs. M. joins.

Sir, yours, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

The language of Dr. Manning, as here applied to the Legislature of Rhode Island, may seem at first unnecessarily severe. A reference, however, to Governor Arnold's History of Rhode Island, and to our biographical sketch of General Varnum, in his forensic effort in the celebrated case of Trevett against Weeden, will show that it was merited and just.¹ This, perhaps, was the most trying period of Dr. Manning's life. That he should have had serious thoughts of engaging in agriculture for a support is by no means surprising. These, however, were but momentary, and soon passed away. Few men, with powers dis-

¹ The distress in Rhode Island at this period, in consequence of the miserable paper currency, was so great, says Arnold, that farms were sold for one-quarter of their value.

tracted by care, and spirits saddened perhaps by a want of the comforts and conveniences of life, have ever labored more perseveringly, diligently, and cheerfully for the welfare of others, and for the public good, than Manning.

The Commencement for 1787 seems to have been one of unusual interest, "a large, polite, and crowded assembly of gentlemen and ladies attending upon the exercises, and thus doing honor to the day and themselves by encouraging polite literature, and those useful arts which are the glory of civilized countries." Among the orations upon this occasion was one by Nathaniel Lambert, on "The Present Appearance of Public Affairs in the United States of America — portraying the superior advantages to be enjoyed by this country, and the public happiness rationally to be expected, in case the states shall harmoniously agree on the great federal measures necessary for the good of the whole, whereon the convention have been some time deliberating at Philadelphia, and recommending industry, the manufactures of our country, and the disuse of foreign goods; and soliciting the fair daughters of America to set the patriotic example by banishing from their dress the costly gewgaws and articles of foreign production." Doubtless the worthy President had something to do with the selection of this topic, and its happy treatment.

The graduates numbered ten; at the head of whom, on the Triennial, stands the name of Abner Alden, master of the famous school at Raynham, Mass., and author of the "Reader" and "The Spelling-book" which supplied our ancestors in the Old Colony with the "rudiments" half a century ago. Mr. Alden was of the fifth generation in lineal descent from John Alden, of whom and Priscilla Mullins Longfellow sings. Among them, too, we notice Samuel Eddy,¹ for many

¹ Hon. Samuel Eddy, LL. D., was born in Johnston, R. I., March 31, 1769. After his graduation he read law, but he never practised it. In 1798 he was elected by the people of Rhode Island Secretary of State, which office he held for twenty-one years in succession. Resigning the secretaryship, he was elected, for three terms, from 1819 to 1825, a Representative in Congress. Subsequently he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Rhode Island, which position he occupied for eight years, when ill health compelled him to resign. He died Feb. 3, 1839, in the seventieth year of his age. Judge Eddy was justly respected for his uprightness and intelligence, and for the extent and variety of his attainments. He was no debater, says Professor God-

years a Fellow and Secretary of the Corporation, and Jonathan Maxcy, President Manning's successor in office. Mr. Maxcy¹ delivered a poem on the prospects of America, and the valedictory oration.

dard, but he wrote with uncommon purity, accuracy, and force. The volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Society are enriched with several contributions from his pen. He was thrice married. His last wife was Mrs. Sarah Dwight, widow of Gamaliel Lyman Dwight, and daughter of the Hon. David Howell. She survived him many years, dying at an advanced age.

¹ Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D. D., was born in Attetboro, Mass., Sept. 2, 1768. Immediately upon graduating, at the early age of nineteen, he was appointed Tutor in the College, which position he filled with great acceptance four years, or until 1791, when he was chosen pastor of the Baptist church. In 1792 he assumed the duties of the Presidency of the College, having been elected President *pro tempore*. In 1797 he was formally elected President, as appears from the records of the Corporation. "The splendor of his genius, and his brilliant talents as an orator and divine," says Dr. Blake, "had become widely known; and under his administration the College acquired a reputation for belles-lettres and eloquence inferior to no seminary of learning in the United States." "His voice," says the Hon. Tristram Burges, one of his most devoted and admiring pupils, "seemed not to have reached the deep tone of full age; but most of all to resemble that of those concerning whom the Saviour of the world said, 'of such is the kingdom of heaven.' The eloquence of Maxcy was mental. You seemed to hear the soul of the man; and each one of the largest assembly, in the most extended place of worship, received the slightest impulse of his silver voice as if he stood at his very ear. So intensely would he enchain attention, that in the most thronged audience you heard nothing but him and the pulsations of your own heart. His utterance was not more perfect than his whole discourse was instructive and enchanting."

In the year 1802, Dr. Maxcy, having resigned his office, was appointed President of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., as successor of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, deceased. In reference to this appointment, we find in Forsyth's Memoir of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Proudfit (pp. 55-59) a curious and interesting letter from the Rev. J. B. Johnson, then of Albany, and a Trustee of the College, objecting to Maxcy on the ground of his being a Baptist, and hence that his influence as such would be unpropitious to the prosperity of the Institution, the support of the College being derived chiefly from those who were opposed to the Baptist persuasion, and perhaps had no inconsiderable prejudice against them. Another objection was that he appeared to the writer to be a violent politician, judging from a Fourth-of-July oration delivered by him, which had been praised as containing some very brilliant expressions and keen sarcasms against the Anti-Federalists. A third and more serious objection, however, was the unsoundness of his theological opinions, of which the following extract from the preface to his sermon on the death of Manning, republished in June, 1796, was quoted as an illustration: "The only thing essential to Christian union is love, or benevolent affection. It is, therefore, with me, a fixed principle to censure no man except for immorality. A diversity of religious opinions, in a state so imperfect, obscure, and sinful as the present, is to be expected. An entire coincidence in sentiment, even in important doctrines, is by no means essential to Christian society, or the attainment of eternal felicity. How many are there, who appear to have been subjects of regeneration, who have scarcely an entire comprehensive view of one doctrine of the Bible? Will the gates of paradise be barred against these because they did not possess the penetrating sagacity of an Edwards or a Hopkins? Or shall these great theological champions engross heaven, and shout hallelujahs from its walls, while a Priestley, a Price, and a Winchester, merely for difference in opinion, though preëminent in virtue, must sink into the regions of darkness and pain?"

Notwithstanding these objections, Dr. Maxcy, as we have already stated, was chosen President of the College. Previous to this event, when only thirty-three years of age, Harvard University had conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity, such was his celebrity as a scholar and divine. Here at Schenectady he officiated with increasing reputation until 1804, when

The fears and forebodings of Dr. Manning in regard to the Confederation proved but too well founded. Notwithstanding the efforts of the wisest statesmen, it was found inefficient to promote social order, and all those paramount interests which it is the design of government to foster and protect. Accordingly, in 1787, a national convention met at Philadelphia, and proposed a union of the states upon a more substantial and popular basis, in order that the blessings of freedom might be preserved. A small number of the states adopted the New Constitution, so called, without hesitation, but in most of them it met with great opposition.¹ Especially was this the case in Massachusetts, where the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, as the friends and enemies of the Constitution were pleased to style themselves, were nearly equal in number. The convention for the adoption or rejection of this important instrument met at Boston, on Wednesday, the 9th of January, 1788. It was composed of nearly four hundred delegates, representing the talent and patriotism of the ancient commonwealth, as well as the conflicting interests of opposing parties. The debates were continued nearly a month, and attracted the most profound attention

he accepted the unsolicited appointment of President of South Carolina College, with the fond anticipation of finding a warmer climate more congenial to his physical constitution. Over this latter institution he presided, with almost unprecedented popularity, during the remainder of his life. He died at Columbia, S. C., June 4, 1820, aged fifty-two years.

In his person Dr. Maxcy was small of stature, but of a fine and well-proportioned figure. His features, says his biographer, were regular and manly, indicating intelligence and benevolence, and, especially in conversation and public speaking they were strongly expressive. Grace and dignity were also combined in all his movements. His writings, or "Literary Remains," edited by the Rev. Dr. Romeo Elton, were published in 1844, in a handsome octavo volume. Eight years later a selection from his "Remains," consisting of collegiate addresses, was published in London, making a pleasant little duodecimo volume of one hundred and ninety-one pages. This was edited by Dr. Elton. Dr. Maxcy was married to Susan, daughter of Commodore Esek Hopkins, of Providence, a name intimately associated with the history of the Revolution. Besides several daughters, they had four sons, all liberally educated. His brother, the Hon. Virgil Maxcy, was killed by the explosion of a gun on board the United States steamship *Princeton*.

No painted canvas or sculptured marble perpetuates the likeness of President Maxcy; but so long, says Elton, "as genius, hallowed and sublimed by piety, shall command veneration, he will be remembered in his country as a star of the first magnitude."

¹ In Virginia the contest lasted more than three weeks, Patrick Henry speaking against the Constitution with a power and vehemence never surpassed by him on any previous occasion. It was finally adopted by a majority of ten. In New Hampshire it was ratified by eleven majority, and in the great State of New York by a bare majority of three, after the Convention had been in session more than a month.

throughout the country. Upon the fate of the Federal Constitution here, it was supposed, depended the fate of the National Government; or, as Manning expresses it, Massachusetts was considered "the hinge on which the whole must turn." As an evidence of the deep interest which he felt in this momentous question, we quote from Mr. Howland's Memoir the following passage:—

Dr. Manning was extremely solicitous for ratification. He viewed the situation of the country with all the light of a statesman and a philosopher, and as a prudent and well-informed citizen he took his measures accordingly. He had saved the College funds through the fluctuations and storms of one revolution, and he now saw them dissipated and lost forever, unless the new form of government should be established. He knew that several clergymen with whom he was connected in the bonds of religious union were members of the convention, and that they were generally opposed to the ratification. He therefore repaired to Boston, and attended the debates and proceedings of the convention. His most valued and intimate friend, the Rev. Dr. Stillman, was one of the twelve representatives from the town of Boston in the convention, and zealous for the adoption; and in their frequent intercourse with their friends who were members, they endeavored to remove the objections of such as were in the opposition. . . . With the Rev. Isaac Backus, who was a delegate from the town of Middleborough, and considered one of the most powerful men of the Anti-Federal party, they were not able to succeed. The question of ratification was finally carried, by a majority of nineteen (one hundred and eighty-seven yeas, and one hundred and sixty-eight nays), after a full and able discussion. The writer of these sketches well recollects the cordial congratulations with which Dr. Manning greeted his friends on the decision of the convention, after his return from Boston.

Mr. Howland is in error respecting Backus, as the following extract from his diary, which we find in Weston's edition of his history (vol. 2, page 335) shows. It will repay careful perusal in this connection:—

A new Constitution of the United States of America was finished at Philadelphia, Sept. 17, 1787; and our town met on December 17th and chose four delegates to meet in Boston, Jan. 9, 1788, with others in convention, to establish or reject it; of which delegates I was the first, without the least motion of mine that way. When I was first informed of it, on December 20th, I thought I should not go, but as religious liberty is concerned in the affair, and many were earnest for my going, I consented, and went as far as Elder Briggs's, January 14th, and into Boston January 15th, and met with the

convention that day and the next in the State House, but as we had not room enough there, we removed, the 17th, to Mr. Belknap's meeting-house, in Long Lane,¹ where we continued our meetings from day to day, until the Constitution was ratified, on February 6th, by a hundred and eighty-seven yeas against a hundred and sixty-eight nays, being a majority of nineteen. Each delegate had full liberty, in his turn, to say all he pleased, by means of which I obtained much more light about the extensive affairs of our country, the nature of the proposed Constitution, and the security of the rights of the people therein, than I had when I went from home, and therefore voted for it. And yet Elder Alden of Bellingham, Elder Rathbun of Pittsfield, Elder Tingley of Waterbury, County of York, all voted against it, and so did two-thirds of the Baptist members of the convention, of which there were above twenty. Elder Stillman and I, with twelve Congregational ministers, voted for it, though, doubtless, with very different views. The exclusion of any hereditary, lordly power, and of any religious test, I view as our greatest securities in this Constitution; but perhaps many mean no more thereby than the exclusion of such lordship as they have in England, and of requiring any assent to any prescribed forms of faith or worship.

In connection with the facts stated by Howland, we cannot forbear to add an incident mentioned by Dr. Waterhouse, which we find quoted by Professor Goddard. On the last day of the session of the convention, and before the final question was taken, the President, Governor Hancock, invited Dr. Manning to "close the solemn convocation with thanksgiving and prayer." Dr. Manning, though taken by surprise, immediately dropped on his knees, and poured out his heart in a strain of exalted patriotism and fervid devotion, which awakened in the assembly a mingled sentiment of admiration and awe. The impression which he made must have been extraordinary; for, says Dr. Waterhouse, who dined in a large company, after the adjournment, "the praise of the Rev. Dr. Manning was in every mouth. Nothing but the popularity of Dr. Stillman prevented the rich men of Boston from building a church for Dr. Manning's acceptance."

In the following letter Manning alludes to his attendance upon the debates of the Massachusetts Convention:—

¹ On the day of the ratification, says McMaster, "the Long Lane that ran by the meeting-house where the convention sat lost its name, and has ever since been called Federal Street."

TO THE REV. DR. HEZEKIAH SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, Feb. 11, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR:—This morning was handed me your agreeable favor of the 30th ult. I am happy to hear that you and yours enjoy health; but sorry that with me you have cause to complain of the low state of religion. To be useful, is and must be the wish of every good man; but perhaps we may not always be the most competent judges of our usefulness. God may be doing that by us, which we little think of, that may redound to his glory. One or two, I hope, have lately met with a change amongst us, and there appears a greater degree of attention than for some time past. I continue still to preach to the people as a supply, till Mr. Stanford, from New York, arrives, whom the church and congregation have unanimously chosen their pastor. He is expected as soon as winter breaks. He paid us a visit at the invitation of the committee last Christmas, and spent two Lord's Days with us to great acceptance. He was to have been with us by the middle of this month, but had a three weeks passage back. Elder Asa Hunt called on me last week on his way from Virginia, where he has been for several months, having travelled seven hundred miles in that state, and preached, I think, seventy times. He brings refreshing tidings of the work of the Lord there, and of the great increase of our churches. Two most agreeable letters I received from respectable ministers there, of whom I had not before heard. One of them mentions that there are about one hundred Baptist churches in that state, averaging each at least one hundred members. Great additions are daily making to them, and they call aloud for ministers of education. I never wanted to visit that country so much as now.

The College continues gradually to increase. The expense of boarding in commons, tuition, room-rent, and library and apparatus privileges, granting one-fourth of the year for vacations, amounts to just £20 5s. 9d. lawful money (about sixty-eight dollars) at present, but I expect the commons will be lowered as soon as stability in government takes place, — a period I now hope not far distant. Wood is about twelve shillings per cord; and other incidental expenses as moderate here, or more so, than at Dartmouth. Two of our young men the Commencement before were at Dartmouth, Governor Bowen's son and Mr. Nicholas Brown's son, who made particular inquiry, and they assure me that the expense of living equally well was greater there than here. I make not a doubt but he would find his account in coming to Providence, and we should be happy to receive him and do well by him. I hope to have more particulars of your last fall tour. The reason of Brother Gano's leaving New York, is want of an adequate support, which fails through the opposition of a certain Mr. Robbins and his adherents in that church, who wish to govern it in their own way.

I felt so deeply interested in the adoption of the new Federal Constitution by your state, that I attended the debates in convention more than a fortnight, and expected to have seen you at Boston on that occasion. I considered Massachusetts the hinge on which the whole must turn, and am happy in congratulating you on the favorable issue of their deliberations. I am mortified to find Father Alden among the *nays*. The good work at New London and its vicinity, I am told, increases, and has spread to Norwich; and there is a great awakening where Grow used to preach, and in Canada Parish. Please to present my best respects to Mrs. Smith and family and other friends, in which Mrs. Manning joins with, dear sir,

Yours,

JAMES MANNING.

From this time Dr. Manning held no political office, although he always took a prominent part in public affairs, and was thoroughly familiar with the discussions and controversies of the day. The final adoption of the Federal Constitution by the people of Rhode Island, notwithstanding the persistent and bitter hostility of its opponents, who were mostly residents of the country towns and villages, was a result due in no small measure, doubtless, to his wise counsels and superior influence. How bitter and determined was the hostility may be learned from the following statement made by the Hon. Rowland Hazard in his oration delivered at the laying of the corner stone of the new State House, Thursday, Oct. 15, 1896:—

On the 24th of June, 1788, the news was received at Providence that New Hampshire had ratified the Constitution. The partisans of ratification proposed to celebrate the occasion. New Hampshire was the ninth state; her ratification made the final adoption certain. Preparations were made on a large scale to make a double celebration on the approaching Fourth of July. A whole ox was to be roasted and speeches were to be made. The place selected was on the north side of the cove, just below where we now stand. But a protest came up from all the country parts of the State. The night before the day fixed for the barbecue, over one thousand armed men marched to this hill, determined to stop the merrymaking. A parley ensued, and the celebration was finally allowed to proceed with the understanding that it was to celebrate the Declaration of Independence only. No allusion was to be made to the ratification of the Constitution. With this compromise the ox was roasted, general hilarity prevailed, and the country and city were harmonized.

We present Dr. Manning's correspondence for the remainder of the year, commencing with a letter from the Rev. Dr. Rippon, of London.

LONDON, Feb. 14, 1788.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

I have but a few minutes to spare this forenoon, which should have been devoted to your service, having passed in company, which unexpectedly has detained me. However, I most sincerely thank you for the short but comprehensive sketch of religious affairs communicated in your last of September, 1787, and also for your respectful introduction of the Selections¹ at the Chelmsford Association. The first edition of three thousand is gone, except about fifty books, and the second edition, I hope, will be quite printed off in April next. In case it meets with the approbation of our American brethren, and there is any probability of its spread, would it be against any rule of your Association to advertise the second edition? I have mentioned this to one or two brethren on your side of the water. No book printed in any time has had so rapid a sale among the Baptists as this.

With this please to accept a pamphlet or two, by which you will see in some measure what we are about in this country. The three denominations of Presbyterians, Independents, and Anti-Pedobaptists in this city are united together by a *political* bond. We met about a week since, and drew up a petition to Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade. The meeting was perfectly unanimous. We fear that there will be great opposition to the petition, but we hope to prevent the importation of any more slaves, from Africa at least. The petitions to be presented by clerical and political bodies are likely to be numerous and very general. While so many thousands are nobly engaged in this, the cause of humanity, may you succeed in your own peculiar career, distinguished from every other by a "glory that excelleth."

You mention the number of sixty students. Of what advantage may the wise and good among these be, not only to the present but future generations! *Long* may you live, and under your auspices may the College enjoy your felicity; and in a *remote* period, when the public prints announce that Dr. Manning was, may it be said, "He shone through a *long-lengthened* day, the ornament and boast of all his connections, and then set, like the sun, to rise and shine forever."

Indeed, dear sir, I do feel a great union of heart to you, and to many of our brethren

¹ "A Selection of Hymns from the best authors, intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns. By John Rippon, A. M." 12mo. London. Printed by Thomas Watkins; and sold on week-days at the vestry of Mr. Rippon's meeting-house. 1787. A copy of the second edition, with the portrait of the author for the frontispiece, is in the writer's possession. It was a presentation copy from Dr. Rippon to Mrs. Manning.

on your side of the Atlantic. It would be an unutterable joy were it in my power to do them any service, but if I can show my love to them no other way,

“My soul shall pray for Zion still,
While life or breath remains;
There my best friends, my kindred dwell,
There God my Saviour reigns.”

Mr. Stillman's account of Miss Stillman's death was very affecting, and edifying. How plain it is that true religion is produced in the heart of good men by “the self-same spirit!”

I shall rejoice to have a long letter from you, as you would have had from me, but for the reason mentioned before. I have not time to read this scrawl, but I should suppress some of the first emotions of my mind, were I not to subscribe myself ever, ever *very affectionately*,

Your obliged brother in Christ,

JOHN RIPPON.

P. S. — Please to remember me to Doctor Drowne. I hope to write him, and shall be very glad to receive a line from him.

TO THE REV. THOMAS USTICK, PHILADELPHIA.

PROVIDENCE, Aug. 21, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

Yours of June 10th was long in coming, but is now before me. I am glad to hear that you are so happily restored as to be able to preach to the people, but sorry that you have reason to complain of the low state of religion amongst you. I hope you may see better days in Philadelphia. It is a complaining time, in general, among ministers. Perhaps they, themselves, if properly engaged, might in part prevent the cause of it. My own difficulties, I know, call for the exercise of Christian fortitude, but I find it easier to talk of than to exercise it. I thank you, however, for the just remarks contained in your letter. I agree with you that the gospel is an estimable jewel, which we cannot too highly prize. May we be properly anointed by the glorious hopes which it is calculated to inspire.

Brother Caleb Blood, of Newtown, is the person whom I mentioned to have removed to Vermont. Our Brother Joseph Grafton of this town and church, is ordained and settled in his place, whose labors appear to be owned amongst the people. He was here last week. Elders Backus, Hunt, and Williams have lately visited us, who are well. I am told there is a happy revival at Bridgewater, under the ministry of Brother Robinson. Nothing new respecting the College has occurred since our last. Possibly

I may see you this fall at Philadelphia, as I have thoughts of visiting New York. Please to make my best respects to Mrs. Ustick and the family, in which Mrs. Manning unites, with, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother,

JAMES MANNING.

TO THE REV. DR. HEZEKIAH SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, June 10, 1788.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 6th inst. came to hand a few hours since, by Mr. Messer.¹ We have examined and entered the young gentleman into the Sophomore class, though he had not read quite so much as the class. His abilities and proficiency appear very good;

¹ Rev. Asa Messer, D. D., LL. D. He was born in Methuen, Mass., in the year 1769. His father was a farmer on the banks of the Merrimac. At the age of thirteen he left the town school in his native place, and went to live in Haverhill, where for nearly a year he was clerk in a wholesale grocery store. Having given up his clerkship, he studied for several years under the instruction of Rev. Dr. Smith, and in 1788, as Manning here states, entered the Sophomore class. In his diary, under date of Monday, June 2, Smith writes:—"Then Asa Messer quit his learning with me to go to college." It is no small compliment to his instructor, that in the midst of his duties as the pastor of a large and flourishing church, and after six years in the army as a brigade chaplain, he not only fitted his pupil for college, but also taught him advanced studies, so that he entered at the close nearly of the second year. He was graduated in 1790. Soon afterwards he became interested in religious truth, was baptized, and received into the fellowship of the church in Providence, of which Dr. Maxcy was then pastor. By this church he was, in 1792, licensed to preach, and in 1801 he received ordination. He was elected a tutor of the College in 1791, and remained in this office till he was elected, in 1796, Professor of the Learned Languages. In 1799 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and this station he continued to hold until the resignation of Dr. Maxcy, in 1802, when he was chosen President. For twenty-four years he presided over the affairs of the College; diligently and efficiently participating in the duties of instruction, and supervising, with no common practical sagacity, its disordered finances. In 1826 he resigned the office of President. Possessing, says his biographer, a handsome competence, the fruit in part of his habitual frugality, he was enabled to pass the remainder of his life in the enjoyment of independent leisure. After his retirement from collegiate toils, his fellow-citizens of Providence elected him, for several years, to responsible municipal trusts; and these trusts he discharged with his characteristic punctuality and uprightness. He died Oct. 11, 1836, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Dr. Messer was married to Deborah Angell, by whom he had four children, a son that died in infancy, and three daughters. The youngest daughter was married to the late Hon. Horace Mann, and the second to Sidney Williams, Esq., of Taunton, Mass. Mr. Williams resided for many years on the paternal estate. The eldest daughter was never married.

Dr. Messer's "religious opinions," says Professor Goddard, "especially for the last twenty years of his life, corresponded nearly to those of the General Baptists of England. He was a strenuous advocate for the supremacy of the Scriptures, and for their entire sufficiency in matters of faith and practice. As a preacher, he wanted the attractive graces of elocution; but he never failed to address to the understanding and the conscience the most clear and cogent exhibitions of the great practical truths of the Bible. For what is termed polite literature he had no particular fondness, but he was a good classical scholar, and was well versed in the mathematics and the several branches of natural philosophy. In moral science, also, we have known few better reason-

and from your commendation of him we hope he will do well. Am obliged to you for your interest in forwarding him.

I rejoice to hear of the Lord's work at Byfield and Rowley. Hope it may become universal. Then Haverhill and Providence will receive a blessing. Am surprised that mine in answer to yours of March 17th, and every other I have received, has not reached you. I have been punctual in writing, and giving you all the information I could. Our wicked State has rejected the Constitution by the town meetings to which the Legislature sent it, instead of complying with the recommendation of the General Convention. Our rulers are deliberately wicked, but the people of some of the towns begin to wake up since South Carolina has adopted the new Constitution, and Massachusetts has so effectually crushed Shayism. My visit to New York was very short and full of business, so that I did not go to visit one of my brothers or sisters, though I was at the Plains. My object was to assist Brother Gano off for Kentucky, which took up all my time. I heard from none of your friends. Indeed, I had no opportunity. Mr. Gano with his family left the Plains the first Wednesday in May. Many families of his people, Mr. Van Horn's and Mr. Hart's, are gone also, and more are proposing. A surprising spirit of emigration prevails there. The church at New York is without a supply, and probably will be for a time. Mr. Stanford is still very acceptable to all evangelical hearers. The house is pretty full, but he meets with some trials. Two

ers or more successful teachers. In fine, Dr. Messer was remarkable rather for the vigor than the versatility of his powers; rather for solid acquirement than for captivating embellishments; rather for wisdom than for wit; rather for grave processes of ratiocination than for the airy frolics of fancy. In 1824 he received from Harvard University the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, having previously received the same degree from his ALMA MATER, and that of Doctor of Laws from the University of Vermont."

"I cannot remember," says the Rev. Dr. E. A. Park, in a recent letter which he furnished for Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, "the time when I was not familiar with the countenance of President Messer. Before I entered college I saw him every week, and while I was a member of college I saw him every day; and no one who has ever seen him can ever forget him. His individuality was made unmistakable by his physical frame. This, while it was above the average height, was also in breadth an emblem of the expansiveness of his mental capacity. A 'long head' was vulgarly ascribed to him, but it was breadth that marked his forehead; there was an expressive breadth in his maxillary bones; his broad shoulders were a sign of the weight which he was able to bear; his manner of walking was a noticeable symbol of the reach of his mind; he swung his cane far and wide as he walked, and no observer would doubt that he was an independent man; he gesticulated broadly as he preached; his enunciation was forcible, now and then overwhelming, sometimes shrill, but was characterized by a breadth of tone and a prolonged emphasis which added to its momentum, and made an indelible impress on the memory. His pupils, when they had been unfaithful, trembled before his expansive frown, as it portended a rebuke which would well-nigh devour them; and they felt a dilating of the whole soul when they were greeted with his good and honest and broad smile. . . . As a son, brother, husband, father, he was the central object of attraction, and the beams of joy and love uniformly radiated from him over all the inmates of his happy home."

A fine portrait of him has recently been added to the collection in Sayles Memorial Hall.

weeks ago Mr. Alison of Bordentown paid us a visit, and entered a young gentleman in the Junior Class.

The College has more students than ever it had; consequently my services are greater than ever. Our oldest tutor, Robbins, has been unable to do any duty since last December, and is gone to Connecticut, five weeks since, from whom we have had no certain accounts. I doubt his ever being well again, or taking his place in College. So you see I must deny myself the pleasure of attending the New Hampshire Association. The state of religion in New York is not as promising as in times past. Near Peekskill and higher up it flourishes, and so it does in the Jerseys under the ministry of Brother Wilson. The New York church has sent out a flaming young preacher, Tommy Montague, who outshines us all they say. I think the church at New York has some thoughts of Brother Foster at Newport, and he of them. He visits them by request in July. My spring letters from London bring nothing of importance now, except the completion of the second edition of Mr. Booth's treatise on Baptism, which is much enlarged. I have not perused it. My best love to Mrs. Smith and family, in which, as well as to yourself and all friends, Mrs. Manning cordially unites with, dear sir,

Yours, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

The Commencement for this year occurred on Wednesday, September 3d. As the day, says the passing record, was fine, so the concourse of people was prodigious. The procession — composed of the Corporation and officers, of the graduates and students, of the clergy and other literati, who attended from abroad in greater numbers than ever before — began in the usual order at College, about eleven o'clock in the morning, and was escorted to the Baptist meeting-house by the gallant company of artillery commanded by Colonel Tillinghast. In looking over the exercises on this occasion, we notice, besides the salutatory oration in Latin, an oration in Hebrew on the eloquence of the Scriptures, an oration in French on letters in general, an oration in Greek on the importance of encouraging genius, a dialogue in blank verse on the situation and prospects of America, and a comic dialogue to ridicule false learning. As was the custom at all the earlier Commencements of the College, the exercises were continued through the day, with a recess at noon. The valedictory oration was pronounced by Amos Maine Atwell, of Providence. Among those who graduated on this

occasion was James Burrill,¹ who for sixteen years was successively elected, amid all the vicissitudes and competitions of party, to the responsible office of Attorney-General of Rhode Island, and was afterwards a member of the United States Senate.

FROM THE REV. MORGAN EDWARDS.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 18, 1788.

MY OLD ACQUAINTANCE:

I am now thinking how long it is since you and I have seen each other's face or perused each other's letters; and what the reason is, and whose fault (if a fault) it is. But as the inquiry hardly deserves a decision, I let all pass in silence, that I may proceed to inquire after your present state of health. I hope this will find you in a comfortable situation; at least I wish it may. I feel as well and as strong as an old man of sixty-seven years can expect to be.

Some years ago I sent you a manuscript²; whether you received it or not I cannot say. It was a collection of some historical facts relative to the Baptists. If you have the book, please return it to me as soon as convenience offers. Herewith I send you a

¹ Hon. James Burrill, LL. D., was born in Providence in 1772. He was prepared for College by William Wilkinson, Esq., then an eminent classical and mathematical teacher in that town. He graduated at the early age of sixteen, and, after completing his professional studies, commenced, at the age of nineteen, the practice of law in his native town. So rapid was his rise at the bar, that, at the age of twenty-five, he was elected by the people to the office of Attorney-General, and this office he continued to hold for about sixteen years, until bodily infirmity compelled him to retire from the bar. In 1816 he was elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, and a few months afterwards a Senator in Congress. He attended only four sessions of that body, — his valuable life having been prematurely terminated by a pulmonary disease, Dec. 25, 1820, in the forty-ninth year of his age. "During his short career in Congress," says Professor Goddard, "Mr. Burrill won for himself a very high rank. To the Senate of the United States there perhaps never had belonged a more useful legislator or a more practical statesman. All who knew Mr. Burrill marvelled at the opulence of his resources, and at his power to command them at pleasure. In the operations of his mind there was no indication of excess, of feebleness, or of confusion. On the contrary, he was always judicious, luminous, and forcible, — master of an infinite variety of facts and principles, and ever ready in applying them. He seldom wrote, although he was capable of writing well; and it is sad to think that his fame, as a lawyer and as a statesman, must soon become only a matter of dim traditionary recollection." James Burrill Angell, a distinguished graduate of the College, in the class of 1849, and the able President of the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, was named from this graduate of 1788.

² The "Manuscript" here referred to was Edwards's "Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Rhode Island," to which we are so largely indebted for our history of the College Charter. It is a quarto volume of several hundred pages. Backus had the use of it in the preparation of his history, and after him the late Dr. Benedict. It is now in the possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

small piece newly published. Your remarks upon it will be interesting to me as an editor, especially if it should pass through another edition.

My love and good wishes attend you and yours.

M. EDWARDS.

FROM THE REV. DR. CALEB EVANS.

DOWN END, NEAR BRISTOL, Sept. 20, 1788.

DEAR SIR:

As a memorial of my friendship, and some slight atonement for former neglects, I write you this billet by my dear Brother and Sister Mullett, to thank you for your former attentions to the first, and to commend them both to your further notice. Our anxieties and emotions at parting with those we have so much reason to love, and especially with a sister endeared to us from her earliest infancy by every quality that can render any character truly respectable and truly amiable, are not to be described. But we cast all our care on that God who careth for all those who trust in him, and has promised not to leave nor forsake them.

I enclose you a few Association letters, etc., which may give you more information than I have leisure to communicate. Dr. Stennett's Sermons on the Parable of the Sower you have doubtless seen. They are truly excellent, as giving the best instructions to preachers as well as hearers. I would also recommend to your notice Dr. Priestley's Lectures on History, as the best book on that interesting subject I ever met with. If I can I will herewith send it, and beg your acceptance of it for the Library of your College. I wish also to acquaint you with the reasons we have to expect soon a capital history of the Baptists, by Robert Robinson of Cambridge, and, if possible, will get some of his letters to me on that subject transcribed for that purpose.

It gives me no small concern to find your government making so disgraceful a figure amongst the other sister states. Surely, if they knew how foreigners look upon them, they would blush. I should, however, have scarcely ventured to say this, if I could not have added that I am happy to find the town of Providence shines forth as a luminous spot upon this dark mass, and appears the brighter for the darkness which surrounds it.

What shall I say to tempt you to renew a correspondence you have hitherto found so fruitless? May I not remind you that it is more blessed to give than to receive? And you have much to give which will be thankfully received, though you may receive little or nothing in return. I shall also be glad to hear of the general state of religion in America, of the progress of civilization, etc., in Kentucky, the prosperity of the Baptist College, the health and usefulness of its worthy President, etc. And you may possibly, now my connections with America are so tender, find me a more punctual, if

not a more intelligent correspondent than I have hitherto been. Dr. Priestley's writings in the theological line you are probably no stranger to, and surely he has gone to the *ne plus ultra* of heresy. Further he cannot go and retain the *name* of Christian, for the substance of Christianity he has long since discarded. I am preaching a few sermons on the Atonement, in opposition to his strange, unsupported notions. Such doctrines cannot long prevail. They have no internal energy.

I have heard an excellent character of the son of the late Jonathan Edwards. Can you give me any anecdotes respecting him?

I remain, dear sir, with every wish the sincerest friendship can dictate for you and your family and extensive connections,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

CALEB EVANS.

P. S.—I write this in haste, at a country retreat four miles from town, and have not my papers with me, or I would make a regular acknowledgment of your repeated favors before and since the safe arrival of the books.

I had like to have forgot to say, do you want a good linguist to assist in the College or grammar school with you, or to send to Kentucky? A young man of this description left our academy last vacation, who, having few friends here, and a very slender voice, which is a bar to his popularity, seems willing to go abroad could he have any encouragement. He is a good young man, has very tolerable talents as a preacher, and is an excellent mechanical scholar in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and has some knowledge of the first rudiments of the mathematics. He is deficient in a general course of knowledge and reading, but habituated to diligence, and very capable of improvement. I should have kept him here another year, had not some particular circumstances prevented it. I really think he might be an important acquisition in such a department as I have mentioned, and I am persuaded he would come over upon very moderate encouragement.

TO THE REV. DR. HEZEKIAH SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 17, 1788,

DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 25th ult. came safe to hand. Am sorry for and sympathize with you in your trials, but God means them for good to you; though we are impatient, oftentimes, under the salutary discipline of a heavenly parent. I cannot bear to think of your leaving Haverhill. I hope God has work for you to do there yet, and is now preparing you for it. I should be sorry should you come to a resolution of taking your son from College. I hope you may yet see a brighter sky, which will encourage you to proceed. The conduct of the people I doubt not is trying. You did well in not being

precipitate. We must let our moderation be known, and indeed we need much of it. I hope you meet with success in the petition to the House of New Hampshire, but fear, as their session was so short, they did not take that up; if not, I hope they will when they meet next. Am glad to hear that things were agreeable at Mr. Wood's settlement at Ware. I hope he will prove a blessing to them. I think him a valuable man.

The abridgment of Dr. Gill, through the scarcity of money, is stopped for the present, as very little encouragement has yet been given for the work. Dr. Jones himself does not expect it will go on, and the money which was put into my hands for that purpose I have returned long since. *Thus endeth that lesson.*

Your son,¹ I think, wants a little more stability; he seems to fluctuate too much. Upon giving him your letter to me to read, he seemed to conclude he is not likely to come to College any more. Instability is natural to young minds, but it may be checked in some degree by proper culture; and a parent greatly beloved can accomplish this the best. Mr. Stanford has hinted to the people that they are not to expect his stay after the expiration of the term agreed to; but the committee have within a few days past had two meetings, the last of which was with him, and are determined to use their influence to prevent it. With sentiments of esteem, and love to Mrs. Smith, in which Mrs. Manning joins, I am, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

It seems proper in this chapter, which illustrates more particularly Dr. Manning's political character and life, to give some account of his efforts in behalf of popular education.

The late Samuel Thurber, in a letter addressed to Judge Staples, which we find in his *Annals of Providence*, says of schools, that, "previous to about the year 1770, they were but little thought of. There were," he says, "in my neighborhood, three small schools, with perhaps a dozen scholars in each. Their books were the Bible, spelling-book, and primer. One kept by John Foster, Esq., in his office; one by Dr. Benjamin West. Their fees were seven shillings and sixpence per quarter. One kept by George Taylor, Esq., for the church scholars. He, it was said, received a small compensation from England. Besides these there were two or three women schools. When one had learned to read, write, and do a sum in the rule of three, he was fit for business. The Rev. James Manning," Mr. Thurber

¹ The "son" here referred to was Hezekiah, Dr. Smith's eldest son. He eventually settled down on a farm in Northumberland, Coos County, New Hampshire, where he died at an advanced age.

remarks in another place, "did great things in the way of enlightening and informing the people. Schools revived by means of his advice and assistance. Previous to him it was not uncommon to meet with those who could not write their names."

The leading facts pertaining to the history of popular education in Providence are given by Judge Staples. That Manning was prominent in all efforts made in his day for the improvement of society and the public good, is evident from the tenor of his life and correspondence thus far. He was a member of the school committee of the town, and for many years the chairman. One of the last acts of his life was to draw up a report in favor of the establishment of free public schools, which report was presented at an adjourned town meeting held in the State House, Monday, Aug. 1, 1791, only two days after the author had been followed to the tomb. We shall be pardoned if we give an extract from this valuable report, which, although not carried into immediate execution, was cordially received and adopted at the time, and doubtless, paved the way for the introduction, a few years later, of the present free-school system of Providence.

It seems that, at the annual town meeting in June, a petition had been presented, praying that a sufficient number of schoolmasters be appointed to instruct all the children in town at the public expense; which petition was referred to the school committee, of which Manning was chairman, with instructions to report thereon at an adjourned meeting. The report thus begins:—

TO THE FREEMEN OF THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE, TO BE CONVENED NEXT BY ADJOURNMENT, THE UNDERWRITTEN MEMBERS OF YOUR SCHOOL COMMITTEE, IN PURSUANCE OF YOUR RESOLUTION AT YOUR LAST MEETING, REPORT:—

After the most deliberate and mature consideration of the subject, we are clearly of opinion that the measure proposed by the petitioners is eligible, for many reasons.

1. Useful knowledge, generally diffused among the people, is the surest means of securing the rights of man, of promoting the public prosperity, and perpetuating the liberties of a country.

2. As civil community is a kind of joint tenancy in respect to the gifts and abilities of individual members thereof, it seems not improper that the disbursements necessary to qualify those individuals for usefulness should be made from common funds.

3. Our lives and properties, in a free state, are so much in the power of our fellow-citizens, and the reciprocal advantages of daily intercourse are so much dependent on the information and integrity of our neighbors, that no wise man can feel himself indifferent to the progress of useful learning, civilization, and the preservation of morals in the community where he resides.

4. The most reasonable object of getting wealth, after our own wants are supplied, is to benefit those who need it; and it may with great propriety be demanded, in what way can those whose wealth is redundant benefit their neighbors more certainly and permanently than by furnishing to their children the means of qualifying them to become good and useful citizens, and of acquiring an honest livelihood?

5. In schools established by public authority, and whose teachers are paid by the public, there will be reason to hope for a more faithful and impartial discharge of the duties of instruction, as well as of discipline among the scholars, than can be expected when the masters are dependent on individuals for their support.¹

The report goes on to recommend that the "Brick Schoolhouse" and "Whipple Hall" be purchased of the proprietors, and that two additional houses be erected, one on the west side of the river. It also recommends that the four schools thus established be under the care and supervision of the school committee, who shall appoint the necessary instructors. It is signed by James Manning, Enos Hitchcock, Moses Brown, Joseph Snow, Moses Badger, Jabez Bowen, David Howell, Benjamin Bourne, John Dorrance, Theodore Foster, and Welcome Arnold. Providence, July (seventh month), 1791. Although, as we have already stated, this report was adopted, its provisions were not carried into effect until the year 1800, when the General Assembly passed its first act in relation to free schools, in accordance with a petition to this effect from the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, drawn up and presented by John Howland. On the last Monday in October, 1800, four schools were opened in Providence, under the most favorable auspices.

¹ This admirable report, so brief and yet so comprehensive, embodies in its five "reasons," the grand principles which underlie all legislative action in behalf of popular education. The veteran educator, the Hon. Henry Barnard, of Hartford, who was Commissioner of Public Schools in Rhode Island from 1845 until 1849, remarked to the writer soon after the publication, in 1864, of "Manning and Brown University," in which this report appeared, that it was the best report of the kind he had ever seen; and that he valued it as one of the choicest books in his "Pedagogical Collection."

CHAPTER XIII.

1789-1791.

Letter from Rev. Dr. Gordon, illustrating his political views, and his position in England as the historian of the American war—Manning appointed to draft and present to Congress a petition in behalf of Rhode Island—Petition as published in Staples's Annals—Address to the Graduating Class of 1789—Jeremiah B. Howell—James Fenner—Manning's customary charge to candidates for the ministry—Letter addressed to Manning from committee of the Baptist church—Letter to Rev. Abraham Booth—Booth's reply—Letter from Rev. Dr. Evans—Letter to Rev. Dr. Smith—Religious interest in Providence—Seven ineffectual attempts in the General Assembly to call a Convention for the adoption of the Federal Constitution—Senator Williams, from Foster—Final adoption, May 29, 1790—George Washington's visit to Providence—Reception at the College—Address of President Manning in behalf of the Corporation—Washington's reply—Commencement for 1790—Moses Brown—Degree of LL. D. conferred on Washington—Anecdote respecting him—Letter to Rev. Dr. Smith respecting Asa Messer, Tutor Flint, etc.—Ordination of Mr. Flint—Letter from Abraham Booth—Letter from Rev. Dr. Rippon—Rippon's "Baptist Annual Register"—Letter from Rev. Dr. William Richards, of Lynn, England—Announces his intentions of bequeathing his library to Rhode Island College—Account of Mr Richards—Corresponds with President Messer—Bequeaths his library to the University—Last letter from Manning, addressed to Rev. Dr. Smith—Manning preaches his farewell sermon to the people of his charge—Notifies the Corporation of the College to look out for a successor to fill his place—Singular presentiment of his approaching mortality—His death—Universal sorrow and regret—Proceedings of the Corporation—Funeral—Extracts from Maxcy's Funeral Sermon—Letter on the occasion of Manning's death from Rev. Dr. Stillman, addressed to Rev. Dr. Smith—Letter from Hon. David Howell, in behalf of members of the Corporation, announcing Manning's death to Rev. Dr. Samuel Jones, and in an informal manner designating him as his successor in the Presidency—Letter from Rev. Isaac Backus to Rev. Dr. Rippon—Letter to Dr. Rippon from Doct. Drowne—Extracts from Simeon Doggett's Commencement "Oration on the Death of Rev. President Manning"—Manning as a Baptist and a Federalist the "object of detraction"—Extracts from the circular letters of the Warren and Philadelphia Associations—Manning's personal appearance, habits, character, and influence, as given by Hon. David Howell—Inscription on his tomb-stone—Original portrait of Manning, by Cosmo Alexander—Conclusion—The College founded by Baptists to secure for the churches an educated ministry—The improvement and elevation of the Baptist denomination through the College the object and aim of Manning's entire professional life.

FROM this date Dr. Manning, it appears, did not preserve copies of his letters abroad, as had heretofore been his custom. We can only

therefore present, besides one or two additional letters of his own, a few replies from his friends, which will doubtless be regarded as an interesting part of his correspondence. The following, from the Rev. Dr. Gordon, will serve to illustrate the author's position and views as the historian of the American war:—

RINGWOOD, ENGLAND, Feb. 27, 1789.

MY GOOD FRIEND:

I am mistaken or you are indebted to me for an answer to my last letter. You might delay sending it till you heard where I was settled; and this you will not do by the present means, but the reverse. You will inquire after the situation of Ringwood, and the reason of my being here. You know I have a pleasure in gratifying you; and therefore turn to your map of England, look for Hampshire, find out Pool, next the church, which is twelve miles off, then Christ's Church, which is ten in the contrary direction, then Southampton, which is twenty, and so calculate the proper distance between Southampton and Pool, and from Christ Church, then make your dot, and you will either hit, or be not far from, Ringwood in imagination. I should be glad to see you in reality, though I should be astonished at the sight, and wonder what drove you from the land of the whereases, whether the inhabitants are suddenly going from one extreme to another and becoming *all* honest, so that they no longer wanted your instruction or example, or are being so confirmed in their malpractices as that you had forsaken them, from a conviction that they were a set of incurables. Now for the other part of the question, What brought me hither? Freedom among friends is best, you know; and therefore, to be plain with you, when I had seen to the delivery and sending off my History to the subscribers in London and the country, I pushed off to this retirement for a few months, that I might at the distance of ninety-seven miles be out of the way of the conversation that my publication would produce. I was sufficiently tired with composing, transcribing, and publishing; and did not wish to have my spirits fatigued more with the queries and observations that either malevolence or curiosity might excite. I judged it as needful to give myself a few months' relaxation, as to turn out to grass for a season an old horse worn down by a long, tedious journey, that he might recruit and be fit for a little more service. Here we shall remain, if spared, at the country house of Mrs. Gordon's younger brother, till April or May, when I propose giving a look at London for a few days, on our way to Ipswich in Suffolk, seventy miles from the metropolis, eighteen miles from Colchester, and twelve from Harwich. Here we were first settled and lived thirteen years. Our former people and their successors, like their quondam pastor, were the friends of America, so that we shall agree in politics as well as religion. They have a great affection for us; and had

there been a vacancy in the pastorate, they would, I have reason to believe, have urged my renewing our former relations. Here and in the neighborhood I shall be likely to preach occasionally, while abilities admit; but though I have great reason to adore the goodness of God that I am so well in body and mind, now that I am within nine days of sixty, yet I perceive that they are upon the decline. You will think my eyesight good when you read that I write, as you see, whether by day or candlelight. I was in hope that some ministerial settlement with a small congregation, and a salary that might have made our circumstances more easy, would have offered. But the great Head of the church has ordered otherwise,—not only with wisdom for the general good, but with mercy for our particular benefit. I do not intend to lie by in a state of lazy indolence, but to apply myself to some kind of service that may be useful to the church and the public, and yield me, with the blessing of God, some advantage to supply present deficiencies. What that should be I have not yet determined, and delay till I get into a habitation of my own, if an earthly one remains designed for me. But I mean it to be of that nature that will not disgrace a D. D., the creature of Princeton College Trustees. Much will depend upon the voice of the public, on both sides of the Atlantic. If the numerous part of impartialists will exclaim *well done*, and call for a second edition of my History, the way will be plain. The profits arising from it will suffice, especially if the heads of American colleges will let me have their orders and their cash for the various books that may be wanted in their seminaries and libraries, which I might be able to supply them with on lower terms than they now have them, by exchanging copies of my work with the booksellers having the copyright of such as are to be furnished. Your friendship will lead you to improve upon this hint; and methinks I am entitled to the countenance and aid of the American States, for my past and present attachment to their freedom and independence, and for the disadvantages the same has subjected me to in my native country.

I had finished writing thus far, and taken a breathing-walk into the garden, when yours of September, 1788, was brought to Mrs. Gordon in a parcel. Upon opening the last, I had the pleasure of reading that and another from the same continent. To what it has been owing that so much time has elapsed since that day to the present, before the parcel reached me, I know not; *but better late than never*, and *long-looked-for is come at last*. And now for answers to, and comments upon it. Through divine goodness Mrs. Gordon's hand has been so far restored as to be very serviceable, though not as formerly. The labors I had been called to while printing, and which had near exhausted me by the time I had finished, led one of my intimate friends to say he was astonished at observing how my spirits had kept up. Relaxation, country air, the severe cold of last winter, and the pleasures of the present spring, have given to them a fresh start; and I promise myself they will recover their former tone. The produce of America just received from New York and Massachusetts has raised them some

degrees above par. When you read the History, I flatter myself you will pronounce me the friend of the American cause, and that I have pointed out the faults of the United States in divers instances without basting them *severely*. I can go beyond most of the members of the old superannuated Congress, or even of the new Federal Constitution, and say, I pray daily that the United States of America may be a holy, free, and happy people, which is the way to be lasting. It used to be one of my petitions that good government might be established among them; but that being answered, I have only to be thankful for it. You will not charge me with having spared Great Britain, when you are convinced how faithfully their cruelties in America are related. Your account of Massachusetts merits confirmation, and I hope will obtain it. The infinitely wise Governor of the universe often makes great evils the parents of lasting and great benefits. But where did you leave your orthodox divinity, when you went from Providence to New York, that you should venture to declare, that if my native country does not smart in your lifetime for her conduct to the East Indians and Africans, not to say Americans, that so you might see it, you should alter your opinions respecting the divine dispensations toward communities of men in this world? Methinks, Brother Doctor, I have caught you napping. Besides, had the Americans smarted equal to their crimes toward their public and private creditors, the Africans, etc., when you were provoked to leave off glorying in being an American?

Our common friend, Mr. Rippon, will give you fuller and better intelligence concerning Winchester than I can do. I wish his most influential days may be at an end, unless he goes *right about* as he was, to allude to a military phrase. May the College at Providence, and all other colleges where learning, good morals, and Christian piety are encouraged, flourish more and more. And may my friends there continue to enjoy good health. I have desired Mr. Mason to accompany this letter with six sets of my History to you. One is a present to the College; the other five are for Jabez Bowen, Esq., Messrs. John Brown and Francis Bowen, Mr. Nicholas Brown, Mr. Caleb Greene, and Mr. John Jenckes. I pray you to present my best respects to these gentlemen, to receive the remaining five pounds from them, and to forward the same to Jonathan Mason, Jr., Esq., Boston. If no other way that is more agreeable offers, either of those careful and obliging postriders, Messrs. Mumfords, to whom my respects, I am certain will take a pleasure in serving me by conveying it. It might not perhaps be amiss to hint to them, that if by their peregrinations they could dispose of twenty-five or fifty sets, I might likely supply them at twenty-five shillings sterling per set, delivered at Boston or Providence. . . . I remain, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend though unworthy brother,

WILLIAM GORDON.

The services of Dr. Manning were still, it would seem, in popular demand at this trying period in the history of Rhode Island as a State. From the records of the day we learn that —

At an adjourned meeting of the town on Thursday (Aug. 27, 1789), a committee, that had been appointed on Tuesday for the purpose, reported a draft of a petition to be presented to the Congress of the United States, setting forth the distressed situation of this State, the probability of our soon joining the Union, and praying that vessels belonging to our citizens may be exempted from foreign tonnage, and goods shipped from this State from foreign duties, for such time and under such regulations and restrictions as Congress in their wisdom shall think proper.

The petition was unanimously voted; and after having been signed by the moderator and town clerk, the Rev. Dr. Manning and Benjamin Bourne, Esq., were appointed to proceed to New York and present the same.

The committee appointed to draft the petition consisted of Dr. Manning, Benjamin Bourne, Thomas Arnold, Nicholas Brown, Theodore Foster, Welcome Arnold, and John Brown. The petition itself, which was probably drafted by Manning, as chairman of the committee, may be found in Staples's Annals of Providence. Our readers, we feel sure, will be glad to see it in this connection: —

PETITION TO CONGRESS.

TO THE PRESIDENT, THE VICE-PRESIDENT, THE SENATE, AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

The Petition of the Freemen of the Town of Providence, in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, legally convened in Town Meeting, on the 27th day of August, 1789, most respectfully sheweth,

That during the arduous struggle of our country for the preservation of her rights, liberties, and independence, in the late war with Great Britain, this town was particularly noted for its attachment to, and its advances and exertions for, the support of the common cause of the United States. Sensible that our most essential interests depended on our being in the Union, and that the former Confederation was unequal to its exigencies, we made every effort to obtain delegates to be sent from this State to the General Convention, which met at Philadelphia, 1787. After the proceedings of that Convention were published, this town, pleased with the spirit of liberty, tempered with energy and responsibility, which so strikingly pervades the new Constitution,

made the most unremitting exertions for obtaining a Convention of the State for its adoption.

We have not hitherto succeeded, but it is with great satisfaction we have it in our power to inform Congress, that from the recent election of the members of our lower house of Assembly, there is a probability that this desirable event will soon take place. We now experience the unhappy consequence of not belonging to the Union, in being subjected to the same imposts and tonnage, as foreigners, which, considering our intimate connection with the United States, and our dependence upon them for the means of our subsistence, operates in a most grievous manner against the seaport towns of this State, who have been generally supplied, as well by land as water, with fire-wood, corn, flour, and other necessary articles, from the states now in the Union; and should our trade and communication with them continue to be restricted, as at present, our situation will be truly wretched.

We claim an original relation to the American Congress, and are fully sensible that we cannot exist independent of the friendship and good will of our sister states. And as we hope the formal accession of this State to the new Constitution is not far distant, and as our separation from the Union can by no means be imputed to the seaport towns, the inhabitants whereof are, almost unanimously, zealous advocates for the new Constitution; and as a continuance of the above mentioned restrictions on the inhabitants of this State will accumulate unmerited distress upon that part of the community which has been most firmly attached to the Union; and as we cannot but hope that the benign disposition of Congress, towards the agricultural part of the State, manifested in the admission of their produce and manufactures free, will also be extended to the seaport towns.

We, therefore, most humbly entreat the attention of Congress to our distressed situation, and that they will be pleased to grant, for such time as to them in their wisdom shall appear proper, that the vessels belonging to the citizens of this State, may be admitted to entry in the ports of the United States, exempt from the payment of foreign tonnage in the same manner as vessels belonging to their own citizens; and that foreign merchandise, on importation by the citizens of this State, into the United States, by land or water, shall be subject only to the same duties and restrictions as by law are required of their own citizens.

And as in duty bound will ever pray, etc.

Similar petitions to the above were presented to Congress from Bristol and Newport. They met with a favorable reception, and for a limited time, that is, until January 15, 1790, the vessels and goods of the citizens of Rhode Island were placed on the same footing with like

property of citizens of the United States. How far this result may be attributed to the character and personal influence of Dr. Manning we can only conjecture. In the long struggle of the citizens of Providence, Bristol, and Newport to obtain a Convention of the State for the adoption of the new Constitution, he was conspicuously active, and by his voice and his pen contributed materially towards the final and happy settlement of political difficulties.

Dr. Manning, as we have before observed, presided at all Commencement occasions with remarkable dignity and grace. His addresses to the graduating class were especially noted for excellent good sense, and were pervaded by a tone of piety and delivered with an eloquence which could hardly fail to produce happy and lasting impressions upon the young men, as they stood before him to receive final words of counsel and love. The only production of this kind that has come down to us, in addition to the one preserved by Solomon Drowne and given in a previous chapter, was copied from the original, by the Rev. Isaac Backus, several years after the author's death. It was delivered at the Commencement held Sept. 2, 1789. Among those to whom it was especially addressed, we notice the names of Jeremiah Brown Howell, afterwards a member of the United States Senate, and the late James Fenner, for many years the popular and efficient Governor of Rhode Island. Mr. Fenner, it may be added, was the valedictorian of his class.

PRESIDENT MANNING'S CHARGE.

Having completed your academical course, you now commence life as members of the great community of the world. Here, while your country offers you a fairer opportunity to display your abilities, and improve to advantage that knowledge which you have acquired, than any age or country ever before presented, it becomes my duty to point you to that line of conduct which will most probably insure your success.

The narrow limits prescribed by the occasion will allow me to hint at only a few general observations.

The first attention of a youth stepping forward into life should be to acquire and preserve a good character. A destitution of this places him beyond the possibility of ever becoming eminent. For, bad as the world is, it has always paid a voluntary

tribute to virtue; and though some vicious men have arisen to a degree of respectability, it will be found, on a nearer view, that they are indebted for that respectability to some virtuous traits in their character.

To avail yourselves of this supreme advantage, I cannot recommend to you a subject more important and interesting than the Christian religion; of whose divine Founder it was a favorite maxim, *Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all other things shall be added unto you.*

This divine religion creates principles in the hearts of its subjects, the most operative, and the best adapted to regulate the life and conduct than can possibly be conceived. This at once portrays in the strongest colors, the state, connections, and claims of man; and disrobes the world of all its imaginary glory, and presents it in its own fugitive, fading colors, *the fashion of which passeth away*, while it inspires that unassuming humility which renders a man less vulnerable by the envenomed shafts of malevolence; it moulds the heart into a divine benevolence, and is the purest of that exquisite sensibility which deeply interests itself in the fortunes of others, so that it *weeps with those who weep, and rejoices with those who rejoice.*

This divine religion carries forward our thoughts to futurity, contemplates as a reality our dissolution, and that awful approaching judgment in which we must all become a party. It places us in that new eternal world, reaping the fruits of what we have sown in this. In a word, it places us immediately under the eye of God, now the witness of our actions, and soon to be our Judge.

How operative this divine principle to check the irregularity of the passions, and guard against the force of temptations! How divine a prompter to the discharge of every obligation we are under to God or man!

Next to this attention to religion, let me earnestly recommend the forming betimes of habits of industry. Man was made for employment. All his internal as well as external powers testify to this great truth. To comply with this great dictate of nature is of the utmost importance; and youth, of all seasons of life, is the fittest for this culture. That is the period to form and give a proper direction to the habits, on the right constitution of which depends, almost entirely, the happiness of man.

In selecting a profession, consult the strong bias of natural inclination; for against this current few if any have made a figure; and be sure that the object lies within reach of your talents.

Should the Christian ministry with any of you become an object, reflect on the absurdity of intruding into it while strangers to experimental religion. See that yourselves have been taught of God before you attempt to teach godliness to others. To place in the professional chairs of our universities the most illiterate of mankind, would be an absurdity by far less glaring than to call an unconverted man to exercise the ministerial function. This is to expose our holy religion to the scoffs of infidels, and

to furnish to their hands the most deadly weapons. I omit to insist on the account such must render in the great, tremendous day!

May that wisdom which is from above direct your steps in your journey through life; and may you, after the discharge of the duties of good citizens, men of science and religion, meet the approbation of the Supreme Judge, and reap the harvest of immortal glory in the world above.

With this devout wish, I bid you farewell.

The reader will observe how earnestly and forcibly President Manning urges candidates for the ministry to seek first of all the "kingdom of God and his righteousness." This was in accordance with his usual custom on all Commencement occasions. On this point we may be allowed to quote from Backus, who in the Abridgment of his Church History, thus writes: "Dr. Manning was a good instructor in human learning, but at every Commencement he gave a solemn charge to his scholars never to presume to enter into the work of the ministry until they were taught of God, and had reason to conclude that they had experienced a saving change of heart."

Among Manning's papers we find the following, dated Providence, Nov. 7, 1789, Saturday evening:—

The Baptist church and congregation in this town had by us, their committee, made arrangements to supply the pulpit for several weeks, and expected the Rev. Mr. Stillman in town this day; but his not arriving will leave the society entirely destitute unless you will be so obliging as to preach for us—a favor which in behalf of the church and congregation we now most earnestly solicit. Your compliance will confer a particular obligation on the society, in whose behalf we are

Your friends,

NICHOLAS BROWN,
 DAVID MARTIN,
 JOHN JENCKES,
 EPHRAIM WHEATON,
 DAVID HOWELL,
 CHRISTOPHER SHELDON,
 WM. HOLROYD,
 JOHN BROWN,
 GEORGE BENSON.

TO THE REV. ABRAHAM BOOTH.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 25, 1789.

DEAR SIR:

Your most acceptable favor of July 11, with the package, met me at the Association at Philadelphia, the 5th of last month. I thank you for your expressions of kindness towards me, and your wishes for my usefulness. Indeed, I cannot but consider myself as a very barren tree in my Lord's vineyard.

The paragraph respecting Dobson's republishing your Pedobaptism I showed to the Association, and queried with them whether your painful labors and extensive services to the Baptist cause, in that publication, did not entitle you to our assistance on this side of the Atlantic, by aiding in the sale of the book. They agreed they did; but as Mr. Dobson had circulated proposals, they doubted the propriety of taking the matter up till Dobson had given up the design. Thus it remains.

It seems Mr. Williams has rallied his forces and attacked you. I am glad, however, to find that you are not panic-struck at the onset. Indeed, I think you have taken a ground too strong to be easily dislodged. We should be gratified with a sight of his piece. If the Pedobaptists, in general, think it masterly, we doubtless shall soon see it in America. The strength of the advocates of that tenet is *to sit still*. It is too late in the day for them to avail themselves, in this age of inquiry, of those plausible colorings which formerly passed very well for solid arguments. At best, if observation has not deceived me, this is the fact with respect to America.

Your Essay on the Kingdom of Christ met a most hearty welcome, and its author has my warmest thanks. It was a subject which had employed my thoughts at intervals for several years, and I was almost determined to have committed them to paper, with a design to publish them. I am happy that I had *only thought* of doing it, as the subject has fallen into much abler hands. I am most heartily pleased with it, and think it lays the axe to the root of that wide-spreading tree, *infant-baptism and infant church membership*.

Your portrait of Winchester is so exactly to the life that all his acquaintances must see the man in it. The Baptist society still increases in the Southern States, especially in Virginia, and I may add the Middle States also, especially New York. Mr. Jonathan Maxcy, our youngest tutor in the College, a youth of genius and no small degree of literature for his age, about twenty-one years old, has lately found Christ, and followed his Lord into the watery grave. There is another youth under serious impressions, and there is more appearance of attention to divine things in the College than for some years past. Our second tutor, Mr. Abel Flint, a young Congregational preacher, has turned his attention to the subject of baptism for some weeks past, and your Pedobap-

tism Examined has been his almost constant companion. He told me, some days since, that if that tenet could not be supported from Abraham's covenant, it must fall. If I was as well satisfied of his being a subject of divine grace as I am that Maxcy is, I should think him no small acquisition. May God grant him grace and guide him into all truth! Our number of students lacks but two of seventy.

Yours, etc.

JAMES MANNING.

BOOTH'S REPLY.

LONDON, Feb. 25, 1790.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter by favor of Mr. Mullett came safe to hand about a fortnight ago. So far from being wearied by your circumstantial account of the conduct of ——, I think myself much obliged to you for it. Unhappy man! I fear he is *hardened through the deceitfulness of sin*. May the Lord have mercy on him, and give him repentance.

I am very much obliged to you for your generous concern on my behalf respecting the sale of the second edition of my *Pedobaptism Examined*. That the composing of it required much labor, that I laid out no small sum of money in purchasing books, especially on the popish controversy, with a view to the new impression, and that I am much more likely to lose by it than to gain anything, are facts; but I am of opinion that, after Dr. Dobson had received encouragement to publish proposals for the reprinting of it, my brethren in America could not with honor desert him, while he continues his design in reference to that affair.

It gives me pleasure to find that my *Essay on the Kingdom of Christ* meets with your approbation. The subject is undoubtedly of great importance, and I sincerely pray that the Lord may bless the pamphlet to the promoting of that spiritual kingdom. The first volume of Mr. Robinson's *History of the Baptists* has been in the press for these five or six months, but it is not yet published. That volume, indeed, is to contain a history of *baptism*, and three more volumes that are to follow, a history of the *Baptists*. A great extent of reading, much wit, and many curious anecdotes, may be expected to appear in the work whenever it comes out; but I have my fears that it will, on the whole, be of no great utility to the real cause of Jesus Christ. The author is now known to have adopted Dr. Priestley's system in general; but he is justly considered as far inferior to the Doctor in respect of candor and of integrity. Dr. Priestley *speaks out*; you know what he means. Not so the other gentleman. I have often thought that if it had not been for his *uncommon share of wit*, he would before now have sunk into universal contempt among serious people; and he is, indeed, much sunk of late in the estimation of numbers. I have been lately well informed that Dr. Priestley considers him as doing no honor to any cause. This you will observe, however, is *inter nos*.

The beginning of January last I received a letter from Dr. Samuel Jones, of Lower Dublin, respecting the *validity of baptism administered by immersion and on a profession of faith*, by an *unbaptized* — that is, Pedobaptist — *minister*; on which question he desired my opinion. I have given it, in a very long letter enclosed in one to Dr. Stillman, of Boston. I have sent it unsealed, that Dr. Stillman might have an opportunity of perusing it before he sent it off to Dr. Jones. I am very sorry that I was obliged, in opposition to the determination of the Association at Philadelphia, to take the affirmative of the question; that is, I think such baptism, though irregular, valid. If you should by any means have a sight of that letter, I should be glad to know your thoughts on the argument contained in it. I have expressed my views on the subject with the utmost freedom, and I trust without giving any cause of offence to the Doctor.

My respects, if you have opportunity, to Dr. Drowne. I earnestly pray that the Lord may cause his truth to prosper all around you, as I am glad to hear it does in Virginia. Winchester seems to be losing ground pretty fast; for some of his principal admirers have turned their backs upon him, and have renounced his notion of universal restitution, of which they were once extremely fond. Shall be glad to hear from you at any time when an opportunity presents. The Lord be with you in all your departments of labor and in all your connections. I remain, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother,

A. BOOTH.

FROM THE REV. DR. CALEB EVANS.

BRISTOL, Feb. 22, 1790.

DEAR SIR:

The literary degree with which the respectable Society over which you preside have thought proper to honor me, I duly received, accompanied with your truly friendly letter, for which I beg you to accept my best thanks. I rely upon you, sir, to make known my acknowledgments to the other members of the College for this mark of distinction and favor, and to assure them that it will always give me peculiar pleasure to promote the prosperity of so useful and honorable an Institution.

I received from King's College, Aberdeen, the same honor, before the degree from America was announced here, so that I consider myself under double obligations to care that I do nothing to discredit the title which has been so honorably conferred upon me by two such respectable bodies. I not only did not seek this honor, but I ought to decline it; but as it has been so generously decreed me, I think it my duty to receive and improve it as a motive to activity and zeal in the sphere in which Providence has placed me.

We are clogged here with test laws, and in vain struggling to get rid of them. You

know no such shackles. And yet you know what it is to have bad men disappoint the desires of the good, and outnumber them in their best-intentioned projects.

Does not the French Revolution astonish you? It astonishes and delights me beyond measure, but our great folks here dislike it exceedingly. The counsel of the Lord, however, shall stand, and he will do all his pleasure.

I am astonished at the resolve of your Association about rebaptizing, but refer you to a letter of Mr. Booth's upon the subject, I believe to you. Surely you are more narrow than the Papists upon this subject.

I congratulate you upon the increase of your College and church, and the rising state of the Baptist interest. We go on as usual, are well attended, but have few additions. The love of many waxeth cold. We have great reason to cry mightily to Him with whom is the residue of the Spirit.

The young man I wrote to you about is in too bad a state of health to think of a voyage to America. I rejoice you have rooted out ——, that pest of society, a truly filthy, infamous fellow; but I know not how to refrain asking, How came you ever to admit him, without the least testimonial to his character?

But I am obliged abruptly to break off, only begging to be favored with a line whenever opportunity offers, and that you would believe I truly am

Your affectionate and obliged friend and brother,

CALEB EVANS.

TO THE REV. DR. HEZEKIAH SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, 20th April, 1790.

DEAR BROTHER:

I snatch a moment to inform you that the good work still continues, and I think has been gradually increasing amongst us since you left. Last Lord's Day I baptized two, and a third was prevented by indisposition of body. Two profess to have met with a change the last of last week. Several profess to have received comfort, but are not fully satisfied. I believe that there are from fifty to one hundred under serious impressions; and they crowd the evening meetings whenever and wherever they are appointed. Numbers come to my house to converse with me about their souls. Many of Dr. H——k's people attend the evening meetings, of whom several appear seriously impressed. Some people, you will naturally guess, do not like this, and look rather shy. Poor Mr. Flint has come to a point, and must be a Baptist, notwithstanding the reproaches he has to endure; but he has not full satisfaction about his own state. He is amazingly engaged for the persons under awakening, and attends whenever he can. He has been sick, but is recovered. Mr. Maxcy has been called and licensed, but has been at home some time, much indisposed. He is now very ill with the measles. He

preaches to admiration. Several of the students are also down with the measles, and others have had them. Not a few of the students are under serious impressions. Many of the people here are often wishing to see Mr. Smith again; and, for your encouragement, I can inform you that many profess to have been awakened by your labors amongst us. No account has yet been received from Dr. Gano, and I expect to go for Jersey the beginning of May. The people really lament and mourn at the thought of being left destitute. What think you of coming and making another visit to Providence the beginning of next month? I believe this would diffuse a general joy through both church and society. You will find work enough to employ you day and night. I heartily wish you could come, but I have not had an opportunity of speaking to the committee on the subject. I expect they would embrace this opportunity of writing you if they knew of this opportunity to send to Boston,—more especially if they had not sanguine hopes that Dr. Gano would soon be here; but I really fear some disaster has happened to him. If my wishes could bring you to Providence, you would soon be here. Attleboro is visited, and several other places. Mrs. Manning joins in love to you and lady, with, dear sir, yours, etc.,

JAMES MANNING.

In a letter to Dr. Rippon, dated Nov. 13, 1790, which we find in the first volume of the "Register," Backus thus refers to the religious interest in Providence:—"A revival of religion began in Providence College about a year ago; a young tutor, Rev. Mr. Jonathan Maxcy is now a promising preacher in the Baptist church there, to which near thirty members have been added in the year past, and the work still prevails."

At the commencement of the present year, the political affairs of the State had reached a crisis. The general government had been organized under the Constitution, and had been in successful operation since April 30, 1789. North Carolina, in November following, adopted the Constitution, leaving, says Staples, "Rhode Island alone in her glory, sovereign, independent, and alone—no State or nation bound to her by treaty, or by community of feeling, situation, or interest." Seven times had the friends of the Constitution moved in the General Assembly for the calling of a special Convention, and seven times had they been defeated by a political party, composed largely of country members, who had risen to power by their devotion to extreme measures,

and were banded together to retain if possible their political ascendancy at all hazards. The near approach of January 15, 1790, after which Rhode Islanders were to be treated as foreigners, roused the merchants and friends of the new government throughout the State, to make one more strenuous attempt to induce the Legislature to call a Convention for the adoption or rejection of the Constitution. The General Assembly met in Providence on the second Monday in January. Four days were spent in the ordinary business of the Body. On Friday morning, Benjamin Bourne, a representative from Providence, and afterwards an efficient Trustee of the College, moved for the calling of a Convention, and the motion, after debate, was carried by a vote of 34 to 29. The senate, which consisted of the governor, the lieutenant-governor, and eight senators,¹ failed to concur, the lieutenant-governor and four senators voting against it. This was on Saturday evening. The assembly adjourned to Sunday morning. Before the assembly met one of the opposing senators, who was a minister, left town, having become convinced, says the historian, that he ought to attend to pastoral duties on the Lord's day. Tradition affirms that his travelling expenses were defrayed by John Brown, the hero of the *Gaspee*. The question was again taken in the senate, and as the vote was now a tie, it was incumbent on Governor Collins, the presiding officer, to cast the decisive vote, which he did by voting to concur with the Lower House. The State House that day, says the annalist, was thronged to overflowing, while the several churches were almost vacated. The most intense anxiety pervaded the community, and when it was known that the bill calling for a Convention had been passed into a law, vain was the attempt to stop the rising murmur of applause in the House, or the shouts of joy without. Never before in the history of the State had the Legislature been in session on a Sunday, and never before had there been such an occasion to justify it.

The name of the opposing senator or assistant who left town in order to attend to his pastoral duties, is not given. It was probably John Williams, of Foster. His title, as given in the schedules, is Esquire.

¹ Assistants was the term used at this time to designate members of the upper house.

Knight, in his History of the Six Principle Baptists, states that the church in Foster was formed in 1780, and that it was under the pastoral care of Elder John Williams, assisted by Elder John Westcott, and that these two continued to preach and have pastoral care of the church for nearly half a century, both living to be upwards of eighty years of age. They were what would be called to-day lay preachers, working with their hands during the week, and preaching Sundays. "The labors of the ministry in the Six Principle Baptist denomination," says Knight, "have generally been confined to their own churches, or within a very small circle. Their ministers have generally been in indigent circumstances, and obliged to labor to support themselves and families, their churches not being so much in the habit of affording pecuniary aid to their preachers as other denominations." The members of the Convention from Foster in May following, were Capt. William Howard and John Williams, both of whom voted *nay* on the question of the adoption of the Constitution. This we learn from Staples's "Rhode Island in the Continental Congress."

On Monday, May 24, the final State Convention on the Constitution was held at Newport. On Thursday the body adjourned, for more ample accommodations, from the State House to the Second Baptist Church, where for three days the great debate between the contending parties was continued. At five o'clock on Saturday afternoon the final vote was taken. Thirty-four members voted to adopt the Constitution, and thirty-two voted in the negative. Thus a majority of two votes "saved the people of Rhode Island from anarchy, and the State from dismemberment."

The news reached Providence before midnight, and was announced by the ringing of bells and the booming of cannon. The next day the returning delegates were received with a national salute of thirteen guns. Again, says Staples, "patriotism encroached on piety, as when the vote for calling the Convention passed in the preceding January, and the stillness of the Sabbath morning was broken by the joyful roar of artillery."

In about two months after this event, on Tuesday, Aug. 17, 1790,

President Washington with his suite, accompanied by Gov. Clinton of New York, Thomas Jefferson, Esq., Secretary of State, and several members of Congress, made his first visit to Providence. A large procession was formed to escort them from the packet in which they arrived, and the occasion was made a gala-day throughout the town. In the evening, says the *Gazette*, "the President and many others took a walk on the College green, to view the illumination of the building by the students, which made a most splendid appearance."

On Thursday, the 19th, President Washington and his suite were escorted to the College by the students, and by Dr. Manning were introduced to the Library and Museum, where in behalf of the Corporation he thus addressed him : —

ADDRESS TO WASHINGTON.

SIR:—Though among the last to congratulate you on your advancement to that dignified and important station to which the unanimous voice of a grateful country has called you, the Corporation of Rhode Island College claim to be among the first in warmth of affection for your person, and in esteem for your public character. In placing you at the head of the United States, regard was had no less to the influence of your example over the morals of the people than to your talents in the administration of government. Happy are we to observe, that similar motives have influenced your conduct in filling the lower offices in the executive department. We most devoutly venerate that superintending Providence which, in the course of events propitious to this country, has called you forth to establish, after having defended, our rights and liberties.

Agitated in the hour of doubtful conflict, exulting in your victories, we watched your footsteps with the most anxious solicitude. Our fervent supplications to Heaven, that you might be furnished with that wisdom and prudence necessary to guide us to freedom and independence, have been heard and most graciously answered.

For the preservation of this freedom, one great object still commands our peculiar attention,—the education of our youth. Your sentiments, sir, on this subject, "that knowledge is in every country the surest public basis of happiness," and the strongest barrier against the intruding hand of despotism, as they most perfectly accord with those of the most celebrated characters that ever adorned human nature, so they leave no room to apprehend you will refuse the wreath with which the guardians of literature here would entwine your brow.

By restoring your health, and protracting your life so dear to this country, Divine

Providence has, in a late instance, furnished to millions matter of thanksgiving and praise.

That you may long remain on earth, a blessing to mankind, and the support of your country, — that you may afterwards receive the rewards of virtue, by having the approbation of God, — is our most sincere desire and fervent supplication.

This address, which had been formally adopted by the Corporation, at a special meeting held in the State House, August 17th, was duly presented to the President, signed by Jabez Bowen, Chancellor; James Manning, President; and David Howell, Secretary. To Manning's address in behalf of the Corporation, President Washington thus replied: —

TO THE CORPORATION OF RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE:

GENTLEMEN:—The circumstances which have until this time prevented you from offering your congratulations on my advancement to the station I hold in the government of the United States, do not diminish the pleasure I feel in receiving this flattering proof of your affection and esteem, for which I request you will accept my thanks.

In repeating thus publicly my sense of the zeal you displayed for the success of the cause of your country, I only add a single suffrage to the general testimony which all, who were acquainted with you in the most adverse and doubtful moments of our struggle for liberty and independence, have constantly borne in your favor.

While I cannot remain insensible to the indulgence with which you regard the influence of my example and the tenor of my conduct, I rejoice in having so favorable an opportunity of felicitating the State of Rhode Island on the co-operation I am sure to find in the measures adopted by the guardians of literature in this place, for improving the morals of the rising generation, and inculcating upon their minds principles peculiarly calculated for the preservation of our rights and liberties. You may rely on whatever protection I may be able to afford in so important an object as the education of our youth.

I will now conclude, gentlemen, by expressing my acknowledgments for the tender manner in which you mention the restoration of my health on a late occasion, and with ardent wishes that Heaven may prosper the literary Institution under your care, in giving you the best of its blessings in this world, as well as in the world to come.

At the Commencement this year, 1790, twenty-two young gentlemen took their first degree, being the largest number that had ever

been graduated at one time since the College was founded. Among them was Moses Brown, youngest son of Nicholas Brown, a bright and promising youth, who a few months later, just as he had entered upon his sixteenth year, was seized with a disorder which suddenly put an end to his life. In this class also was graduated the third President of Brown University, Asa Messer, of whom we have given a sketch in the preceding chapter. At the close of the exercises, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on George Washington,¹ President of the United States of America. This was the last Commencement at which Dr. Manning presided.

TO THE REV. DR. SMITH.

PROVIDENCE, 18th Nov., 1790.

DEAR BROTHER:

Yours of the 25th ult. is before me. The tide of business which, on my return home, flowed in upon me, prevented my recollecting the case of Mr. Messer. But in my journey to the West I had him constantly in view, but found no opening which I thought worthy his attention. Mr. Read, from Virginia, has not returned, nor have I had any intelligence from him respecting a chance for teaching; so that I cannot at present give any encouragement from this quarter, as it was the general opinion that it would be imprudent for him, all things considered, to take a place in College, till the present Senior Class are out of the way. We have appointed a Mr. Lyndon Arnold to that office for the present, who has no thoughts of continuing more than a year. If Mr. Messer should not fall into better business by that time, it would be very agreeable

¹ In reference to this we find the following pleasant anecdote in Rippon's Baptist Register:—

“In a conversation between several friendly gentlemen (in London) some time since, which turned chiefly on the confinement of Lewis the *Little*, who, like an absolute sovereign, had said to five and twenty millions of people, *I will be obeyed*,—contrasted with the popularity of Washington the *Great*,—it was mentioned that the Baptist College in Rhode Island had conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on the President of the United States. While it seemed to be the general mind that this distinguished character in the history of man would prefer the laurels of a college to a crown of despotism, one of the company, it is said, quite impromptu, gave vent to the feelings of his heart in the following effusion:—

‘When kings are mere sovereigns, or tyrants, or tools,
No wonder the people should treat them as fools;
But *Washington*, therefore, presides with applause,
Because he well merits the Doctor of Laws.
I’ll ne’er be a ruler till I’m LL. D.,
Nor England nor Scotland shall send it to me;
I’ll have my diploma from *Providence Hall*,—
For *Washington* had,—or I’ll have none at all.’”

to me to have him for an assistant; and sooner, should Tutor Maxcy leave us, which he talks of, though I shall reluctantly agree to it. He has with great persuasion consented to supply the pulpit for six months, and does it to great acceptance. He has many hearers, and his labors appear to be owned. He improves amazingly. The good work still prevails, and the prospect is as promising at present as at any period past. Our dear friend, Mr. Jenckes, is almost gone. It is not likely that he will stay with us many weeks. Nicholas Brown is in a very poor way, but yet goes out. I fear his disorder is radical and will prove fatal.

Your son's standing shall remain as it has done. The instances of Catholicism amongst the Presbyterians are, their opening their houses of worship to the Baptists, and flocking to hear them, at Brunswick, Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, Newark, etc. The Association of Danbury consists of thirteen churches, and there are, probably as many more in that quarter which will join them. There has been a great increase of the Baptists in the western part of Connecticut and in the lower part of York State of late. I suppose Mr. Flint has concluded to commence a preacher among the Congregationalists, and I conclude is about to accept a call to the South Parish in Hartford. Either the cross was too heavy to commence a Baptist, or he had little reason to expect that he should be called to the work among us, unless he could give better evidence of a change of heart; or probably something of both had weight in his determination. I have said nothing to him on the subject lately, as I was convinced of the strong bias he had for preaching at all events. I suppose he has been borne down with a torrent of influence from Pedobaptist connections.

By a letter from Mr. E. Robbins I hear that the two churches in York are very happy together. I wish this feeling may continue and increase. The day appointed for Mr. Baldwin's instalment I attended the ordination of Mr. Ebenezer ——. The letter from the Boston church did not reach me until late in the evening of the preceding Lord's Day, so that it was out of my power either to come or send them word. I hope you had a comfortable season. Our friend Mr. Sutton is settled nearly in the centre of Kentucky, and, I believe, in regard to worldly prospects, is more happy than ever he was, though he has not the charge of a church, as there are four ordained elders in that to which he belongs. He has purchased two hundred acres of good land, has enough cleared to raise his bread, which his sons manage, together with carrying on a considerable share of the latter's business. This leaves him at leisure to travel, as he has lost his wife; and among other journeys, he contemplates one to New England, to visit once more all his friends in this quarter. With best respects to you, lady, and family, with all friends, in which Mrs. Manning joins,

I remain, as ever,

JAMES MANNING.

Mr. Flint, to whom Manning here refers, was ordained as a pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Hartford, on Wednesday, April 20, 1791. The Rev. Dr. Strong of Hartford made the introductory prayer, the Rev. Dr. Hitchcock of Providence preached the sermon, the Rev. Dr. Goodrich of Durham gave the charge, the Rev. Nathan Perkins of Hartford gave the right hand of fellowship, and the Rev. David Macclure of East Windsor made the concluding prayer.

FROM THE REV. ABRAHAM BOOTH.

LONDON, April 1, 1791.

DEAR SIR:

It being more than twelve months since I wrote you a letter, I have been much disappointed in not having had the pleasure of hearing from you. At the same time I sent a very long letter to Dr. Samuel Jones, in answer to one I received from him, relative to the propriety of baptizing such persons as had been solemnly immersed on a profession of faith by a Pedobaptist minister, — both of which I enclosed in a packet to Dr. Stillman at Boston; but, to my great surprise, I have not received a line from America since. The name of the captain (nor yet of his ship) by whom the little packet was sent, I do not now recollect, but should be very sorry to learn that the letter never came to hand.

It is probable that you have heard, ere now, of the death of Mr. R. Robinson, of Cambridge. He died the last summer, a little before his *History of Baptism* was finished at the press; by which book it appears he was a thorough-faced Socinian at the time of his decease. He died in the neighborhood of Birmingham, at the house of a gentleman belonging to Dr. Priestly's community, after having preached at the Doctor's meeting-house the Lord's Day before; was buried at the Doctor's burying-ground (he at least spoke at the grave) at the expense of the Doctor's people, and the Doctor preached and published a funeral sermon for him; a sermon contemptible as to its composition, and detestable as to the sentiments contained in it. Some of the sentiments, in my view, are an insult, not only on the Scriptures, but on common sense, except the latter be debauched by vain philosophy. Mr. Robinson's *History of Baptism* you may probably have seen before now. It seems to me to be a work of both labor and learning. It contains various particulars, in opposition to infant-sprinkling, that are both new and pertinent; but there is much extraneous matter; there are many indications of rank Socinianism; various detestably fanciful interpretations of passages in the Old Testament; and such marks of enmity against the character of Augustinus as I did not expect. We have very lately lost by death that worthy Baptist minister, Mr. Robert

Hall,¹ of Arnsby, in Leicestershire. He is, I doubt not, with God, and his memory is much respected.

Socinianism is, I fear, still gaining ground in England, especially in the national Establishment; and several of our young Baptist ministers have, within these two or three years, adopted that pernicious system of error and of blasphemy. But our divine Jesus lives and reigns, to govern the world and to take care of his own cause.

I hear but little of Mr. Winchester of late, and have never seen him. I am inclined to think, however, that his corrupt principles lose rather than gain ground in this metropolis.

Hope you will indulge me with a letter as soon as you can after you receive this; and that, among other things, you will inform me whether my *Pedobaptism Examined* be yet republished. I have been informed that proposals for publishing by subscription my essay on the Kingdom of Christ, have appeared at Philadelphia. I was a little surprised to hear of republishing, by subscription, so small a piece, nothing of that kind being issued here.

It has been and now is a sickly time among my people. Three of the members of the church under my imperfect pastoral care have departed out of life since the present year came in, and another of them is on the verge of the grave by the envenomed tooth of a devouring cancer. The Lord grant that we may be prepared for his whole will concerning us. Oh for more genuine spiritual-mindedness!

And now, sir, I most affectionately commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, earnestly praying that peace and prosperity may attend you and yours and all the churches of Christ. I remain, dear sir,

Your unworthy brother in the gospel of Jesus Christ,

A. BOOTH.

FROM THE REV. DR. RIPPON, OF LONDON.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

Last evening Captain Mesnard delivered me his letters from New York, and to-morrow the *Eagle* sails, so that I have but a few minutes for each letter.

The Register is taking a prodigious spread through almost all our churches, the country friends themselves ordering from fifteen to one hundred copies for each church. I feel myself honored in seeing your name among the brethren who encourage the design. I refer now to the advertisement in the Philadelphia Association letter. I had hoped that I might have received your painting by Captain Mesnard, but I must now beseech you to forward it by the very *first* safe conveyance, informing me at what age it was done. Dr. Evans is beautifully engraved, and so is Providence meeting-house, from a copy in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for August, 1789. No part of the *Mag-*

¹ Father of the celebrated Robert Hall of Cambridge.

azine have I seen besides. The account of the Providence church cannot, I suspect, be brought into the First Part of the Register, though, on account of its early date, it should be one of the first societies under Article the 8th, where it stands. I would not so soon have advertised its insertion, had I not known it would have afforded great pleasure to *many* of our English brethren; though, by the way, some of them are *astonished* at the STEEPLE! I was the more unwilling to bring this article forward so early, because I was unacquainted with your opinion of the narrative. It came here to a friend of John Stanford, said to have been written by him and approved by the church. Of course you have seen it. No one in the city but myself and the family to whom it was sent know that Stanford had any hand in it; and his name *must* be *entirely* kept out of sight in this country. If I introduce the account of the church in the Second Part of the Register, with your corrections, I *dare* not go any further than 1787, unless you will give the narrative such a finish that the close may introduce your *present* condition. Mr. Foster informs me that Mr. Maxcy (named in your former letter) has engaged to supply Providence one year. I beg to be affectionately remembered to him. I never had any correspondence with Mr. —; am sorry to find he did not behave well at Providence.

The happiness of the American churches lies near my heart. I see my brethren have too much neglected them. There is not public spirit enough in this country; but I have *hinted* by this conveyance to two friends, that the Register is intended to serve the *American* brethren particularly. I am *sure* when we have larger accounts of Kentucky, well authenticated, the design you proposed a few months since can naturally be brought forward; and I have laid some foundation already for its success. This I have mentioned to no American but yourself.

I find Mr. Wesley's people are aiming to have a new college in America (*vide* Dr. Coke's Missions). I wish I had a good drawing or engraving of your College edifice, and a history of the College. I have the printed charter; wish for a proof of the old seal, with the explanations thereof. Would you favor me with the history? Dr. Evans has offered an account of the Bristol Academy. If you are too busy, could not Dr. Drowne draw it up? I wish I could see Mr. Maxcy's handwriting. I have a copy of Robinson's History of Baptism for your acceptance. Hope to send it next month, with an article ordered by Dr. Drowne. My respects to him. My Christian love to your good lady.

I remain, affectionately and truly, yours,

JOHN RIPPON.

P. S. — I dare not dictate, but if the Register meets the approbation of the American brethren, perhaps each Association would say what number they would certainly take, and appoint the clerk, or some other brother, to convey materials for me to Boston, Philadelphia, or New York, from time to time.

The "Register," to which Dr. Rippon here refers, proved to be an important means of communication between English and American Baptists. It is entitled, "The Baptist Annual Register, including Sketches of the State of Religion among different denominations of good men at home and abroad." It is dedicated to "all baptized ministers and people in America, England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, the United Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Poland, Russia, Prussia, and elsewhere." The first volume includes the years 1790-3. It has fine copper-plate engravings of Caleb Evans, Robert Hall, and President Manning. Full accounts of the College Commencements for the years 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, and 1793, are given, and also Prof. Howell's charge to the graduates in 1791, and President Maxcy's charge in 1793. The second volume includes the years 1794-7, and has engraved portraits of Benjamin Francis, William Clarke, and Samuel Stennett. The College Commencements are for the years 1794, 1795, and 1796. The third volume is for the years 1798-1801, and the Commencements are for the years 1797 and 1798. The engraved portraits are Samuel Pearce, Philip Gibbs, John Tommas, John Fawcett, and William Rogers. This last we have reproduced to accompany our sketch of Dr. Rogers, in a previous chapter. The concluding volume is for the years 1801-2. Appended is the famous "Confession of Faith put forth by the Elders and Brethren of one hundred baptized Congregations in England and Wales (denying Arminianism)" in the year 1689. The only account of Commencement for this volume is for the year 1801. The engraved portraits are Samuel Stillman, Jonathan Purchas, Isaac Hann, and John Thomas. On page 792 is the view of the Baptist meeting-house to which Dr. Rippon refers, with a history of the church, by Stanford. These four octavo volumes, which are exceeding scarce, constitute an important addition to our Baptist history. A fine set is in the writer's possession, obtained through the kindness of Dr. Angus, late President of Regent's Park College, London. The College Library also has a complete set, which it has recently secured through a bookseller at Amsterdam.

In December, 1790, Dr. Manning addressed a letter to the Rev. William Richards, LL. D., of Lynn, England, to which Mr. Richards thus replies. The letter, it may be added, did not reach Providence until nearly four months after Manning had passed from the scenes of his earthly labors.

LYNN, IN NORFOLK, OLD ENGLAND, June 6, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR:

Embracing an opportunity which has suddenly and unexpectedly presented itself, of sending to America a packet by a private hand, I can do little more than just to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 15th of December, which made its way here about the middle of last month, *via* Liverpool and Birmingham. I sincerely thank you, sir, for this favor; and I rejoice exceedingly in the prospect which your letter exhibits of the growing greatness and the increasing felicity and prosperity of America. I have long been partial to that country, and at a very early period of my life (sixteen or seventeen years ago) was on the point of removing from Britain thither. The war deterred me then, and for some years after, from accomplishing my purpose; and having been settled in this place some years when the peace took place, I found it rather inconvenient then to quit the country. Should I live a few years longer, it is still probable that I shall remove, but it is most likely that that removal will be to Wales and not to America. I am and have always been very much attached to my dear native country; but I should like it much better were it connected with the United States, than as it is, a branch of the corrupt British empire.

As to the issue of my late controversy with Mr. Carter, my last piece, the History of Antichrist, brought it to its conclusion. I have never seen my opponent since, but he has repeatedly sent me his friendly compliments, and invited me to call upon him whenever I should pass through his neighborhood, but it has not suited me to pay him a visit yet. Our Independent brethren have treated their poor Baptist neighbors somewhat more civilly since this controversy took place than they were wont to do. In these counties of Norfolk and Suffolk they are a very powerful body. That party, sir, as I suppose you know, originated here, and have continued here ever since, as numerous and respectable as in any part of Britain. Their ministers are, in general, men of considerable abilities and learning, while the Baptist ministers, on the contrary, are possessed of but a moderate share of either. The former seemed conscious of their superiority, and, in general, affected to treat the latter with the most manifest contempt. In short, sir, I am the first of the Particular Baptists, and even of the Baptist denomination, who has had the temerity to accept a challenge from, or to enter the lists with, a Norfolk or Suffolk Independent. I hope the adventure was not altogether useless to

the Baptist cause. The Independents have never since discovered the least disposition to oppose us again in print; and it is the general opinion that it will be long before they will attempt to provoke the Baptists into another paper war. Many of them were convinced, during the debate, that the Pedobaptist scheme was not tenable, and they of course joined us; and not one was known to be confirmed, in the mean time, in that scheme.

Since the conclusion of this dispute, I have been called, by the unanimous voice of the Welsh Baptists, to engage in another of a similar nature with the Presbyterians and Independents of the Principality, who had just then broken the peace by violently attacking their principles, and who were likewise strongly supported by the Whitefieldites, a very numerous body in that country. The person intrusted by them with the direction of this war is a Mr. Benjamin Evans, a very popular minister in Cardiganshire, very dexterous and very obstinate in debate, and a perfect adept in the sophist and the quibbler's trade. He has already published *three* pieces, and I am now about beginning my *third* piece in reply. What will be the issue of this war must be left for time to determine. My opponent, by the vigor and violence of his exertions, and frequent rallyings and renewals of the combat, seems to think that he has a great deal at stake. He, too, and his brethren, took it for granted that he was greatly superior to any that the Baptists could call out to oppose them in the Welsh language. God grant that the truth may not, in this hard struggle, be anywise dishonored by its very unworthy advocate.

Report says that this controversy has already been productive of some very pleasing and happy effects, and that the Baptist interest is likely to be considerably benefited by it. I sent a copy of my first Welsh tract to your good Brother Dr. Samuel Jones, and had you known the language I should have been very happy to have presented you with another, and submitted it to your examination. I deem these much superior to my English pieces. They cost me much more thought, and I bestowed much more pains upon them every way.

Some suppose that the piece I have now on hand will be the last of this controversy, but that seems to me rather doubtful. I almost think that some things I shall advance this time will provoke some kind of a reply. Nor am I at all anxious about that matter, so long as our countrymen continue to give us a patient and attentive hearing. I am willing to give my labor, and my Welsh brethren seem at present as willing to be at the expense of printing what I write.

The Baptists are very numerous and greatly on the increase in Wales. Some churches there are the largest we have in Britain. That of Lanjloffan, in Pembrokeshire, which is the largest of all, consists of between eight hundred and nine hundred members. The great increase of the Welsh Baptists is seemingly what provoked their

Pedobaptist brethren to commence this quarrel with them. I hope they will not in the end have any cause to triumph over us.

I have had some thoughts of writing the Life of Roger Williams. Could you, sir, tell me where he was born, or add any materials towards his history, over and above what Mr. Backus's history contains? I have some of his works which Mr. Backus neyer saw. He is with me, in several respects, a favorite character.

I am sorry to hear of the smallness of your fund, and of your pecuniary difficulties at the College. I wish the British Baptists would take your case under consideration, and afford you some effectual aid. They ought to do so, I think; and yet I am afraid it will not be an easy matter to persuade them to it, unless some of the Londoners, and other opulent Baptists, were to take it up.

I thought your library was more considerable, and am sorry to find it is not. The Bristol Library is now a very capital one by the additions of the collections of Drs. Gifford and Llewelyn, and especially the latter, which was a very excellent one. I wish some others in this country would bequeath their collections to your College. I have myself near fifteen hundred volumes, some of them of value. But a man in my situation, in very moderate circumstances, and with a very small salary from the congregation, and having withal an aged mother to provide for,—a man in such a situation, I say, must make no resolution in matters of this kind. Perhaps my circumstances when I die may not admit of my disposing of my books as I might have wished. Therefore please to keep this hint to yourself. Now, my dear sir, I must take my leave. May every blessing attend you, is the earnest wish and prayer of

Your sincere, affectionate, and faithful friend, brother, and servant,

W. RICHARDS.

P. S.—Is there any truth, sir, in the reports, which our public papers daily circulate in this country, of very dreadful ravages committed by the natives among your people about Kentucky and other back-settlements? I suspect it is only a contrivance of our Government for the purpose of checking the progress of emigration, and to persuade the good people of Britain that there is not so blessed a country anywhere as their own. Our papers are in like manner stuffed with falsehoods relating to the state of things in France, and the proceedings of the National Assembly. These tricks will not always serve their purpose.

I received a letter lately from Mr. Curtis, son-in-law to the late Mr. Robinson. The second volume of Mr. Robinson's long-expected work is now in the press. It is not intended to print any more than seven hundred and fifty copies of it, so that I suppose it will soon become scarce. It was the author's design to have called it the First Volume of the History of the Baptists; but as he did not live to complete his plan, or to finish any more than this volume of it, it is, by the advice of Dr. Abraham Rees, to be

entitled *Ecclesiastical Researches*. I am sorry to learn that there are still near four hundred copies of the *History of Baptism* unsold.

Dear sir, pray pardon the intolerable length and blunders of this scrawl. When I began, I little thought I should scribble half so much, nor indeed did I expect that the opportunity would permit me to do so, as I thought the messenger could not stay. Excuse me this time.

Mr. Richards¹ was a native of South Wales. At the age of twelve he had been at school only one year. From this time till the twenty-fourth year of his age, when he entered the academy at Bristol, he received no instruction. But his application to study was vigorous and persevering. He remained at the academy in Bristol two years. After preaching for a short time as an assistant to Dr. John Ash, of Pershore, he accepted an invitation from the Baptist Church at Lynn to become its pastor, and entered upon his public ministry in that town July 7, 1776, where he continued to reside—more than half of the time as pastor of the church—till his death, which occurred in 1818, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Mr. Richards appears to have been a man of learning, particularly in English and Welsh history, and in the Welsh language and literature. His writings are historical, political and controversial.² His most important work is the *History of Lynn*, in 2 vols. 8vo. Dr. Evans says of it: "It is not only well written, the style perspicuous and manly, but it is replete with information as well as entertainment." His review of Noble's *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell* is characterized by Lowndes³ as "severe, but at the same time just."

"His *Dictionary of Welsh and English*," says Dr. Evans, "a work of minute and wearisome labor, is in high repute." Mr. Richards was of the General Baptist denomination, and a strong advocate of religious liberty. It was his love of the liberal character of the College which

¹ See *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Rev. William Richards, LL.D.*, by John Evans, LL.D., of Islington. 12mo. Chiswick, 1819.

² For a list of his writings,—comprising nearly the whole,—see under his name in the catalogue of the College library.

³ *Bibliographer's Manual*.

induced him to bestow upon it his library, as appears from the following passage in his Memoirs :—

Mr. Richards had corresponded with Dr. James Manning, once President of the Baptist College in Rhode Island. From this gentleman he learned the liberal constitution of that respectable seminary, and for some years previous to his death meant to bequeath to it his library. He accordingly made inquiry of Dr. Rogers [of Philadelphia], whether it was still conducted on the same liberal footing, in which case he should cherish the same generous intentions towards it.

This inquiry was answered by Dr. Messer, then President of the College, in a letter, from which we extract a single passage :—

Though the charter requires that the President shall forever be a Baptist, it allows neither him, in his official character, nor any other officer of instruction, to inculcate any sectarian doctrine. It forbids all religious test; and it requires that all denominations of Christians, behaving alike, shall be treated alike. The charter is congenial with the whole of the civil government established here by the venerable Roger Williams, who allowed no religious tests, and no preëminence of one denomination over another; and none has ever been allowed unto this day. This charter is also congenial with the present spirit of this State and of this town.

Gratified with this letter, Mr. Richards, in accordance with the purpose which he had cherished twenty-seven years previous to his death, and which he mentions in his letter to Dr. Manning, bequeathed his books, consisting of about thirteen hundred volumes, to Brown University. This was the most important donation that the Library had as yet received. It is a singular fact, that his will was made on the very day on which the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by the College. Mr. Richards had received no intimation that the honor was intended for him, nor did he live to hear that it had been bestowed.

The library which he thus bequeathed is in many respects valuable. It contains a considerable number of Welsh books, a large collection of works illustrating the history and antiquities of England and Wales, besides two or three hundred bound volumes of pamphlets, some of them very ancient, rare, and curious. The collection is particularly

valuable for its treatises on civil and religious liberty. The original manuscript catalogue of Mr. Richards's library came into the writer's hands a few years since. It is now among the archives of the Library.

Dr. Evans, in his account of Brown University, appended to his Life of Richards, says: "Whilst the library of my friend Richards remains amongst them, to perpetuate the name and character of its donor, may it urge its worthy President, as well as the members of this truly respectable Institution, to the continued exercise of that spirit of liberality which induced *an honest* Cambro-Britain, at the distance of three thousand miles, to mark and reward it."

The last letter from Manning of which we have any account, is addressed to his college classmate and life-long friend, the Rev. Dr. Hezekiah Smith: —

PROVIDENCE, 4th June, 1791.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of Feb. 15th ult. came to hand three months to a day after it was written, so that we now stand on even ground. As you say of mine, it met a welcome reception. I am sorry it has not been in my power to provide for Mr. Messer agreeably to my wishes and ideas of his merit. There will be an opening at Providence for a tutor in the fall; but Mr. Alden, of senior standing, appears to incline to fill the place. If so, there will be an opening at Taunton in the academy which he will leave. I hope that Mr. Messer may be accommodated at one or other of these berths. Please to present my best respects to him, and tell him he shall have my interest. Ere this comes to hand, the news of the departure of our two good friends, Messrs. John Jenckes and Nicholas Brown, must have reached you. Providence, church, and society are bereaved indeed! But *Jesus lives*, and lives to support his cause when earthly supporters fail.

The affairs of the College do not prosper as I could wish. With the twenty-two who graduated last fall, we have lost twenty-nine this year, which is a great defalcation from our small number. More are about to come soon, but I think it will be some time before we shall make the number of last year good. Our number is about fifty-five. The last intelligence from Brother Gano is, that early this spring his kitchen caught fire by accident, and consumed with it all their kitchen furniture, smoked meat, etc. Poor ill-fated man! He is not to have his portion here. Well, I believe he is secure of it above. I am glad to hear that you found my friends, the Newbolds, agreeable. I saw Caleb at New York a few days since, and he mentioned you with great affection, as also all the eastern people to whom he was introduced. I saw none of

your relations to the westward, as my journey was hasty and attended with business. Nothing remarkable in the Middle States in a religious way, save that Brother Foster and people are very happy and prosperous. The Second Church rent again, and in a miserable situation. Our old friends generally well. My brother Enoch died in February last, and John Manning, Esq., my cousin; also Aunt Randolph, wife of Uncle Ephraim. The people of Providence have chosen Mr. Maxcy for their minister, and he has resigned his tutorship and accepted. He gives very general satisfaction, and promises usefulness. Religious impressions are not all erased from the minds of the people here. With best respects to you and lady, in which Mrs. Manning joins,

Your old friend,

JAMES MANNING.

Dr. Manning, as his correspondence shows, had repeatedly and earnestly requested his people to seek for a proper person to succeed him in the ministry. This he did, not because his interest in preaching had diminished, but rather on account of his multiplied duties as President of the College, which would not permit him to do justice to his flock. "At length, in a most honorable way, he resigned his pastoral office." On the last Sabbath in April, 1791, a few months only before his death, he preached to the people of his charge his farewell sermon. The occasion was one of unusual solemnity. For twenty years he had been to them their spiritual guide. Under his teachings and influence the church had been greatly improved in its discipline and worship, and the society had become large and flourishing. Revivals had attended upon his ministry, so that again and again he had come to them "in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ," announcing to not a few "glad tidings of great joy." Scores of his hearers he had led down into the baptismal waters. And now, as he uttered from the pulpit his last affectionate address, and, as if in prophetic anticipation of his approaching end, expressed the improbability of his ever preaching to them again, sorrow filled their hearts, and their emotions found utterance in sobs and tears.

At a meeting of the Corporation held on the 13th of April, Dr. Manning had notified them to look out for a successor to fill his place; and shortly after preaching his farewell sermon, he had made a request in writing for a meeting of the Baptist society, to make arrangements

for finishing the meeting-house and lot, stating in this request that it would probably be his last. What gave him this singular presentiment of his approaching mortality, can never, perhaps, be ascertained.¹ It proved, alas! to be but too well founded. On Saturday, July 23d, he dined at the hospitable table of his friend, Mr. John Brown. On Sabbath morning following, while uttering the voice of prayer around the domestic altar, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, in which he remained, but with imperfect consciousness, till the ensuing Friday, when, about four o'clock in the morning, he expired, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

The sudden death of a man who was universally esteemed and loved, and had filled, for so many years, such various and commanding stations of usefulness and trust, produced throughout the entire community the most profound sorrow, reaching to every part of the city in which he lived. When, a month previous, his intimate friend and associate, Nicholas Brown, whose munificence had flowed in a thousand channels, and whose example had given a new impulse to the public mind, quitted the scene which he had so long adorned with his presence and enriched with his bounty, it was to be expected that there would be, as there was, a general expression of sorrow and regret. But that the removal of a Christian minister, and a teacher of science and letters, who possessed none of the advantages of wealth, but whose later years, on the contrary, had been oppressed by economic solicitude and care, should produce a regret so universal and so deep, "is a pleasing homage" — adopting the language of Robert Hall on a similar occasion — "to the majesty of moral power and intellectual greatness."

The Corporation immediately assembled in the College Hall, when the death of the President was announced by the Hon Jabez Bowen, LL. D., Chancellor. Among other demonstrations of respect and affection for the deceased, a committee, consisting of the Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, and Messrs. John Brown and George Benson, was appointed to wait on Mrs. Manning, and express to her their sincere condolence on the death of her "late worthy husband." Messrs. Joseph Russell, Welcome

¹ It is more than probable that he had had a previous stroke of apoplexy, and thus knew that he was liable to a second stroke which might prove fatal.

Arnold, and George Benson, were also appointed a committee to superintend the funeral, the expenses thereof to be defrayed by the Corporation.

On Saturday, July 30th, the next day after his death, the remains of Dr. Manning were conveyed from his residence to the College Hall, where the funeral solemnities were performed by the Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, at that time the pastor of the Congregational church in Providence, and one of the most active Fellows of the College. "The funeral," says Prof. Goddard, "though a public one, was no empty pageant. Multitudes flocked to the College, to look for the last time upon a face which had so often beamed upon them in kindness; and multitudes followed him to the grave which was so soon to hide him forever from their sight." Indeed, the funeral, in the language of the *Providence Gazette*, was thought to "have been the most numerous and respectable ever attended in town."

The remains, placed upon a hearse,¹ were borne to the north burying-ground, where they now rest by the side of Nicholas Brown, in the family lot. "United in life, in death they are not separated." The following was the order of the funeral procession:—

STUDENTS.
 STEWARD.
 GRADUATES OF THE COLLEGE.
 TUTORS.
 PROFESSORS FOBES AND WEST.
 THE CORPSE.
 MOURNERS IN A COACH.
 CHANCELLOR OF THE COLLEGE.
 MEMBERS OF THE CORPORATION.
 CLERGY.
 PHYSICIANS.
 MEMBERS OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH.
 CITIZENS IN GENERAL.

¹ We have it upon the authority of the late Mr. John B. Chace, that at Dr. Manning's funeral a hearse was used for the first time in Providence. It was owned, says the late Samuel G. Arnold, in his "Anniversary Address," by the Charitable Baptist Society, and was imported from England. In 1795 an account of receipts for its use was rendered by the Sexton. These receipts soon became one of his perquisites. The hearse was kept in the basement of the meeting-house, a part of which was for many years let as a cellar.

On the ensuing Sabbath, an eloquent and impressive funeral sermon was preached in the Baptist meeting-house, by the Rev. Perez Fobes, LL. D., pastor of the Congregational church in Raynham, Massachusetts, and also Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the College. A sermon was also preached on the same day by the Rev. Prof. Maxcy, Manning's successor in the pulpit and in the College. Both these sermons were afterwards published. From the former we cannot forbear making brief extracts:—

The amiable Manning has given up the ghost; and where is he? Not in the College, where lately we saw him presiding with mild dignity and parental affection, greatly beloved by every member of that collected family; not in the house of God, where he often met you; nor in the pulpit, where you have so frequently heard him preach the glad tidings of great joy;—not at the communion-table, breaking to you the bread of life, and praying for the health of languishing souls; not in his own house, with his family and friends around him, where he was ever known as the revered head and illustrious example of religion, of government, and of every domestic and social virtue. No, he is not here.

The Corporation of the College, with the instructors and students, all feel and recognize the loss. Their hearts echo to the voice of mourning, to the deep-toned bell, and to all the badges of sorrow. With multitudes around us, we have dropped the involuntary tear. We have felt the sigh unbidden heave, and followed the *hearse*, solemn and slow, with a numerous train of mourners, all united in the attestation of high esteem and affection for the lamented man of God. We are witnesses, and God also, how piously, and justly, and unblamably he lived among us,—we are witnesses to the amiableness of his natural temper. How pleasing his condescension and affability! How conspicuous his candor and impartiality, even in circumstances of peculiar trial! These, added to a strong mind, well furnished with useful learning, and with ample resources for eloquence, popularity, and pleasing address, rendered him highly esteemed through the large circle of his acquaintance. But, alas! all these amiable and useful qualities could not exempt him from the fate of mortals.

To the foregoing, we add several letters by Dr. Manning's intimate friends, announcing his death, together with extracts from a Commencement oration, and the circular letters of the Warren and Philadelphia Associations. The following letter is addressed to the Rev. Dr. Hezekiah Smith:—

BOSTON, July 30, 1791.

DEAR SIR:

I am sorry to be the messenger of news that will give you pain, but you must know it. Dr. Manning was taken with a fainting fit last Lord's Day morning, at family prayer, and expired yesterday morning, at half-past four o'clock. The complaint was of the apoplectic kind. He had no senses from the time he was taken. Great the loss to his amiable wife, great to the College and Baptists in general. But the Lord reigns; submission to him is our certain duty. We must immediately look around for a person to fill his place; but where to find him I know not. What think you of Mr. Allison, or Dr. Jones? Has the former had a public education? Or has the latter the various qualifications for a President? You and I must exert ourselves on this occasion. Friends at Providence and elsewhere will expect it. Write freely to me on this subject. I suppose it will be best that Mr. Howell be desired to preside at the next Commencement, as the oldest Fellow. Peace be with you. Adieu.

Yours,

SAMUEL STILLMAN.

The following letter to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Jones gives particulars of Manning's death and funeral. It was written, it will be observed, in behalf of the members of the Corporation of the College, and in an informal manner, designates Mr. Jones as Manning's successor in the presidency.

PROVIDENCE, Aug. 3, 1791.

DEAR SIR:

Before these lines will come to your hands you will doubtless have heard the melancholy tidings of the death of our late worthy President Manning. He departed this life about four o'clock on Friday morning, the 29th ult., after an illness of only five days, during which time he discovered little or no signs of reason. His funeral was attended last Saturday. It was the largest and most solemn that I have seen in this place. I need not tell you that his death is universally lamented by all ranks of people, but the loss is more severely felt by the Corporation of the College, and by the students under his care. As he was the founder of the College, and celebrated for many shining abilities which peculiarly qualified him to preside in it, we are apprehensive that the Institution may suffer a temporary relapse, unless some known and established character can be induced to supply the vacancy soon.

At a meeting of as many of the Corporation in this town as could be readily convened to take into consideration measures relative to the ensuing Commencement, some con-

versation passed about the election of a President, when it was the voice of all present that I should write to you on the subject and call on you for assistance on this occasion, so critical to the interests of the College. It is our unanimous and very earnest request, dear sir, that you will come to our help. The eyes of the Corporation seem fixed on you for a successor to President Manning.

From my long acquaintance with you, I have not the least doubt of your disposition to serve the best interests of mankind. A door seems now opened in divine Providence to call forth to public usefulness those great and very useful talents I know you possess. Let me entreat you to consider the application weightily. I am sure you will do it sensibly. I am here to request a line from you in answer, by the first post after the receipt of this letter, or as soon as you find it convenient to give us an answer to the subject of it, and I have it in charge in particular and very urgently to request your attendance with us at the ensuing Commencement.

Pray give my respects to Mrs. Jones, by whom I trust I am still remembered, and to any others in your good family to whom I may be known, and to inquiring friends. With very great esteem, I remain, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and very humble servant,

DAVID HOWELL.

To the Rev. Dr. Rippon, of London, the Rev. Isaac Backus, under date of Aug. 19, 1791, writes : —

I was with President Manning two days in June past, and when I parted with him, the 8th of that month, I had as little thought of its being the last parting for time, as at any parting we ever had. But near night, on July 29, I received a line from Providence, informing me of his decease at four o'clock that morning. I went there the first instant, and met the College Corporation the next day, who have thought of Dr. Jones for his successor, if he can be obtained; but we have no idea of obtaining any man who will equal President Manning in all respects, at least soon. His extensive knowledge, fervent piety, constant study to be serviceable to mankind, — his easy access to every class of people, with his gift of governing so as to be feared and loved by all, where keen envy did not prevail, — rendered him the most accomplished man for that station of any one I ever saw. Yet, in the midst of his usefulness, he is gone, as universally lamented as any man that I have known.

The following letter to Dr. Rippon from Solomon Drowne, is preserved among the Drowne papers. After alluding to Dr. Manning's death, it gives an interesting account of his portrait, and of the College which he in one sense founded : —

A stroke somewhat similar to that which deprived you of the excellent Evans, though slower in its operation, deprived us of the Father of our College, — one of the best of mortals. A gloom now hangs over that hill, which his benignant countenance once irradiated. On this occasion we may apply the lines of your illustrious Shakspeare, "He was a man, take him for all in all, we ne'er shall look upon his like again." I can now strike hands with you in grief, and exchange sigh for sigh. But in these dark dispensations it is ours to humble ourselves and learn acquiescence.

Doctor Manning was thirty-two years old when his picture was done. You will see it was not the production of an eminent artist, though deemed a pretty good likeness at that time. He wore his own graceful hair, and there was a dignity in his port and countenance, which that picture by no means reaches. Providence College, founded in 1765 (the charter dates from 1764) has sprung up and still flourishes, though the tempestuous billows of an eight years' war have rolled over its infancy. It is one of those rare institutions that unpatronized by the great, merely by the generous subscriptions of private citizens, in a country not wealthy, exhibits to the world a noble temple of science, evincing at once its founders' love of literature, and their invincible perseverance. Though the snakes of envy attempted to crush the Institution in its cradle, yet from its own native hardihood and excellency, it rose to its present distinguished station among the literary luminaries of our country. On an eminence east of the town is situated the magnificent College edifice, commanding an extensive and picturesque view of the adjacent country, the Bay with the islands it embosoms, and the adjacent town.

At the Commencement in 1791, an "Oration on the Death of Rev. President Manning" was delivered by Simeon Doggett, of the class of 1788, then a candidate for the Master's degree. Mr. Doggett was a tutor in the College from 1791 to 1796. He afterwards had the charge of an academy in Taunton, Mass. He was pastor of the Congregational church in Mendon, Mass., from 1815 to 1831, and from the latter year to 1846, was the pastor of the Congregational church in Raynham. He died March 20, 1852, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. From his oration on Manning, which is preserved in manuscript among the College archives, we present extracts : —

He is gone, alas! never to return. No more, O Manning! must thou grace that sacred desk with thy majestic presence. No more shall the temple of the Lord seem like the gates of heaven from the sweet droppings of thy lips. No more shall Christian assemblies be moved, be pleased, be instructed, be enraptured by thy inspired tongue.

No more shalt thou lead the devout heart up to the throne of God. No more shall thy conciliating tongue and precious counsels be heard in church and state. Thy placid countenance, thy pleasing converse, thy soft and graceful manners shall no more delight the friendly circle. No more shall you, respected patrons of yonder seat of learning, boast of the shining character of your President and friend. No more shall we, my dear elder brothers, sit in council with our wise, our mild, our beloved President. . . . O, relentless Death!—not even the worth of a Manning could elude thy stroke. But in the midst of his usefulness, when that nursery of science, planted and reared by his fostering hand, extending its branches, began to require all those abilities to inspect and preserve it which were exerted to rear it; when it was under his watchful eye and industrious hand, flourishing in all the beauties of knowledge, and moulding human nature into her most pleasing forms; when he began to see and rejoice in the fruit of his labors, in the midst of all his glory, cruel Death! thou hast suddenly snatched him away, and hurried him to the grave. . . . Though these his exertions to increase knowledge were almost unparalleled, yet merely to increase knowledge was not his end, but the means, the end of which was to regenerate the heart and to advance the Redeemer's kingdom. Hence, while engaged to promote learning, he was still more engaged to promote religion. Of this all his pupils are witnesses who have seen his devotion and enjoyed his instructions. How naturally at our College exercises would a very slight connection lead his discourse to moral and religious subjects! Upon these subjects, with what additional ardor would he discourse! These occasions seemed to add new life to his faculties. They would add warmth to his heart, brightness to his understanding, and eloquence to his tongue. And still more did his devotion ever show that his heart's desire and constant prayer to God was that true religion might flourish. And of this his pupils are not the only witnesses. All Christian societies within his extensive acquaintance, especially those of this town, are also witnesses. It was this which led him to the study of divinity, and finally made him so eminent in the ministry. It was this which caused him, like the primitive apostles, to travel through all parts of the country to instruct, to purify, to organize, and to confirm the church. . . . Perhaps no one of his age had a greater influence in the Redeemer's kingdom; and his usefulness was parallel with his influence. And was it not also this ardent desire for the triumph of religion that inspired him with such distinguished eloquence? Few preachers of his age spoke like him. He moved, he pleased, he instructed all who heard him. Notwithstanding the diversity of dispositions, and the indifference of hearts in Christian assemblies, his eloquence made its way to all. Sometimes clothing himself with the threatenings of the law, he seemed to thunder forth all the terrors of Mount Sinai, causing the most hardened and stubborn sinners to tremble before him. At other times, putting on the garment of mildness, the peace of the gospel, his eloquence breathed naught but benevolence, diffusing tenderness, and melting all hearts

into grief and love. Thus following this great man from his first appearance upon the stage of active life to his disappearance, we invariably find him holding in his left hand the classics, in his right the Word of God, with his eye fixed on the good of mankind, widely diffusing, as he passed along, knowledge, and religion, and happiness. Here we might add his more particular character. We might amplify the majestic but mild beauties of his person and appearance; the vast resources of his mind; the uncommon greatness of his acquirements, considering the activity of his life; his remarkably amiable disposition; his astonishingly popular talents, and his distinguished and inflexible virtue and piety. . . . Time not affording me the pleasure of further addressing the particular connections of this great man, I proceed to ask whether a character so distinguished, so useful, so amiable, could possibly be the object of detraction? Alas! the depravity of human nature, it could, it was.¹ But mark the issue. Where now is detraction? Confounded with shame and remorse, she has forever hidden her head. The universal lamentation at his death, the surprising throng of mourners at his funeral, and the universal approbation of his character, have eternally stopped her mouth, and reflected her deadly shafts back upon herself, where they will continue to sting like serpents, and to caution her to be careful how she deals with real merit.

The circular letter of the Warren Association alludes to the death of Manning as a great loss in Zion: —

Should we close this letter without taking notice of the providence of God in the removal of two of our ministers by death the year past, we should betray a criminal inattention. The one is Brother Nathaniel Green, of Charlton, who hath long sustained a good character in our churches. The other was our much esteemed Brother JAMES MANNING, D. D., President of Rhode Island College, whose abilities and usefulness were well known to us all, and whose attention to the interests of learning and religion justly claim our esteem. Oh that the great head of the Church, in whom are all gifts and grace, would favor us with other persons of equal accomplishments, that thereby the breaches in the walls of Zion may be built up.

From the circular letter of the Philadelphia Association we also make an extract: —

¹ The feeling between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, as they were called, was at this time exceedingly bitter. Dr. Manning being an acknowledged leader among the former, would, of course, meet with opposition and even hate from the rival party. Again, he was through all his connection with the College the acknowledged leader among the Baptists of New England, who were continually opposed by the Pedobaptists, or Standing Order.

But our joys abate while we reflect on the heavy tidings, so generally mentioned in your letters, of the death of our highly esteemed and dearly beloved brother, DR. MANNING; who, engaged in the dearest interests of religion, of science, and the prosperity of his country, fell from the zenith of glory and usefulness. In the general loss we sustain an important part. No longer shall we enjoy his able counsels, his divine and persuasive eloquence, nor his personal friendship. But while we trust he fell to rise to higher, to celestial glories, and joys unspeakable, resignation becomes us. May the Lord sanctify to the churches and ministers of Christ the awful stroke, enable us to feel and faithfully discharge the duties devolving on us, and imitate his amiable example.

A review of Dr. Manning's life, as presented in the several chapters of our work, affords a pleasing illustration of the truth which Cowper has so well expressed,—

“ God gives to every man
The virtue, temper, understanding, taste,
That lifts him into life, and lets him fall
Just in the niche he was ordained to fill.”

It only remains to add a few particulars relating to Manning's personal appearance, habits, character, and influence. This we shall do in the language of his intimate friend, and early associate in the instruction of the College, the Hon. David Howell, who wrote his obituary notice, and also penned the inscription upon the stone erected by the Trustees and Fellows of the College to his memory. The following extracts from this obituary were originally published in the *Providence Gazette* for Saturday, Aug. 6, 1791:—

In his youth he was remarkable for his dexterity in athletic exercises, for the symmetry of his body, and gracefulness of his person. His countenance was stately and majestic, full of dignity, goodness, and gravity; and the temper of his mind was a counterpart to it. He was formed for enterprise. His address was pleasing, his manner enchanting, his voice harmonious, and his eloquence almost irresistible.

Having deeply imbibed the spirit of truth himself, as a preacher of the gospel, he was faithful in declaring the whole counsel of God. He studied plainness of speech and to be useful more than to be celebrated. The good order, learning and respectability of the Baptist churches in the Eastern States are much owing to his assiduous attention to

their welfare. The credit of his name, and his personal influence among them, have never, perhaps, been exceeded by any other character.

Of the College he must be considered, in one sense, as the founder. He presided with the singular advantage of a superior personal appearance, added to all his shining talents for governing and instructing youth. From the first beginning of his Latin school at Warren, through many discouragements he has, by constant care and labor, raised this seat of learning to notice, to credit, and to respectability in the United States. Perhaps the history of no other College will disclose a more rapid progress or greater maturity, in the course of about twenty-five years.

Although he seemed to be consigned to a sedentary life, yet he was capable of more active scenes. He had paid much attention to the government of his country, and had been honored by this State with a seat in the Old Congress. In state affairs he discovered an uncommon degree of sagacity, and might have made a figure as a politician.

In classical learning he was fully competent to the business of teaching, although he devoted less time than some others in his station to the study of the more abstruse sciences. In short, nature seemed to have furnished him so completely, that little remained for art to accomplish. The resources of his genius were great. In conversation he was at all times pleasant and entertaining. He had as many friends as acquaintances, and took no less pains to serve his friends than to acquire them.

His death is a loss, not to the College or church only, but to the world. He is lamented by the youth under his care, by the churches, by his fellow-citizens; and wherever his name has been heard, in whatever quarter of the civilized earth, the friends of science, of virtue and humanity will drop a tender tear on the news of his death.

His amiable lady, the wife of his youth, and the boast of her sex, with all her fortitude of mind, which is great, must have sunk under the distressing loss were she not sustained by divine grace. May Heaven continue to support her, for earth must have lost its charms. Few persons ever enjoyed a more excellent constitution, or better health. Increasing corpulence, occasioned chiefly by his confinement to the labors of his station (for he was temperate in his diet), gave him some complaints of ill-health of late years; but what in particular furnished him with a singular presentiment of his mortality, is unknown.

The following is the inscription penned by Judge Howell, and copied from his tomb-stone in the North Burying Ground:—

In memory of
 THE REV. JAMES MANNING, D. D.,
President
 of Rhode Island College.

He was born in New-Jersey, A. D. 1738,
 Became a member of a Baptist Church, A. D. 1758,
 Graduated at Nassau Hall, A. D. 1762,
 Was ordained a Minister of the Gospel, A. D. 1763,
 Obtained a Charter for the College, A. D. 1765,¹
 Was elected President of it the same year,
 And was a Member of Congress, A. D. 1786.

His person was graceful,
 And his countenance remarkably expressive
 Of sensibility, cheerfulness and dignity.

The variety and excellence of his natural abilities,
 Improved by education and enriched by science,
 Raised him to a rank of eminence among literary
 Characters.

His manners were engaging, his voice harmonious,
 His eloquence natural and powerful.

His Social Virtues, Classic Learning, Eminent Patriotism,
 Shining talents for instructing and governing youth,
 And zeal in the cause of Christianity,
 Are recorded on the tablets of many hearts.

He died of an apoplexy, July 29, 1791,
 Aetat 53.

The Trustees and Fellows of the College have erected
 This monument.
 1793.

The likeness of President Manning accompanying the present work was engraved from an original portrait, which has long been in the

¹ It is a matter of surprise that one so intimately acquainted with Manning as was Judge Howell, and connected with the College almost from the beginning, should have given this date for the Charter, which, as we have seen, was granted by the Legislature at the February session, 1764. True it was not signed and sealed until October 24, 1765; but the Corporation held its first meeting under the Charter in September, 1764, elected its officers, and transacted business, as the records from which we have in a previous chapter given extracts, fully show.

possession of the University. It was painted in the year 1770, by Cosmo Alexander, a Scotch gentleman, who came from Edinburgh about this time, and is said to have given Gilbert Stuart his first lessons in drawing. Dr. Drowne, in his letter to the Rev. Dr. Rippon announcing the President's decease, has given a good description of the painting. Mr. Rippon, in his correspondence with Manning, had requested the loan of it for an engraving for the Baptist Register. Mr. Thomas Mullett, in a letter addressed to Manning, dated Bristol, October 5, 1791, nearly four months after Manning's decease, thus writes concerning it:—"I took the necessary care of your picture, delivered it to Mr. Rippon's order, and your letter into his own hands." The engraving appeared in the first volume of the Register, together with Judge Howell's obituary notice, and an extract from the funeral sermon preached by the Rev. Prof. Maxcy. On the decease of Mrs. Manning in 1815, the painting came into the possession of the University. A second and larger portrait, painted from the original by James S. Lincoln, a Providence artist, at the expense of Messrs. Brown & Ives, was presented to the Corporation about the year 1840. The original remained in Mr. Lincoln's office many years, covered with dust and forgotten, until it was brought to the attention of the writer. Through his exertions it was placed in the hands of a skilful artist to be restored, and then encased in an elegant frame. It now graces the Collection of Portraits in Sayles Memorial Hall.

Our task is done. We have endeavored to trace the origin, and to exhibit the early progress, of Rhode Island College, or, as it is now called, Brown University. So far as possible, we have allowed the writers, the actors, and the records of the past, to tell their own story in their own way, having no theories to advance, and no interests save those of truth and justice to subserve. That members of the Philadelphia Baptist Association planned the College in the outset, admits not even the shadow of a doubt. It was designed, in the language of the preface to Morgan Edwards's subscription book, "to adorn human nature, and promote the true interests and happiness of mankind," by disseminating sound knowledge and useful literature. Its main design,

however, was to secure for the churches an educated ministry. For this its friends toiled and prayed, amidst difficulties and discouragements, growing out of indifference on the one hand, and opposition on the other. Under the auspices of its devoted President it became a centre of influence, and a rallying point for the denomination, "greatly promoting," says Manning, "Baptist principles, and the spread of civil and religious liberty throughout New England, . . . and adding respectability to the Baptist profession."

We have traced the career of Dr. Manning from its commencement to its close, and, so far as our materials would admit, have made him his own biographer. Our readers have thus obtained a more correct idea of his character and life than could have been obtained by any formal delineation of his virtues as a man, or of his genius as an educator, a statesman, and a preacher. Devotion to the interests of the College appears to have been the animating motive of his conduct, and the improvement and elevation of the Baptist denomination through the College, the object and aim of his entire professional life. The sentiment, so beautifully expressed by Dr. South, that "the Spirit always guides and instructs before he saves; and as he brings to happiness only by the ways of holiness, so he never leads to true holiness but by the paths of knowledge," was by no means an universal sentiment, it will be observed, in the days of Manning. The Baptists as a denomination were not specially friendly to learning, and the provision for the education of their clergy was exceedingly limited. To the work of removing existing prejudices against collegiate institutions, and of securing for the denomination to which he was attached the benefits of an educated ministry, he devoted his best energies. His mental acquisitions, his distinguished piety, his great ministerial excellence, which, combined with his natural gifts and endowments, gave him so rare and extensive an influence over the minds of men, were all alike consecrated to this one cherished object. For this he declined, at the beginning of his public life, the call of the church at Charleston, having already committed himself to the interests of the College. For this he resigned his pastoral charge at Warren, greatly to the surprise and the regret of his

people. For this he perseveringly labored amidst the discouragements of poverty, the opposition of enemies, the indifference of friends, and the conflicts of war. To benefit the College he left its quiet shades, and the pulpit where his labors had been honored and blest, and entered the arena of political strife ; and when his object was attained, so far as it could be through his own personal exertions, he returned from the halls of Congress to his accustomed duties, resisting all the allurements of political life and the public distinctions to which his talents would naturally have entitled him. And toward the close of his career, although in the midst of gracious manifestations of the Divine presence, and enjoying the emoluments of a large and flourishing church and society, which had been built up mainly through his exertions, he again and again requested his people to provide a successor in the pastorate, in order that he might give himself more exclusively to the care of the College, and to the great work of laying broad and deep the foundations for an educated Baptist ministry. In all this "he labored," says Professor Goddard, "not for himself, but for others, and in language breathing a holier inspiration than that of poetry, may be conveyed the grand moral of his life : —

‘ Love thyself last ;
Let all the ends thou aim’st at be thy country’s,
Thy God’s and truth’s.’ ”

The narrative has, in several instances, presented illustrations of sectarian bitterness, of which Manning and his associates were sometimes the objects, and also of the unfair dealings to which the College in its infancy was subjected, but it is only as a part of the history of the times, and, we trust, only in the spirit of candor and historical fidelity. The animosities and strifes of a hundred years and more ago have long since been buried, and both the College and its self-sacrificing founders are enshrined in the reverence and affection of all, of every denomination, who have shared in the manifold benefits they have conferred upon mankind. May the record here made of the consecrated benevolence and the persevering efforts of our fathers stimulate

the patrons and friends of Brown University, which at its centennial anniversary in 1864 entered upon the second century of its existence, to renewed exertions on its behalf; and may all its scattered sons, and the religious denomination especially whose present prosperity is so largely due to his intelligent devoted labors, hold in grateful remembrance the virtues, the talents, and the piety of JAMES MANNING.

“ Peace to the just man's memory, — let it grow
Greener with years, and blossom through the flight
Of ages; let the mimic canvas show
His calm benevolent features; let the light
Stream on his deeds of love, that shun'd the sight
Of all but heaven; and, in the book of fame,
The glorious record of his virtues write,
And hold it up to men, and bid them claim
A palm like his, and catch from him the hallow'd flame.”

APPENDIX.

HISTORY OF THE CHARTER.

1763-1896.

History of the Charter one of struggle against opposing influences — Professor Knowles on Roger Williams — Origin of the College to be found in connection with Hopewell Academy and the Philadelphia Association — Bishop Berkeley and the College — Morgan Edwards's Materials toward a History of the Baptists in Rhode Island — Manuscript in the Cabinet of the Rhode Island Historical Society — Collected by the author in 1771 — In the possession of Manning, Backus, and Benedict — Published as part of volume six of the Collections of the Society — Appendix giving the history of the College — Manning's Narrative of the Charter — Extract from Dr. Cutting's article in *New York Recorder* — Prof. Kingsley's life of Dr. Stiles — Petition presented to the General Assembly in August, 1663 — Daniel Jenckes's name not included among the petitioners — Narrative continued — Dr. Stiles and the Charter — Charter found to be at variance with the original design, and action on it postponed — Application made to the Philadelphia Association "where the thing took its rise" — Committee sent to Newport from Philadelphia — Statement of the Rev. Samuel Jones, chairman — Alterations made in Dr. Stiles's draft of the Charter by the Committee — Account of Judge Jenckes — His narrative of the Charter — Charter finally passed by the General Assembly at the February session, 1764 — Summary of the main points in the narratives of Manning and Jenckes — The original copy of the Charter presented to the General Assembly in August, 1763, and afterwards lost, found among the archives of Dr. Stiles's church, and presented by the Rev. A. H. Dumont to the Rev. Dr. Sprague of Albany — Now preserved among the archives of the College Library — Letters from Dr. Sprague on the subject to the writer — The Stiles Charter published in full in the appendix to the "Life, Times, and Correspondence of Manning" — Letter from Morgan Edwards respecting the Charter, and the opposition of Presbyterians or Congregationalists — Extract from the second volume of Backus's Church History, published in 1784 — Extract from his third volume, published in 1796 — Leading features of the Charter finally passed by the Legislature — Liberal in all its provisions — The College and Bishop Berkeley — Charter in full from the original edition published before 1765 — Provision exempting from taxation the President, Professors, and the College estate a subject of controversy and dispute in 1772, 1773, and 1774 — Controversy renewed in 1862 — Action of the Legislature, the Corporation consenting, in 1863 — Action of the Corporation — Happy settlement of the question — President and Professors exempted from taxation to the amount of ten thousand dollars — Controversy respecting exemption from taxation again renewed — Question for final decision submitted to the Supreme Court — Names of the Trustees and Fellows in 1770, and in 1896, in parallel columns.

THE history of the Charter of Brown University forms a most important part of the early history of the College; we may be pardoned therefore for devoting to it a separate chapter of our work. Other writers have done the same in like circumstances. Professor Tyler, in his "History of Amherst College," published in 1873, devotes twenty-five pages of his elaborate work to a history of the charter, which was granted by the Legislature of Massachusetts after years of struggle and delay, by a vote of one hundred and fourteen to ninety-five. Opposition to "Orthodoxy" by the "Liberals," so called, appears to have been the main cause why the charter of Amherst was so long refused. As has already been stated, the history of our own charter is one of struggle against opposing influences, arising in part from the sectarian feeling so prevalent throughout New England a century and a half ago, which appears to have been particularly bitter towards the denomination of Christians under whose auspices the College was founded. THE LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE OF MANNING abounds in illustrations of this feeling towards the Institution over which he presided, and also ecclesiastical oppression, to resist which was one of the main causes that led to the formation of the Warren Association. So also the pages throughout of Backus's Church History, Hezekiah Smith's Diary, Semple's History of Virginia, etc.

In the light of an advancing civilization all this has now passed away; if occasionally brought to remembrance, it is only, it is to be hoped, in the spirit of kindness, as an impressive admonition to the fuller exercise of that charity which "beareth all things." A faithful narrative must of necessity reflect somewhat upon the character of great and good men, whose names have passed into history, and whose memories are precious. On this point we may be allowed to quote the remarks of the lamented Professor Knowles, in his preface to the "Memoir of Roger Williams": — "We must not," he says, "in order to promote or defend religion, attempt to conceal events which history has already recorded, and much less to palliate conduct which we cannot justify. Let us rather confess, with frankness, and humility, our own

faults, and those of our fathers; learn wisdom from past errors; and bring ourselves and others, as speedily as possible, to the adoption of those pure principles by which alone Christianity can be sustained and diffused. The Book of God records, among its salutary lessons, the mistakes and sins of good men.”

The origin of the College in connection with the Hopewell Academy, and the Philadelphia Association, has been fully stated in the first part of our work. In these latter days this origin has sometimes been overlooked by a class of men who ascribe it rather to the liberal and far reaching views of scholars and statesmen in Rhode Island, who had long felt the need of an institution of learning, and, it is claimed, had been educated to such views by the teachings and silent influence of Bishop Berkeley, who, thirty years previous to the time of which we write, had resided for a brief period in Newport. Indeed, it has been gravely asserted that references to the University as a distinct Baptist institution are unwarranted by the facts, and that efforts to endow it as such are inconsistent with its “liberal and comprehensive charter.” In giving the history of this charter, therefore, we shall allow the leading writers and actors to tell their own story in their own way, leaving it for the candid reader to decide as to its truthfulness, and bearings on questions in controversy. Of necessity we must repeat some facts which have already been stated.

In the cabinet of the Rhode Island Historical Society is a quarto manuscript volume, written in a print hand, by the Reverend Morgan Edwards, entitled, “Materials toward a History of the Baptists in Rhode Island”; forming one of a series of volumes which the author had prepared, or was intending to prepare, for each one of the thirteen colonies. The first of this series entitled, “Materials toward a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania,” was published in 1770. It is a small duodecimo volume of great value and rarity. A second volume relating to New Jersey was published in 1792. Still another relating to Delaware, has recently appeared in print under the auspices of the American Baptist Publication Society. Mr. Edwards journeyed, says Cathcart, “from New Hampshire to Georgia, gathering facts for a history

of the Baptists, and these MATERIALS, printed or penned, are the most valuable Baptist records in our country. They show immense painstaking, they are remarkably accurate, and they treat of points of great value."

The MATERIALS for this volume were collected in the Fall of 1771, while Edwards was in Providence, attending the Commencement of the College. He interviewed, says the late Moses Brown who accompanied him in his visits, "all the elderly people he could find here."¹ For some reason, owing perhaps to the disturbed state of the country at the time, and the Revolutionary War which followed, they were never published.² Afterwards they were used by Backus, who obtained them from President Manning for the preparation of his history. Manning obtained them from Edwards. This we learn from a letter from Edwards to Manning, in which, under date of August 18, 1788, he writes: — "Some years ago I sent you a manuscript; whether you received it or not I cannot say. It was a collection of some historical facts relative to the Baptists. If you have the book, please return it to me as soon as conveniency offers." The book was never returned. Backus used it in his Church History, the first volume of which appeared in 1777, the second in 1784, and the third in 1796. Manning died in 1791, Edwards in 1795, and Backus in 1806. After the death of Backus this volume, with other papers, came into the hands of David Benedict, known in later years as the "Baptist Historian." Many years ago Dr. Benedict wisely placed it in the archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society for preservation and future use.

An Appendix to this remarkable volume gives the history of the College from the beginning down to the year 1771. This Staples has incorporated in his "Annals of Providence." A part is reproduced in "Life, Times, and Correspondence of Manning," published in 1864. The entire manuscript, edited by the late Rev. Edwin M. Stone, was pub-

¹ See letter from Moses Brown to Dr. Francis Wayland, published in "Documentary History of Brown University," pp. 207-210.

² In fact the work, which the author designates as his third volume, was never completed, the manuscript ending abruptly with an account of the church in Cranston. Only the churches of Providence, Newport, Warren, Greenwich, and Cranston are included in the work.

lished in 1867, forming a part of volume six of the Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Edwards thus begins his history:—

· Young indeed the Institution is, and therefore short would its history be, had it received its existence, locality, endowment, and permanency like other institutions of the same nature; but contrarywise, some peculiar circumstances attend each, which infer the interposition of Providence, and bespeak it to be a thing of God and not of man only. The first mover for it, in 1762, was laughed at as the projector of a thing impracticable. Nay, many of the Baptists themselves discouraged the design, prophesying evil to the churches in case it should take place, from an unhappy prejudice against learning, and threatened, not only non-concurrence, but opposition. Nevertheless, a young Jerseyman, who is now at the head of the Institution, went to the Rhode Island Government and made the design known. The reason of his attempt in this Province was, as has been observed, that the Legislature is here chiefly in the hands of Baptists, and therefore it was the likeliest place to have a Baptist college established by law. The remainder of what I intend to say on this head, shall be in the words of President Manning, to which I shall add the history of the first Charter by Daniel Jenckes, Esq., who both, for obvious reasons, think it necessary to have them published.

President Manning's Narrative is as follows:—

MANNING'S NARRATIVE.

In the month of July, 1763, we¹ arrived in Newport, and made a motion to several gentlemen of the Baptist denomination, whereof Colonel Gardner, the Deputy Governor, was one, relative to a seminary of polite literature, subject to the government of the Baptists. The motion was properly attended to, which brought together about fifteen gentlemen of the same denomination at the Deputy's house, who requested that I would draw a sketch of the design against the day following. That day came, and the said gentlemen, with other Baptists, met in the same place, when a rough draft was produced and read, the tenor of which was, that the institution was to be a Baptist one, but that as many of other denominations should be taken in as was consistent with the said design.² Accordingly, the Hon. Josias Lyndon, and Col. Job Bennet, were

¹ Mr. Manning, it will be remembered, was accompanied on his journey to Halifax by the Rev. John Sutton, a member with him of the Scotch Plains Church.

² "Never," says the late Rev. Dr. Cutting, in an article in the *New York Recorder*, published Sept. 20, 1854, which we here quote, "were men more decided in religious faith than the settlers of Rhode Island. It was their positive and zealous traits which from the four quarters of the earth

appointed to draw a Charter, to be laid before the next General Assembly, with a petition that they should pass it into a law. But the said gentlemen, pleading unskillfulness touching an affair of the kind, requested that their trusty friend, Rev. Ezra, now Dr. Stiles, might be solicited to assist them. This was opposed by me, as unwilling to give the Doctor any trouble about an affair of other people; but they urged that his love of learning and catholicism would induce him readily to give his assistance. Accordingly, their proposal was consented to, and his assistance obtained; or, rather, the drafting of the Charter was left entirely to him, after being told that the Baptists were to have the lead in the institution, and the government thereof, forever; and that no more of other denominations were to be admitted than would be consistent with that.¹ The Charter was drawn, and a time and place were appointed for the parties

sent them thither for shelter, and there they contended with each other like earnest men. And yet they practised mutual tolerance, because the rights of conscience were inviolable, and charity was a duty and a grace.

"We suppose this to be the true spirit of Brown University in its relations to religion. Provided in its Charter for a majority of Baptists in its Corporation, it embraces in certain proportions, likewise, Episcopalians, Quakers, and Congregationalists; not because the differences between Baptists, Episcopalians, Quakers, and Congregationalists are not of importance, but because the things which they hold in common, and the spirit of their common faith, furnish ample ground for coöperation in the cause of 'polite literature.' It is to the honor of the Baptists that, when, by the intolerance of other colonies, they were driven to Rhode Island to establish their College, they proceeded at once, and of their own motion, to call in the counsels of gentlemen of other denominations, and to admit them to a share in the government, though their catholicity had well-nigh cost them the total loss of all which they had undertaken. They did this, not to merge their faith in a common indifferentism, but to illustrate a comprehensive charity. They had a 'main design,' and a subordinate and collateral one. The 'main design' was a Baptist college, especially for the education of their ministry; subordinate to this, and consistent with it, was the design of an institution which, enlisting a common interest, should confer common blessings upon other denominations and upon the State. Such a scheme was at the time utterly without a parallel, and must have been regarded in the other colleges with something of the amazement with which the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay had looked, at an earlier day, upon the broad religious liberty of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations. In this original spirit, as we believe, should the University be administered forever; men of diverse faiths working together, not because of indifferentism, but of charity,—not as the less Baptists, Episcopalians, Quakers, and Congregationalists, but as men of common interests in a work which honors and blesses all. It would be a shame if such an institution should not be, as always it has been, in the highest and best sense catholic. In our view, if its catholicity degenerated to indifferentism, it would cease to represent the spirit and the designs of its founders."

¹ Professor Kingsley, in his *Life of Dr. Stiles*, states that "a committee of Baptists and Congregationalists was appointed to draft a charter of a college; and of this body, Mr. Stiles and Mr. William Ellery were designated to prepare such an instrument for their consideration." "It is highly probable," he further adds, "from internal evidence, that the charter was drawn principally by Mr. Stiles; Mr. Ellery having little concern in preparing it, except to see to the correctness of the legal language. Whoever drew it, he had obviously before him the charter of Yale College, and was familiar with the questions which had arisen with respect to them. The privileges secured to the University by this Charter are very ample; and the language of the several provisions is remarkably full, precise, and explicit. It is, undoubtedly, in many respects, one of the best college charters in New England."

From Professor Kingsley's statements, it would appear that Baptists and Congregationalists

concerned to meet and hear it read. But the vessel in which I was to sail for Halifax going off that day prevented my being present with them long enough to see whether the original design was secured: and as the Corporation was made to consist of two branches, Trustees and Fellows, and these branches were to sit and act by distinct and separate powers, it was not easy to determine, by a transient hearing, what those powers might be. The Trustees were presumed to be the principal branch of authority; and as nineteen out of thirty-five were to be Baptists, the Baptists were satisfied, without sufficient examination into the authority vested in the Fellowship, which afterwards appeared to be the soul of the Institution, while the Trusteeship was only the body. Placing, therefore, an entire confidence in Dr. Stiles, they agreed to join in a petition to the Assembly to have the Charter confirmed by authority.

The following is the petition to which Manning in his narrative refers, copied from the original document, now on file in the archives of the College Library. The signatures to the document are genuine:—

TO THE HONORABLE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND, TO BE HELD AT NEWPORT, ON THE FIRST MONDAY OF AUGUST, A. D. 1763, BY ADJOURNMENT.

THE PETITION OF DIVERS OF THE INHABITANTS OF SAID COLONY.

WHEREAS, Institutions for liberal education are highly beneficial to society by forming the rising generation to virtue, knowledge, and useful literature, and thus preserving in a community a succession of men qualified for discharging the offices of life with usefulness and reputation, and have always merited and received the public attention and encouragement of every wise, polite, and well regulated state: And whereas a public school or seminary erected for this purpose within this Colony, to which the youth may freely resort for education in the vernacular and learned languages, and instruction in the liberal arts and sciences, would be for the general advantage and honor of this government: And whereas, there is a confessed absence of polite and useful learning in this Colony, your petitioners, affected with a deep

were alike interested in the movement, and that a joint committee representing the two denominations was appointed to draft the Charter. From the statements, however, of Backus, Edwards, Manning, and Jenckes, it is evident that Baptists alone were the originators of the undertaking; that Baptists alone met at the Deputy Governor's house in Newport, in July, 1763; that, of their number, Lyndon and Bennet were appointed to draft a Charter in accordance with a plan sketched by Manning; that these gentlemen, "pleading unskillfulness," requested that Dr. Stiles "might be solicited to assist them;" and that this was at first opposed by Manning, who was "unwilling to give the Doctor trouble about an affair of other people."

sense thereof, and prompted alone by motives drawn from the public good, and desirous, as far as in them lies, to subserve the polite interests of this, His Majesty's Colony, and solicitous for cultivating the morals and informing the knowledge of the rising generation, upon which foundation the harmony, good order, and reputation of society depend—HUMBLY show, that for the good intents and purposes above mentioned they have concerted and planned the Charter herewith presented, and the same, having carefully considered and revised, do propose and submit it to the consideration of this honorable Assembly, requesting your Honors that, out of your great regard for useful literature, and the good morals of the youth of this Colony, and others that may resort to this same for the advantages of education, you would give your assent to and grant and confirm the aforesaid Charter, with all its powers, privileges, and immunities, as amply and fully as in said Charter is specified and expressed: And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Nicholas Tillinghast, Charles Wickham, Silas Cooke, Peter Mumford, Samuel Fowler, Joseph Clarke, Thomas Rodman, Thomas Wickham, Jr., Benj. Mason, Henry Ward, John Bowers, Oliver Arnold, Wm. Burroughs, Stanley Wyatt, Wm. Taggart, Samuel Ward, Job Bennet, Joshua Clarke, Gardner Thurston, Josias Lyndon, John Wheaton, Wm. Ellery, Jr., Jona. Willson, Gideon Cornell, Martin Howard, Israel Brayton, Paul Coffin, Charles Bardin, John Treby, Benj. Sherburne, Sylvester Child, Caleb Gardner, Jona. Nichols, Shubael Barr, Nicholas Hart, Jun., Jona. Easton, Jona. Otis, J. Gardner, Jos. Sanford, John Tillinghast, Nicholas Easton, Joshua Saunders, James Tanner, John Tanner, Robert Stevens, Samuel Greene, Joseph G. Wanton, David Moore, Samuel Lyndon, Elnathan Hammond, Nathan Rice, James Gardner, Clarke Brown, Benj. Hall, Ezek Burroughs, Joseph Rodman, Jona. Rogers, Cromel Child, Robert Potter, Wm. Vernon, Wm. Rogers.

The name of Daniel Jenckes, it will be observed, does not appear among the foregoing signatures. He was requested while in the Council Chamber, to sign the petition, as he himself states, by Capt. William Rogers. Of course he refused to sign, after reading the Charter, and seeing that it did not answer the original design of the movers.

MANNING'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

The petition was preferred, and cheerfully received, and the Charter read; after which a vote was called for, and urged by some to pass into a law. But this was opposed by others, particularly Daniel Jenckes, Esq., member for Providence, who contended that the Assembly required more time to examine whether it was agreeable to the design of the first movers for it, and therefore prayed the House to have the

perusal of it, while they adjourned for dinner. This was granted, with some opposition. Then he asked the Governor, who was a Baptist, whom they intended to invest with the governing power in said Institution? The Governor answered, "The Baptists, by all means." Then Mr. Jenckes showed him that the Charter was so artfully constructed as to throw the power into the Fellows' hands, whereof eight out of twelve were Presbyterians, usually called Congregationalists, and that the other four might be of the same denomination, for aught that appeared in the Charter to the contrary. Convinced of this, Governor Lyndon immediately had an interview with Dr. Stiles, the Presbyterian minister of Newport, and demanded why he had perverted the design of the Charter. The answer was, "I gave you timely warning to take care of yourselves, for that we had done so with regard to our society;"¹ and finally observed, that "he was not the rogue." When the Assembly was convened again, the said Jenckes moved that the affair might be put off to the next session; adding, that the motion for a College originated with the Baptists, and was intended for their use, but that the Charter in question was not at all calculated to answer their purpose; and since the committee

¹ In Professor Kingsley's Life of Dr. Stiles, to which we have already alluded, we find it stated that the project of a College in Rhode Island had been the subject of serious deliberation a considerable time before the Charter was actually granted by the Legislature, and in this matter Dr. Stiles had taken a prominent part, collecting statistics, etc. His plan was, to unite several denominations of Christians in the enterprise, both in America and in Great Britain, and thus, by proper care, make the dissenting interest eventually exceed the Episcopal establishment. The whole number of churches of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations, not only in the Colonies, but in Great Britain and Ireland, he ascertained to be three thousand six hundred and thirty-eight. "He supposed that all these churches might be induced to contribute to the establishment and support of an institution which would so greatly subserve their interests." The arrival at Newport of Mr. Manning, and the proposition made by him for the establishment of a Baptist college, interfered, of course, with his cherished views and plans. It is therefore not surprising that he should have been unwilling to see them defeated, without a struggle on his part to carry them into effect. We can understand how an attempt should have been made, either by Dr. Stiles or his associates, in drafting an act of incorporation for a College in Rhode Island, to pay special "regard" to the interests of their own "society." That there was disappointment on both sides, and at the time mutual recriminations, is evident from the narrative. Under similar circumstances there doubtless would be again, human nature being very much the same now as in the days of our ancestors. It is due to Dr. Stiles, to state that he afterwards cherished friendly feelings towards the Institution. Having been elected to a Fellowship in the College, and solicited by repeated deputations from the Corporation to accept the trust, he thus writes to the Chancellor and Trustees: "I was too sincere a friend to literature not to have taken a part in the Institution at first, upon my nomination in the Charter, had I not been prevented by reasons which a subsequent immediate election could not remove." One of the reasons assigned in this letter, as stated by Dr. Manning, in a letter to the Rev. John Ryland, dated May 20, 1773, was "the offence he should give his brethren should he accept it." Whatever the reasons were, they still influenced him to decline the office to which he was invited, with suitable acknowledgments of the politeness and respect with which he was treated on this occasion. His letter concludes with the catholic and pious wish that "the Father of lights, from whom comes down every good and perfect gift, may excite the public munificence, and raise up benefactors, through whose liberalities this Institution shall be completed with an ample endowment." (Holmes's Life of President Stiles, page 117.)

intrusted with this matter by the Baptists professed they had been misled, not to say imposed upon, it was necessary that the Baptists in other parts of the Colony should be consulted previous to its passage into a law, especially as few, if any of them except himself, had seen it; and he prayed that he might have a copy for the said purpose, which he promised to return. All which was granted. When the Charter came to be narrowly inspected, it was found to be by no means answerable to the design of the agitators and the instructions given the committee. Consequently, application was made to the Philadelphia Association, where the thing took its rise, to have their mind on the subject, who immediately sent two gentlemen¹ hither to join with the Baptists of this Colony in making such alterations and amendments as were to them specified before their departure. When they arrived, Dr. Eyres² of Newport was added to the committee, and they happily drafted the present Charter, and lodged it, with a new petition, in proper hands. The most material alterations were, appointing the same number of Baptists in the Fellowship that had been appointed of the Presbyterians, by Dr. Stiles; settling the presidency in the Baptist society; adding three Baptists to the Trustees, and putting more Episcopalians than Presbyterians in the Corporation."

Among the alterations not here enumerated by Manning, were, electing the President by the Corporation instead of exclusively by the Trustees; providing for convoking an assembly of the Corporation on twenty days notice instead of six; making five a quorum of the Board of Fellows instead of eight; and striking out the clause making the places of Trustees or Fellows who should remove out of the State, vacant. By confining membership in the Corporation to persons resid-

¹ On the margin of the manuscript, in the handwriting of the Rev. Dr. Jones, who was Morgan Edwards's intimate friend, is the following, namely, "Why their names are not mentioned, I cannot say. However, there was no one sent but myself, although Mr. Robert Strettle Jones was so kind as to bear me company to Rhode Island on the occasion.—SAMUEL JONES." Mr. Jones, it will be remembered, in connection with Mr. Edwards, had been intrusted by the Association with the business in general of founding a Baptist college or university. He had, at this date, but recently been ordained in Philadelphia. He was a young man of liberal education, and a ready and skilful writer; hence his special fitness for the duty assigned him in this emergency. The following extract from notes to a century sermon delivered by him before the Philadelphia Baptist Association, Oct. 6, 1807, nearly fifty years afterwards, shows the manner in which he performed his mission: "In the fall of 1763, the writer of these sheets, on request, repaired to Newport in Rhode Island, and new-modelled a rough draft they had of a Charter of incorporation for a College, which soon after obtained legislative sanction."

² Thomas Eyres, a physician, the first secretary of the Corporation, and a Fellow of the College from 1764 until his death in 1788. He was graduated at Yale College, in the Class of 1754. His father, Elder Nicholas Eyres, was pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Newport from 1731 until his death, Feb. 13, 1759.

ing within the limits of the Colony, the original Charter excluded the originators and founders of the College. Hence, in the list of names proposed by Dr. Stiles to be incorporated, the following, which we find in the printed Charter, as suggested by the committee, are omitted, namely, Rev. Morgan Edwards, Rev. Samuel Jones, Rev. James Manning, Rev. Isaac Eaton, Rev. John Gano, Rev. Samuel Stillman, Rev. Jeremiah Condry, and Robert Strettle Jones, Esq. The names of Hezekiah Smith, Isaac Backus, William Williams, John Davis, Russell Mason, Nathan Spear, and others from out of the State, who rendered such signal service in the early history of the College, would also have been excluded from membership in the Corporation by the Charter as originally drafted.

The Hon. Judge Jenckes, to whom Manning refers in his Narrative, was, as we have already stated, a wealthy merchant of Providence, and a patron both of the College and the church, having continued, says the record, a member of the latter forty-eight years "without censure." Benedict in the first volume of his "History of the Baptist Denomination," has devoted several pages to an account of the Jenckes family. Joseph, his great ancestor, migrated from Buckinghamshire in England, and became the founder of Pawtucket. Each of his four sons was prominent in the history of the Colony. Joseph, the eldest, of "happy memory," was "an active and ornamental member of the Baptist church," for several years Governor of the Colony, and at one time a Representative at the Court of St. James. The second son, Nathaniel, became the military leader of all the forces in the Colony. The fourth son, William, became a Chief Justice, and died at the advanced age of ninety-one. The third son, Ebenezer, father of Judge Jenckes, was in 1719 ordained as pastor of the Church; which office he held until his death in 1726. "He was," says Benedict, "a man of parts and real piety. He refused every public office but the Surveyorship of Providence." Judge Jenckes was for many years a member of the General Assembly, and his name frequently appears in connection with the most important committees. In 1723 he is designated in the Colonial Records, as Daniel Jenckes, Jr., "freeman of this Colony from Provi-

dence." In 1733 his name appears as "Lieut. Daniel Jenckes, Deputy from Smithfield." (Smithfield was until 1730 a part of Providence.) In 1757 he is designated as "Chief Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and General Sessions of the Peace, within and for the County of Providence." This position he held until his decease. Evidently he was a leading and influential citizen of Providence, respected and esteemed in the community in which he lived. The following appears in the columns of the *Providence Gazette* for Aug. 31, 1771:—

IN TOWN MEETING. Daniel Jenckes, Esq., who had been a member of the General Assembly, with little intermission, for forty years past, and a Representative of this Town near thirty years, desired leave, on account of his advanced age, to withdraw himself from that office. He was unanimously excused, and the meeting unanimously ordered the Moderator to return their hearty thanks to Mr. Jenckes, for the many and important services he had rendered his country in general, and this Town in particular, during the long time he had been continued their Representative; which was then done in open TOWN MEETING.

Judge Jenckes was one of the original Trustees of the College. He attended with great regularity all the meetings of the Corporation, serving on important committees, and contributing liberally for the support of the infant Seminary. He gave, says Benedict, one thousand dollars toward the erection of the college building, and another thousand for the meeting-house. He died July 7, 1774, in the seventy-third year of his age. His daughter Rhoda was the wife of Nicholas Brown, Manning's intimate friend and associate, and the mother of Hon. Nicholas Brown, from whom the University derives its name. She was also the mother of Mrs. Hope Ives, after whom "Hope College" was named. From her sprang the Ives, Gammell, and Goddard families, so prominent in the more recent history of the city, and the University. Jenckes's history of the Charter, which "for obvious reasons" Edwards states, he desired to have published, reads as follows:—

JENCKES'S HISTORY OF THE CHARTER.

While I attended the business of the Assembly, held August, 1763, Capt. William Rogers came to the Council Chamber and presented me with a paper, with a design I

should sign it; adding, that, as it was a petition for a Baptist college, he knew I would not refuse. Business not permitting me to attend to it immediately, I requested he would leave with me the petition and Charter. Meanwhile, the serjeant made proclamation requiring the members to take their seats. In my seat I began to read the papers, but had not done before the petition and Charter were called for, which I gave to the serjeant, and he to the speaker at the board. The petition being read, a motion was made to receive it, and grant the Charter. After some time I stood up to oppose, proceeding immediately on the petition, giving my reason in words to this effect: "I understood that the College in question was sought for by the Baptists; and that it was to be under their government and direction, with the admission only of a few of other religious denominations to share with them therein, that they might appear as catholic as could be, consistent with their main design; but, on the contrary, I perceived by glancing over the Charter, while I sat in my place just now, that the main power and direction is vested in twelve Fellows, and that eight out of the twelve are to be Presbyterians; and that the others may or may not be of the same denomination; but of necessity, none of them are to be Baptists. If so, there is treachery somewhere, and a design of grossly imposing on the honest people who first moved for the Institution. I desire, therefore, that the matter may lie by till the afternoon." This was granted. In the afternoon the matter was resumed, with a seeming resolution in some to push it through at all events; but I had influence enough to stop proceedings then also. That evening and the next morning, I made it my business to see Governor Lyndon and Col. Bennet, and to inform them of the construction of the Charter. They could not believe me, for the confidence they had in Dr. Stiles's honor and integrity, until seeing convinced them; what reflections followed may be better concealed than published. However, we all agreed to postpone passing the Charter into a law, and did effect our purpose for that session, notwithstanding the attempts of Mr. Ellery and others of the Presbyterians to the contrary. Before the breaking up of the Assembly, the House, at my request, directed the speaker to deliver the Charter to me, after I had made a promise it should be forthcoming at the next meeting of the Assembly.

I took the Charter to Providence, and showed it to many who came to my house; others borrowed it to peruse at home. Meanwhile, the messengers from the Philadelphia Association arrived in Newport, which occasioned the committee of Newport to send to me for the Charter. I asked for it of Dr. Ephraim Bowen, who had borrowed it last. The Doctor said he lent it to Samuel Nightingale, Esq. Search was made for it there, but it could not be found; neither do I know to this day what became of it. When the next General Assembly met (last Wednesday in October, 1763,) the second Charter was presented; which was much faulted, and opposed by the gentry who concerned themselves so warmly about the other. And one in particular demanded that the first Charter, which had been intrusted to me, might be produced. Then I related,

as above, that it was lost, and the manner how it was lost; but the party, instead of believing this, rudely suggested that I had secreted the Charter, and in the face of the court charged me with a breach of trust; which brought on very disagreeable altercations and bickerings, until, at last, I was necessitated to say, that "if there had been any foul doings, it was amongst them of their own denomination at Providence." Their clamors continued; and we gave way to them that session for peace sake. Meanwhile, Dr. Bowen, who is a man of strict honor and integrity, used all means to recover the former Charter, posting an advertisement in the most public places in town, and making diligent inquiry; but to no purpose. At the next Assembly, which met in February, 1764, the new Charter was again brought on the carpet; and the same clamor against it, and unjust reproaches against me, were repeated. It was said that the new Charter was not like the old, and was constructed to deprive the Presbyterians of the benefit of the Institution. To which it was replied, "that it was agreeable to the designs of the first undertakers, and if calculated to deprive the Presbyterians of the power they wanted, it was no more than what they themselves had attempted to do to the Baptists." After much and warm debate, the question was put and carried in favor of the new Charter, by a great majority.¹

This Charter Edwards designates as "a brand plucked from the burning." From the foregoing Narrative and History it appears:—

1. That Manning made a motion to several Baptist gentlemen of Newport, including Deputy Governor Gardner, relative to a Seminary of Polite Literature, subject to the government of the Baptists; and that this motion properly attended to brought together about fifteen gentlemen of this denomination at the Deputy's house, who requested Manning to draw up or prepare a sketch of the design for the next day.
2. That the next day the said gentlemen, with other Baptists met in the same place, when a rough draft or plan was produced and read, the tenor of which was, that the Institution was to be a Baptist College, but that other denominations were to be included in its government, as many as might be consistent with the general design.
3. That the Hon. Josias Lyndon and Col. Job Bennet were appointed to draw up a Charter in accordance with the said plan, to be laid before the next

¹ According to the original copy of the Charter in the office of the Secretary of State, it passed the House on the 2d of March, 1764, "nemine contradicente." The day following, March 3d, it was read in the Senate, and the action of the House concurred with, "nemine contradicente." Signed by Josias Lyndon, Clerk of the House, Henry Ward, Secretary of the Senate.

General Assembly, with a petition that it might be made a law. 4. That the said Lyndon and Bennet pleading unskilfulness, solicited and obtained the assistance of the Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, afterwards the distinguished President of Yale College. 5. That the drafting of the Charter was left entirely to Dr. Stiles, and that he in turn was assisted by the Hon. William Ellery, afterwards known as one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. 6. That the Charter was accordingly drawn, and a time and place were appointed for the parties concerned to meet and hear it read. 7. That Manning, being obliged to leave on that day for Halifax, the vessel being ready to sail, was unable to be with the committee long enough to see whether the original design was secured, and that the Baptists, being satisfied without sufficient examination into the authority vested in the Fellowship, and reposing entire confidence in Dr. Stiles, agreed to join in a petition to the General Assembly to have the Charter confirmed by authority. 8. That the petition and Charter were accordingly presented to the General Assembly in August, 1763, but that action thereon was postponed until the next session through the influence of the Hon. Judge Jenckes, notwithstanding the attempts of Mr. Ellery and others of the Presbyterians (Congregationalists) to the contrary. 9. That the Charter was found on inspection to be so drawn as to vest the main power and direction of the Institution in a Board of twelve Fellows, eight of whom were to be Presbyterians (Congregationalists) and the other four of the same denomination, for aught that appeared to the contrary; and that in general it did not answer to the original design. 10. That in this emergency, "application was made to the Philadelphia Association, where the thing took its rise, to have their mind on the subject." 11. That they immediately sent to Newport the Rev. Samuel Jones, who was accompanied by Robert Strettle Jones, and that when they arrived, Doct. Thomas Eyres, of Newport, was added to the committee. 12. That, meanwhile, the copy of the Charter, the one presented to the General Assembly in August, which had been entrusted by that body to Judge Jenckes, was lost. 13. That the committee found at Newport the original draft, which they happily remodelled;

and that the most material alterations were, appointing the same number of Baptists in the Fellowship that had been appointed by Dr. Stiles of the Presbyterians; settling the Presidency in the Baptist Society; adding three Baptists to the Trustees; putting more Episcopalians than Presbyterians in the Corporation; and extending the membership of the Corporation to persons residing out of the Colony or State. 14. That the Charter thus amended was finally enacted, after protracted opposition on the part of the Presbyterians, at a session of the General Assembly held in East Greenwich, on the last Monday in February, 1764.¹

It is not a little remarkable that the copy of the Charter presented to the General Assembly in August, 1763, which was entrusted by that Body to Judge Jenckes, and was afterwards lost, should have come to light in the year of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the College. It is now handsomely bound, and lodged among the archives of the Library. For generations it slept among the old papers of the church over which Dr. Stiles was pastor; then it found its way into the hands of the late Rev. Dr. William B. Sprague, the great collector of autographs, who generously presented it to the University, upon being made acquainted with its historical value.² The place of its

¹ The following memorandum, found among the papers of Dr. Stiles, and quoted by Dr. Sears in an appendix to his centennial discourse, gives Dr. Stiles's version of the Charter:—"A Charter draughted by a committee of Baptists and Presbyterians, for a College in Rhode Island, was preferred to the Assembly, August, 1763, read and continued. After this the Baptists deserted the Presbyterians, and prepared the same Charter, with the alteration of the proportions of the denominations in the Corporation. This passed the Assembly at their session at Greenwich, by adjournment last Thursday, February, 1764." (That is, at the February session.)

² As this document confirms and establishes beyond question the accuracy of Manning, Edwards, and Jenckes in their statements, the reader may be interested to know further particulars of its recovery. In 1843 the late Judge Staples published his "Annals of the Town of Providence." In this volume appeared for the first time in print the narratives respecting the early history of the College. They attracted much attention. Previous to this time the Rev. A. H. Dumont, of Newport, had informed Judge Staples that the missing Charter was among the archives of the church over which Dr. Stiles had been pastor. Information of this fact was communicated to the writer, while preparing his life of Manning, who at once corresponded with the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Malcom, an intimate friend of Mr. Dumont. From him he learned that it was in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Sprague. The following are the replies to letters addressed to Dr. Sprague on the subject:

ALBANY, 23d January, 1864.

REUBEN A. GUILD, Esq.—*My Dear Sir*: I herewith send you the document you ask for, which I certainly reckon among the most curious of my American autographs. I frankly confess that it would cost me no small sacrifice to part with it; and yet if you and President Sears should think

deposit clears Judge Jenckes of the charge brought against him by one of the "gentry." Into whose hands it fell after it was lent to Mr. Jabez Bowen, and by him to a third person, must now, of course, be a matter of conjecture. It is certain that in some way it came into the possession of Dr. Stiles, for upon the back of it, in his own clear and distinct handwriting, are the following remarks :

FOR THE REV. DR. CHARLES CHAUNCY, BOSTON:— This Charter was presented to the Assembly August, 1763; re-copied, with some alterations by the Baptists, in October; and passed the Assembly February, 1764. Principal alterations were:

1. By omitting "To all people, etc., Greeting," in the initiatory address, the subsequent insertion in the body of the Charter, "Now, therefore, know ye," is an impropriety in clerkship.

2. The Baptists have shown a greater affection for all other denominations than for the Congregationalists.

3. Instead of eight or a majority of Congregationalists in the branch of the Fellowship, according to the original agreement, they have inserted eight Baptists; thus assuming a majority of about two-thirds in both branches, hereby absorbing the whole power and government of the College, and thus, by the immutability of the numbers, establishing it a party College more explicitly and effectually than any college upon the continent. This is the most material alteration.

4. Most of what is contained between the marginal crotchets in page six is omitted; and the whole paragraph for securing the freedom of education with respect to religion, so mutilated as effectually to enable and empower the Baptists to practice the arts of insinuation and proselyting upon the youth by private instruction, without the request of the parents.

What "original agreement" was violated by the adoption of the present Charter; in what respects Rhode Island College was established

it specially important that it should be deposited in the archives of the College, and that it should be the original rather than a copy, I might possibly muster magnanimity enough to yield it, though in that case I should wish it to be considered as an offering from the excellent friend who gave it to me rather than from myself.

Ever, my dear sir, faithfully yours,

W. B. SPRAGUE.

ALBANY, 1 February, 1864.

REUBEN A. GUILD, Esq.—*My Dear Sir:* After what you say of the value of the document I sent you, to your University, I cheerfully make it over to you, to be transmitted, through the archives, to posterity. Your intimation in respect to giving me something in exchange for it, I duly appreciate, but greatly prefer that it should be considered an out and out gift.

Very faithfully yours,

W. B. SPRAGUE.

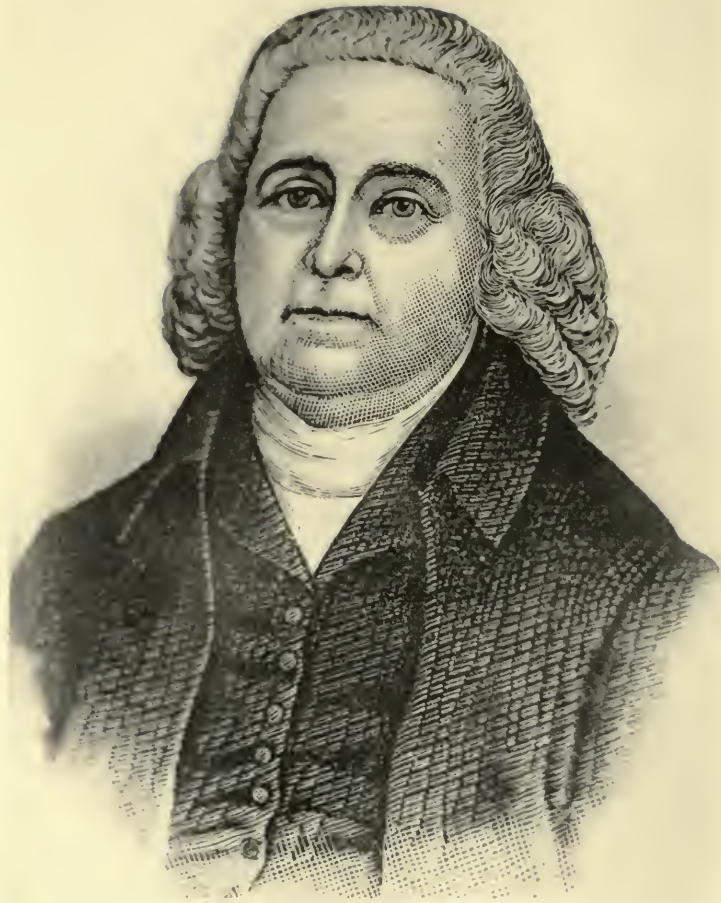
“a party College more explicitly and effectually than any college upon the continent,” (referring, of course, to the six colleges in existence in the year 1764); and how the paragraph pertaining to religious freedom and sectarian differences of opinion “enables and empowers the Baptists to practice the arts of insinuation and proselyting,” we leave to the judgment and candor of our readers to decide.

The appendix to “Life, Times, and Correspondence of James Manning” contains this Stiles Charter, if we may so designate it, copied in full from the original document, and in a parallel column, the changes and additions made by the Philadelphia committee. The “rough draft” which the committee remodelled “in the fall of 1763,” was the original draft made by Dr. Stiles, in his own handwriting, which Manning was unable to hear read, his vessel being about to sail. This is also preserved on file among the College papers. It does not differ materially from the one presented to the Legislature in August, 1763, the handwriting in both being the same. The second copy is on larger and better paper, and is written with more care, with reference to its being a legislative document.

The following letter, which forms a part of the Appendix to “Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Rhode Island,” and appears to have been addressed by Edwards to Manning soon after the removal of the College to Providence, may with propriety be introduced here, although portions of it belong to a later period. His allusions to the opposition of the Presbyterians (Congregationalists) to the College, correspond to statements made by Manning, Brown, Backus, and others, as recorded throughout in the pages of the present work, and also in the “Life, Diary, Letters, and Addresses of Hezekiah Smith.” Manning was evidently expecting the friendship and help of members of the Standing Order in the adjoining Colonies, had not the Baptists complained in newspapers of the oppression of their brethren, and threatened to carry their complaints to the Throne in case they should be longer continued. Part of the letter reads as follows:—

“I should not have ventured to oppose my opinions to yours, had not facts, recent facts, decided the matter in my favor; and shown that the goodness and candor of the

President have imposed on his judgment. Remember you not the first Charter? Whilst the Baptist college was yet in embryo they very disingenuously opposed it, as such, and continued to make it their own, since which disappointment, Dr. Stiles would have nothing to do with it, though courted again and again to accept even a Fellowship therein. And when the present Charter was presented to the Assembly at South Kingstown, remember you not what clamor they raised against it there? And what stout opposition they made to the passage of it, insomuch that its friends thought it best to desist? And how they triumphed afterwards? And when the affair was brought on again at East Greenwich, the next session, you can never forget with what heat and coarse expressions the same oppositions were renewed, nor the mortification and murmurs which the passing of it occasioned. It is true, while the Charter lay dormant they remained easy; and, as you say, appeared well pleased when you had set it on foot at Warren. But the reason of that is obvious. They knew that while the College stood friendless and moneyless, as it then did, they should have the pleasure to see it fall, and to mock those who began to build a tower and were not able to finish it. But seemed they good humored when money came thither from Europe? Or did they look as the man of Bristol did, at your first Commencement, and put the same invidious construction upon everything, that he did on the complacence you showed him that day? Their good affection toward the College edifice was but varnish; for while with specious arguments they would have it here, and anon there, and then, in another place, they were only working to prevent it being anywhere; and as soon as it had a locality, and the beginning of its existence at Providence, did they not, with some misled Baptists, attempt to get another college, to destroy yours, and actually carried their design through the Lower House? This also failing, what remains but to prevent youth from resorting to it. Their slandering the officers of instruction, as insufficient; the town where it is in, as a lawless place; the college, as wanting government; their representing it as a nest of Anabaptists, calculated to make proselytes; their visiting grammar schools, and tampering with masters and parents; their scolding Presbyterian youth, when they enter with you, as your neighbor Rowley did, who is capable of nothing but what is gross and indelicate; their refusing to pay subscriptions, etc.—are all intended to hurt what they could neither prevent nor destroy. Think you that their present opposition to the College is the effect of those newspaper complaints, and threatening of Presbyterian oppression in New England? Why, then, did they oppose it before those complaints and threatenings had existence? Think you they will be friends should we desist from these complaints and court their favor? It cannot be, except God should once teach them to love their neighbors as themselves, and do as they would be done by. Destroying the Baptist college will pacify them, and nothing else. The existence of that on the hill of Providence is a Mordecai in the gate. I told you, long ago, that if you could not do without the Presbyterians, you could not do at



ISAAC BACKUS.

all. I need not inform you that while I deal in generals I except the honest, the trusty, and the good; and some such Presbyterians I have met with in their connections with this College. God send us more such and mend the rest.

We may be allowed to introduce in this connection an extract from the second volume of Backus's "History of the Baptists in New England," published in 1784, while Manning, Edwards, Stiles, Ellery, and other parties referred to were living. It gives in brief the reasons for founding a Baptist College, the agency of the Philadelphia Association in the matter, and the story of the Charter. The accuracy of Backus as an historian has never, we believe, been questioned. His work has long been regarded as a standard authority on the subjects of which it treats. Bancroft awards to him the highest praise. In a letter to the writer dated Newport, Rhode Island, Sept. 25, 1885, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of "Chaplain Smith and the Baptists," he thus expresses himself:—"I look always to a Baptist historian for the ingenuousness, clear discernment, and determined accuracy which form the glory of their great historian, Backus." Being in the prime and vigor of life when the College was established, and an active Trustee from the beginning until 1799, a period of thirty-four years, being moreover the agent of the churches, and an intimate friend of Manning, Stillman, and Smith, the three great denominational leaders, he was undoubtedly familiar with all the facts pertaining to the origin and early progress of the College:—

EXTRACT FROM BACKUS.

The Covenant of Circumcision gave those who were born in it a right to treat all others, both as to worship and commerce, as no others had any right to treat them. A right to office also in that church was hereditary. When our Saviour came he fulfilled the law both moral and ceremonial, and abolished those hereditary distinctions among mankind. But in the centuries following, deceitful philosophy took away the name which God has given to the Covenant (Acts vii. 8) and added the name *grace* to it; from whence came the doctrine, that *dominion is founded in grace*. And although this latter name has been exploded by many, yet the root of it has been tenaciously held fast and taught in all colleges and superior places of learning, as far as Christianity has extended, until the present time; whereby natural affection, education, temporal

interest, and self righteousness, the strongest prejudices in the world, have all conspired to bind people in that way, and to bar their minds against equal liberty and believer's baptism. But the writings of our learned ministers in England have communicated much light in this country; to which more was added by the travels and labors of our Southern fathers and brethren. And hereby the Philadelphia Association obtained such an acquaintance with our affairs, as to bring them to an apprehension that it was practicable and expedient to erect a college in the Colony of Rhode Island, under the chief direction of the Baptists; wherein education might be promoted and superior learning obtained, free of any sectarian religious tests. And Mr. James Manning, who took his first degree in New Jersey College in September, 1762, was esteemed a suitable leader in this important work. Therefore, on a voyage to Halifax, in July, 1763, he called in at Newport, and proposed the affair to the Honorable Samuel Ward, John Gardner, Josias Lyndon, and other Baptist gentlemen and friends; who readily concurred therewith, and entered upon the use of means to accomplish it. And notwithstanding secret contrivances and some open attempts against it, an ample Charter for the purpose was granted by their Legislature, in February, 1764. In the summer following Mr. Manning removed to Warren, to preach to a society newly formed there, and to begin the School. In September, 1765, he was chosen President of the College, and on Sept. 7, 1769, seven young gentlemen took their first degrees therein; and it was removed to Providence the next spring, where a further account of it may be given hereafter.

In the third volume of Backus's History, published in 1796, after the death of Manning, Edwards, and Stiles, the author recapitulates, entering more into detail, as follows:—

The uppermost party among Christians have ever had the command of all colleges to educate religious teachers, as well as other men of superior learning, until very lately. Even in 1780, no ministers but *Congregational* ministers were allowed to be Overseers of the University of Cambridge, by the Massachusetts constitution of government. And great sums have been given to that University by the Government, from time to time, ever since it began in 1638. But as Providence and Rhode Island Colony was planted by men who were banished from the Massachusetts, because they conscientiously dissented from the use of force in religious affairs, and that Colony suffered amazingly from neighbor colonies for more than an hundred years, the people have grown up with great prejudices against colleges, and against obeying the laws of Christ for the support of his ministers. But as a minister hath died this year (Dr. Manning), who has done much towards removing these prejudices, I shall give a concise account of the affair. Mr. Isaac Eaton, who was pastor of the Baptist church

at Hopewell, in New Jersey, from 1748 to 1772, set up a school for the education of youth for the ministry, as well as for other callings, in 1756, and kept it for eleven years. One of his scholars was Mr. James Manning, who went from his school to the college at Princeton, where he took his first degree in September, 1762. And as the Philadelphia Association were for erecting a college in Rhode Island Government, they fixed their eyes upon a proper leader in the affair. He therefore called in at Newport on his voyage to Halifax, in July, 1763, and proposed the matter to a number of gentlemen, who readily concurred therewith; and as they had a high opinion of a learned Congregational minister among them, they desired him to make a draft of a Charter for a college in that Government. It was proposed to take in some members of the several denominations among them, but that the Baptists should always be the majority of the Corporation. He drew a Charter, which appeared to be upon this plan, and it was introduced into their Legislature; but a Baptist gentleman discerned that there was a door left open for the Congregational denomination to become the majority hereafter. Therefore the Charter was not then passed into a law; and when their Legislature met again, the Charter was not to be found. When this was heard of at Philadelphia, two gentlemen were sent from thence, who assisted in drawing a new Charter, which was established by the Legislature of Rhode Island, in February, 1764.

This "new Charter," which was finally granted by the General Assembly, is now, and must forever continue to be (according to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the celebrated Dartmouth College case, which Daniel Webster so ably defended), the unalterable constitution of the College or University. By it the Corporation is made to consist of two branches; namely, that of the Trustees and that of the Fellows, with distinct, separate, and respective powers. The Trustees are thirty-six in number, of whom twenty-two are forever to be elected of the denomination called Baptists, or Antipedobaptists, five of the denomination called Friends, or Quakers, five of the denomination called Episcopalians, and four of the denomination called Congregationalists. These were the denominations of New England more than a century ago. The number of the Fellows, including the President, who must always be a Fellow, is twelve, of whom eight are forever to be elected of the denomination called Baptists, and the rest indifferently of any or all denominations. The President must forever be a Baptist. Once in three years the Corporation, at its annual meeting, must choose from among the Trustees a Chancellor of the Uni-

versity, and a Treasurer; and from among the Fellows, a Secretary. The office of the Chancellor is merely to preside as moderator of the Trustees; the President, or, in his absence, the senior Fellow, being the moderator of the Fellows. The instruction and immediate government of the College is in, and must forever continue to rest in the President and Fellows, or Fellowship, to whom, as a "learned faculty," belongs exclusively the privilege of adjudging and conferring the academical degrees.

This Charter, although it secures to the Baptists the control of the College, recognizes repeatedly, and in most unequivocal terms, the grand principles of religious freedom, for which the descendants of Roger Williams, and all true Baptists of every age, have always resolutely contended. Its provisions on this point read as follows:—

And, furthermore, it is hereby enacted and declared, That into this liberal and catholic Institution shall never be admitted any religious tests; but, on the contrary, all the members hereof shall forever enjoy full, free, absolute, and uninterrupted liberty of conscience: and that the places of professors, tutors, and all other officers, the President alone excepted, shall be free and open for all denominations of Protestants; and that youth of all religious denominations shall and may be freely admitted to the equal advantages, emoluments, and honors of the College, or University, and shall receive a like fair, generous, and equal treatment during their residence therein—they conducting themselves peaceably, and conforming to the laws and statutes thereof; and that the public teaching shall, in general, respect the sciences; and that the sectarian differences of opinions shall not make any part of the public and classical instruction; although all religious controversies may be studied freely, examined, and explained by the President, professors, and tutors, in a personal, separate, and distinct manner, to the youth of any or each denomination; and, above all, a constant regard shall be paid to, and effectual care taken of, the morals of the College.

The statutes of the College have been framed from time to time in accordance with the spirit of this Charter. So long ago as 1783, those students who regularly observed the *seventh* day as the Sabbath, were exempted from the operation of the law which required every student, as a moral duty, to attend public worship on the *first* day of the week. Those who stately attended the *Friends'* meeting were expressly

“permitted to wear their hats within the college walls,” etc., and “young gentlemen of the Hebrew persuasion” were formally exempted from the operation of the law which commanded, on penalty of expulsion, that no student should deny the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments. And yet more; in 1770 the Corporation declared, as appears from the records, that “the children of Jews may be admitted into this Institution, and entirely enjoy the freedom of their own religion, without any constraint or imposition whatever.” These provisions of the Charter, and of the statutes of the College, manifest, says a distinguished writer,¹ a “delicate regard for the rights of conscience, for which, it is believed, hardly a parallel can be found in the history of similar institutions.”

And to “this liberal and catholic Institution” the youth of all religious denominations have freely resorted during nearly a century and a half for their education. Truly might Daniel Webster say, in his celebrated speech in the case of Stephen Girard’s will, — “The Baptist College in Rhode Island receives and educates youth of all religious sects and all beliefs.” Not a few of the prominent religious teachers and theologians connected with our various Christian sects or societies, throughout the land, have received their permanent serious impressions during the revivals of religion with which the College, or University, has, from its beginning, been graciously visited.

Brown University, it is stated, in a brief account of the “rise and constitution of the University,” published in the recent annual Catalogues, “owes its origin to the happy convergence of two separate lines of influence.” One of these “lines of influence” was the “Philadelphia Baptist Association, under whose auspices the Hopewell Academy had already been established.” This the candid reader of the pages of our narrative will readily admit. The other “line of influence,” the account states, was the residence, in Newport, of the

¹ William Giles Goddard, LL. D., a graduate of the College in the Class of 1812, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics from 1825 until 1834, Professor of Rhetoric from 1834 until 1842, member of the Board of Fellows and Secretary of the Corporation from 1843 until 1846, and a worshipper at St. John’s Episcopal Church.

celebrated Bishop Berkeley, from 1729 until 1731, making it "impossible that the suggestion of a college for Rhode Island should be strange or unwelcome to thoughtful people in that Colony." The distinguished Dean of Derry resided on a farm which he purchased, in the neighborhood of the town, returning to his native land in September, 1731, thirty-two years before the arrival in Newport of Manning and Sutton, on their mission of the College. He had conceived the benevolent project of converting the savages of America to Christianity by means of an Episcopal College to be erected in one of the isles of Bermuda, and he came to Rhode Island to carry this project into effect. Failing in his object he returned to Ireland, after deeding his farm to Yale College, and making its library a present of one thousand volumes. How much influence Berkeley thus had in founding a Baptist College for the special education of youth for the ministry, does not, to the mind of the writer, at least, appear.

The first edition of the Charter was printed in Newport, by Samuel Hall, under the direction of Doct. Thomas Eyres, A. M., Secretary of the Corporation. It is a small folio in size, on excellent paper, without date, and without the signatures of the Governor and Secretary of the Colony.¹ Mr. Hall, the successor of Anne Franklin, widow of James Franklin, was a printer in Newport from 1763 until 1768, and did work that attracted attention for its excellence. Doct. Eyres, it will be remembered, was one of the committee that remodeled the Stiles draft. An octavo edition was reprinted for Blyth & Beevor, No. 87 Cornhill, London. A copy of each of these original editions is carefully preserved in the College Library. From this first edition, which may be supposed to be correct, we print as follows : —

¹ NOTE. The Charter was signed and sealed on the twenty-fourth day of October, 1765. This first edition was probably published some time before this date, inasmuch as the signatures of the Governor and Secretary are wanting. At the first meeting of the Corporation held in Newport, in September, 1764, it was

Resolved, "That the Charter of incorporation be inserted in the beginning of the records of this Corporation, and be there duly authenticated." This was done several years later on; meanwhile the Charter, it appears, was printed and circulated among the members.

CHARTER OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

AT the General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England, in America, begun and holden by adjournment, at East Greenwich, within and for the Colony aforesaid, on the last Monday in February, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty-four, and fourth of the Reign of his most sacred Majesty, George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, and so forth.

A N A C T
FOR THE
ESTABLISHMENT
OF A
COLLEGE
OR
UNIVERSITY
Within this Colony.

WHEREAS institutions for liberal education are highly beneficial to society, by forming the rising generation to virtue, knowledge, and useful literature; and thus preserving in the community a succession of men duly qualified for discharging the offices of life with usefulness and reputation; they have therefore justly merited and received the attention and encouragement of every wise and well-regulated State: And whereas a public school or seminary, erected for that purpose within this Colony, to which the youth may freely resort for education in the vernacular and learned languages, and in the liberal arts and sciences, would be for the general advantage and honor of the government: And whereas Daniel Jenckes, Esq., Nicholas Tillinghast, Esq., Nicholas Gardiner, Esq., Col. Josias Lyndon, Col. Elisha Reynolds, Peleg Thurston, Esq., Simon Pease, Esq., John Tillinghast, Esq., George Hazard, Esq., Col. Job Bennet, Nicholas Easton, Esq., Arthur Fenner, Esq., Mr. Ezekiel Gardner, Mr. John Waterman, Mr. James Barker, Jun., Mr. John Holmes, Solomon Drown, Esq., Mr. Samuel Winsor, Mr. Joseph Sheldon, Charles Rhodes, Esq., Mr. Nicholas Brown, Col. Barzillai Richmond, Mr. John Brown, Mr. Gideon Hoxsey, Mr. Thomas Eyres, Mr. Thomas Potter, Jun., Mr. Peleg Barker, Mr. Edward Thurston, Mr. William Redwood, Joseph Clarke, Esq., Mr. John G. Wanton, and Mr. Thomas Robinson, with many other persons, appear as undertakers in the valuable design: And thereupon a petition hath been preferred to this Assembly, praying that full liberty and power may be granted unto such of them, with others, as are hereafter mentioned, to found, endow, order, and govern a College or University within this Colony; and that, for the more effectual execution of this design, they may be incorporated into one body

politic, to be known in the law, with the powers, privileges, and franchises necessary for the purposes aforesaid.

NOW THEREFORE KNOW YE, That being willing to encourage and patronize such an honorable and useful institution, we, the said Governor and Company, in General Assembly convened, do, for ourselves and our successors, in and by virtue of the power and authority within the jurisdiction of this Colony, to us by the Royal Charter granted and committed, enact, grant, constitute, ordain, and declare, and it is hereby enacted, granted, constituted, ordained, and declared, that the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Esq., the Hon. Joseph Wanton, Jun., Esq., the Hon. Samuel Ward, Esq., the Hon. William Ellery, Esq., John Tillinghast, Esq., Simon Pease, Esq., James Honyman, Esq., Nicholas Easton, Esq., Nicholas Tillinghast, Esq., Darius Sessions, Esq., Joseph Harris, Esq., Francis Willett, Esq., William Logan, Esq., Daniel Jenckes, Esq., George Hazard, Esq., Nicholas Brown, Esq., Jeremiah Niles, Esq., Joshua Babcock, Esq., Mr. John G. Wanton, the Rev. Edward Upham, the Rev. Jeremiah Condy, the Rev. Marmaduke Brown, the Rev. Gardner Thurston, the Rev. Ezra Stiles, the Rev. John Graves, the Rev. John Maxson, the Rev. Samuel Winsor, the Rev. John Gano, the Rev. Morgan Edwards, the Rev. Isaac Eaton, the Rev. Samuel Stillman, the Rev. Samuel Jones, the Rev. James Manning, the Rev. Russel Mason, Col. Elisha Reynolds, Col. Josias Lyndon, Col. Job Bennet, Mr. Ephraim Bowen, Joshua Clarke, Esq., Capt. Jonathan Slade, John Taylor, Esq., Mr. Robert Strettell Jones, Azariah Dunham, Esq., Mr. Edward Thurston, Jun., Mr. Thomas Eyres, Mr. Thomas Hazard, and Mr. Peleg Barker, or such or so many of them as shall, within twelve months from the date hereof, accept of this trust, and qualify themselves as hereinafter directed, and their successors, shall be forever hereafter one body corporate and politic, in fact and name, to be known in law by the name of, TRUSTEES AND FELLOWS OF THE COLLEGE, OR UNIVERSITY, IN THE ENGLISH COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND, AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, IN NEW ENGLAND, IN AMERICA; the Trustees and Fellows, at any time hereafter, giving such more particular name to the College, in honor of the greatest and most distinguished benefactor,¹ or otherwise, as they shall think proper; which name, so given, shall, in all acts, instruments, and doings of the said body politic, be super-added to their corporate name aforesaid, and become a part of their legal appellation, by which it shall be forever known and distinguished: And that, by the same name, they and their successors, chosen by themselves, as hereafter prescribed, shall, and may, have perpetual succession; and shall, and may, be persons able and capable, in the law, to sue and to be sued, to plead and to be impleaded, to answer and to be

¹ September 6, 1804, "Voted, That this College be called and known in all future time by the name of BROWN UNIVERSITY, in Providence, in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations."

answered unto, to defend and to be defended against, in all and singular suits, causes, matters, actions, and doings, of what kind soever: And also to have, take, possess, purchase, acquire, or otherwise receive and hold lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, or other estates; of all which they may, and shall, stand and be seized, notwithstanding any misnomer of the College, or Corporation thereof; and by whatever name, or however imperfectly the same shall be described in gift, bequest, and assignment, provided the true intent of the assigner or benefactor be evident: Also the same to grant, demise, aliene, lease, use, manage, and improve, according to the tenor of the donations, and to the purposes, trusts, and uses, to which they shall be seized thereof. And full liberty, power, and authority are hereby granted unto the said Trustees and Fellows, and their successors, to found a College or University within this Colony, for promoting the liberal arts and universal literature: And with the moneys, estates, and revenues, of which they shall from time to time become legally seized as aforesaid, to endow the same: And erect the necessary buildings and edifices thereof on such place within this Colony as they shall think convenient: And generally to regulate, order, and govern the same, appoint officers, and make laws, as hereinafter prescribed; and hold, use, and enjoy all the liberties, privileges, exemptions, dignities, and immunities, enjoyed by any College or University whatever.

And furthermore, that the said Trustees and Fellows, and their successors, shall, and may, forever hereafter have a public seal, to use for all causes, matters, and affairs whatever, of them and their successors, and the same seal to alter, break, and make anew, from time to time, at their will and pleasure; which seal shall always be deposited with the President, or senior Fellow.

And furthermore, by the authority aforesaid, it is hereby enacted, ordained and declared, that it is now, and at all times hereafter shall continue to be, the unalterable constitution of this College, or University, that the Corporation thereof shall consist of two branches, to wit: That of the Trustees, and that of the Fellowship, with distinct, separate, and respective powers: And that the number of the Trustees shall, and may be thirty-six; of which twenty-two shall forever be elected of the denomination called Baptists, or Antipedobaptists; five shall forever be elected of the denomination called Friends, or Quakers; four shall forever be elected of the denomination called Congregationalists, and five shall forever be elected of the denomination called Episcopalians: And that the succession in this branch shall be forever chosen and filled up from the respective denominations in this proportion, and according to these numbers: which are hereby fixed, and shall remain to perpetuity immutably the same. And that the said Stephen Hopkins, Joseph Wanton, Samuel Ward, William Ellery, John Tillinghast, Simon Pease, James Honyman, Nicholas Easton, Nicholas Tillinghast, Darius Sessions, Joseph Harris, Francis Willett, Daniel Jenckes, George Hazard,

Nicholas Brown, Jeremiah Niles, John G. Wanton, Joshua Clarke, Gardner Thurston, John Graves, John Maxson, John Gano, Samuel Winsor, Isaac Eaton, Samuel Stillman, Russel Mason, Elisha Reynolds, Josias Lyndon, Job Bennet, Ephraim Bowen, John Taylor, Jonathan Slade, Robert Strettell Jones, Azariah Dunham, Edward Thurston, Jr., and Peleg Barker, or such, or so many of them as shall qualify themselves as aforesaid, shall be, and they are hereby declared and established the first and present Trustees. And that the number of the Fellows, inclusive of the President (who shall always be a Fellow), shall and may be twelve; of which, eight shall be forever elected of the denomination called Baptists, or Antipedobaptists; and the rest indifferently of any or all denominations. And that the Rev. Edward Upham, the Rev. Jeremiah Condy, the Rev. Marmaduke Brown, the Rev. Morgan Edwards, the Rev. Ezra Stiles, the Rev. Samuel Jones, the Rev. James Manning, William Logan, Esq., Joshua Babcock, Esq., Mr. Thomas Eyres, and Mr. Thomas Hazard, or such, or so many of them as shall qualify themselves as aforesaid, shall be, and they are hereby declared the first and present Fellows and Fellowship, to whom the President, when hereafter elected (who shall forever be of the denomination called Baptists, or Antipedobaptists), shall be joined to complete the number.

And furthermore, it is declared and ordained, that the succession in both branches shall at all times hereafter be filled up and supplied according to these numbers, and this established and invariable proportion from the respective denominations by the separate election of both branches of this Corporation, which shall at all times sit and act by separate and distinct powers; and in general, in order to the validity and consummation of all acts, there shall be in the exercise of their respective, separate, and distinct powers, the joint concurrence of the Trustees and Fellows, by their respective majorities, except in adjudging and conferring the academical degrees, which shall forever belong, exclusively, to the Fellowship as a learned faculty.

And furthermore, it is constituted, that the instruction and immediate government of the College shall forever be, and rest in the President and Fellows, or Fellowship.

And furthermore, it is ordained, that there shall be a general meeting of the Corporation on the first Wednesday in September annually, within the College edifice, and until the same be built, at such place as they shall appoint, to consult, advise, and transact the affairs of the College or University: At which, or at any other time, the public Commencement may be held and celebrated. And that on any special emergencies, the President, with any two of the Fellows, or any three of the Fellows, exclusive of the President, may convoke, and they are hereby empowered to convoke, an assembly of the Corporation on twenty days' notice; And that, in all meetings, the major vote of those present of the two branches respectively, shall be deemed their respective majorities aforesaid: Provided, That not less than twelve of the Trustees, and five of the Fellows, be a quorum of their respective branches. That the President, or, in his

absence, the Senior Fellow present, shall always be Moderator of the Fellows: That the Corporation, at their annual meetings, once in three years, or oftener in case of death or removal, shall, and may choose a Chancellor of the University, and Treasurer, from among the Trustees, and a Secretary from among the Fellows: That the nomination of the Chancellor shall be in the Trustees, whose office shall be only to preside as a Moderator of the Trustees; and that in his absence, the Trustees shall choose a Moderator for the time being, by the name of Vice-Chancellor: And at any of their meetings, duly formed as aforesaid, shall, and may be elected a Trustee or Fellow, or Trustees or Fellows, in the room of those nominated in this Charter, who may refuse to accept, or in the room of those who may die, resign, or be removed.

And furthermore, it is enacted, ordained, and declared, That this Corporation, at any of their meetings, regularly convened as aforesaid, shall and may elect and appoint the President and Professors of languages, and the several parts of literature: And upon the demise of him or them, or either of them, their resignation or removal from his or their office, for misdemeanor, incapacity or unfaithfulness (for which he or they are hereby declared removable by this Corporation) others to elect and appoint in their room and stead: And at such meeting, upon the nomination of the Fellows, to elect and appoint tutors, stewards, butlers, and all such other officers usually appointed in colleges or universities, as they shall find necessary, and think fit to appoint for promoting liberal education, and the well ordering the affairs of this College; and them or any of them, at their discretion, to remove, and substitute others in their places. And, in case any President, Trustee or Fellow shall see cause to change his religious denomination, the Corporation is hereby empowered to declare his or their place or places vacant, and may proceed to fill up it or them accordingly, as before directed, otherwise each Trustee and Fellow, not an officer of instruction, shall continue in his office during life or until resignation. And further, in case either of the religious denominations should decline taking a part in this catholic, comprehensive and liberal Institution, the Trustees and Fellows shall and may complete their number, by electing from their respective denominations, always preserving their respective proportions herein before prescribed and determined: And all elections shall be by ballot, or written suffrage: And that a quorum of four Trustees and three Fellows may transact any business, excepting placing the College edifice, election of Trustees, President, Fellows and Professors, that is to say, so that their act shall be of force and validity until the next annual meeting, and no longer.

And it is further enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, That each Trustee and Fellow, as well those nominated in this Charter, as all that shall hereafter be duly elected, shall, previous to their acting in a corporate capacity, take the engagement of allegiance prescribed by the law of this Colony to His Majesty, King George the Third, his heirs and rightful successors to the crown of Great Britain, which engagement shall

be administered to the present Trustees and Fellows, by the Governor or Deputy Governor of this Colony, and to those from time to time hereafter elected by their respective Moderators, who are hereby empowered to administer the same.¹

And still more clearly to define and ascertain the respective powers of the two branches, on making and enacting laws, it is further ordained and declared, That the Fellowship shall have power, and are hereby empowered from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make, enact, and publish, all such laws, statutes, regulations, and ordinances, with penalties, as to them shall seem meet, for the successful instruction and government of said College or University, not contrary to the spirit, extent, true meaning and intention of the acts of the British Parliament, or the laws of this Colony; and the same laws, statutes, and ordinances, to repeal: Which laws, and the repeals thereof, shall be laid before the Trustees, and with their approbation shall be of force and validity, but not otherwise. And further, the Trustees and Fellows, at their meetings aforesaid, shall ascertain the salaries of the respective officers, and order the moneys assessed on the students for tuition, fines, and incidental expenses, to be collected by the Steward, or such other officer as they shall appoint to collect the same; and the same, with their revenues, and other College estates in the hands of the Treasurer, to appropriate in discharging salaries and other College debts: And the College accounts shall be annually audited and adjusted in the meeting of the Corporation.

And furthermore, it is hereby enacted and declared, That into this liberal and catholic Institution shall never be admitted any religious tests: But on the contrary, all the members hereof shall forever enjoy full, free, absolute, and uninterrupted liberty of conscience: And that the places of Professors, Tutors, and all other officers, the President alone excepted, shall be free and open for all denominations of Protestants: And that youth of all religious denominations shall and may be freely admitted to the equal advantages, emoluments, and honors of the College or University; and shall receive a like fair, generous, and equal treatment, during their residence therein, they conducting themselves peaceably, and conforming to the laws and statutes thereof. And that the public teaching shall, in general, respect the sciences; and that the sectarian differences of opinions shall not make any part of the public and classical instruction: Although all religious controversies may be studied freely, examined, and explained by the President, Professors, and Tutors, in a personal, separate, and

¹ September 4, 1782, the Corporation by vote omitted from the engagement the acknowledgment of allegiance to the British crown.

The present form of engagement is as follows; You [person's name] being elected a member of this Corporation to the place of [Fellow or Trustee] do solemnly engage true allegiance to bear to the United States of America, and faithfully to discharge the duties of your present appointment: And this engagement you make and give on the peril of the penalty of perjury.

distinct manner, to the youth of any or each denomination: And above all, a constant regard be paid to, and effectual care taken of the morals of the College. ✓

And furthermore, for the honor and encouragement of literature, we constitute and declare the Fellowship aforesaid, a learned faculty; and do hereby give, grant unto, and invest them, and their successors, with full power and authority, and they are hereby authorized and empowered, by their President, and in his absence, by the senior Fellow, or one of the Fellows appointed by themselves at the anniversary Commencement, or at any other times, and at all times hereafter, to admit to, and confer any and all the learned degrees, which can or ought to be given and conferred in any of the colleges or universities in America; or any such other degrees of literary honor as they shall devise, upon any and all such candidates and persons as the President and Fellows, or Fellowship, shall judge worthy of the academical honors: Which power of conferring degrees is hereby restricted to the learned faculty, who shall or may issue diplomas, or certificates, of such degrees, or confer degrees by diplomas, and authenticate them with the public seal of the Corporation, and the hands of the President and Secretary, and of all the Professors, as witnesses, and deliver them to the graduates as honorable and perpetual testimonies.

And furthermore, for the greater encouragement of the Seminary of learning, and that the same may be amply endowed and enfranchised with the same privileges, dignities, and immunities enjoyed by the American colleges, and European universities, We do grant, enact, ordain, and declare, and it is hereby granted, enacted, ordained, and declared, That the College estate, the estates, persons, and families of the President and Professors, for the time being, lying, and being within the Colony, with the persons of the Tutors and students, during their residence at the College, shall be freed and exempted from all taxes, serving on juries, and menial services: And that the persons aforesaid shall be exempted from bearing arms, impresses, and military services, except in case of an invasion.

And furthermore, for establishing the perpetuity of this Corporation, and in case that at any time hereafter, through oversight, or otherwise through misapprehensions and mistaken constructions of the powers, liberties, and franchises, herein contained, any laws should be enacted, or any matters done and transacted by this Corporation contrary to the tenor of this Charter, it is hereby enacted, ordained, and declared, That all such laws, acts, and doings, shall be in themselves null and void: Yet, nevertheless, the same shall not, in any courts of law, or by the General Assembly, be deemed, taken, interpreted, or adjudged, into an avoidance, defeasance, or forfeiture of this Charter; but that the same shall be, and remain unhurt, inviolate, and entire, unto the said Corporation, in perpetual succession; which Corporation may, at all times, and forever hereafter, proceed, and continue to act: And all their acts, conformable to the powers, tenor, true intent and meaning of the Charter, shall be, and

remain in full force and validity; the nullity and avoidance of any such illegal acts to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And lastly, We, the Governor and Company aforesaid, do, for ourselves and our successors, forever hereby enact, grant, and confirm unto the said Trustees and Fellows, and to their successors, That this Charter of incorporation, and every part thereof, shall be good and available in all things in the law, according to our true intent and meaning: And shall be construed, reputed, and adjudged, in all cases most favorably on the behalf and for the best benefit and behoof of the said Trustees and Fellows, and their successors, so as most effectually to answer the valuable ends of this useful Institution.

In full testimony of which grant, and of all the articles and matters therein contained, the said Governor and Company do hereby order, That this act shall be signed by the Governor and Secretary, and sealed with the public seal of this Colony, and registered in the Colony's records: And that the same, or an exemplification thereof, shall be a sufficient warrant to the said Corporation to hold, use, and exercise all the powers, franchises and immunities herein contained.

To this copy of the first edition of the Charter we add as follows:—

Signed and sealed at Newport, the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, and in the fifth year of [L. s.] His Majesty's reign, George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, etc. King.

SAMUEL WARD, *Governor.*

EDWARD THURSTON, JR., *Secretary.*

The provision in the Charter, exempting "from all taxes, the estates, persons, and families of the President and Professors, for the time being, lying and being within the Colony," has given rise from time to time to unhappy discussions, and alienated, doubtless, the sympathies of many from the College, or University. It was so in the beginning. Backus, referring to the incorporation of the "Benevolent Congregational Society," in 1770, and of the desire to introduce tax and compulsion for the support of public worship, thus states the facts in reference to the Charter:—

But as the College in that town was formed upon another plan, the ministers refused to encourage it. And though its Charter, granted by their Legislature, explic-

itly exempts the persons and estates of the President and Professors of the College "from all taxes," yet the vote of a town meeting in Providence was procured, in August, 1772, to limit the meaning of those words to Colony taxes only. And because the Baptist assessors in 1773, left said officers out of their town tax, a town meeting was called Feb. 7, 1774, which censured those assessors therefor, and published their resolves in the *Gazette* against extending that law to town taxes. It is hoped that many who were active in that affair are now convinced of their error, and are sensible that they did not then show the regard they ought to have done both to liberty and to learning.

The "Baptist Assessors" to whom Backus refers, were Joseph Brown, Christopher Sheldon, and Nathaniel Wheaton, who omitted to assess President Manning and Professor Howell, on the ground that they were legally and properly exempted by the Charter. Thereupon a protracted discussion ensued, which was carried on in the columns of the *Providence Gazette*, to which the reader is referred. The articles may be found in the weekly issues for February 5th, February 12th, April 16th, April 30th, and May 28th, 1774. Among the College archives we find the following, which illustrates the feeling that many entertained on the subject:—

In order to give satisfaction to the town of Providence, we whose names are underwritten do declare and make known, that it is our real sentiment that the College estate within this town (the edifice itself, the President's house and garden, and the land appropriated to the use of a yard to the College excepted), together with the persons and estates of the President and Professors, are in law and justice bound to pay their equal proportion of the town rates. Therefore we do publicly and solemnly promise unto the freemen of the town now in town meeting assembled, that we will, both in our public and private capacities, exert ourselves to the utmost of our abilities, to cause for the future all taxes that shall be levied on the persons and estates aforesaid by this town, to be punctually paid. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Providence, this 19th day of April, 1774.

The original document, of which the foregoing is a copy, is signed by Thomas Greene, a Quaker, or Friend, who was elected a Trustee in September, 1769. No allusion to the subject appears in the records of the Corporation. Backus refers to a town meeting on the 7th of Feb-

ruary, when the assessors were censured, and Mr. Greene here refers to another meeting on the 19th of April following. Much bitterness and no little personal feeling were without doubt developed. Fortunately wise counsels eventually prevailed, and the action of the "Baptist Assessors" was sustained, and followed in succeeding years. The war with the mother country, which soon broke out, and the great personal influence which Manning exerted over all classes of men, contributed not a little, perhaps, to this result. The estates, persons, and families of the Presidents and Professors have thus been exempt from taxation from the beginning down to the present day. All other college officers, however, including Tutors, Instructors, Assistant Professors, Registrars, Stewards, and Librarians, have paid taxes in accordance with the LETTER of the law.

Of late years this controversy in regard to the taxation of the President and Professors has been revived. Finally, during the progress of the recent CIVIL WAR, a bill was introduced into the General Assembly to repeal this, to many minds objectionable provision of the Charter. President Sears, it was well known, favored some movement of the kind, having a regard for the future good of the Institution over which he presided, rather than his own immediate advantage. He argued, and with reason, that wealthy Professors, who were abundantly able to pay their taxes, were mainly benefited by the exemption, and not those who had but little, if any, property to be taxed. A public institution, he moreover contended, under a Republican form of government like our own, could not really thrive without the good will of the public upon whose benefactions and sympathies it was dependent. On the other hand, it was contended that the General Assembly had never made any appropriation for the College, which had conferred great and lasting benefits both upon the City and State, and that any movement on the part of the assembled legislators to interfere with the chartered rights and privileges which the Professors had enjoyed for a century, would be ungrateful and unjust. By wise concessions and judicious action on the part of the Corporation, the excitement and ill feeling incident to the discussion of this question were allayed, and the

most friendly relations between the College and the public at large were established. The President and Professors generously waived their rights under the Charter, and empowered the Trustees and Fellows to adopt any measures that might forward the interests of the University. A Committee of the Corporation, in conference with a Committee of the Legislature, secured the passage of an act, by which property not exceeding ten thousand dollars in amount was exempted from taxation. The validity of this act was made to depend on the assent of the Corporation, so that the inviolability of the Charter was thus recognized and preserved. In this form it secured a unanimous vote in the General Assembly, and also in a very large meeting of the Corporation convened expressly for this purpose. It is now, therefore, a law. So important a movement is worthy of special mention, and we proceed, therefore, to give at length the details.

By a resolution of the City Council of Newport, passed on the 4th of March, 1862, their State Senator was instructed to procure the alteration or repeal of so much of the Charter of Brown University as exempts the property of the President and Professors from taxation ;— the Council stating that in their opinion, there was no justifiable reason for such an exemption, especially at a time when all kinds of property were necessarily and heavily taxed for the support of Government and the preservation of the Union. The reason for this action, it may be added, was the refusal of one of the Professors, whose wife owned a large property in Newport, and spent her summers there, to pay the taxes assessed, on the ground of his position as a College officer. The resolution was presented to the Senate on the day following, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary for consideration. This Committee, at a special meeting of the General Assembly, submitted to the Senate, on the 26th of August, 1862, a lengthy report, drawn up by the late Hon. Elisha R. Potter, of South Kingstown, together with an act or bill for repealing the objectionable clause in the Charter, which act reads as follows : —

AN ACT TO AMEND THE CHARTER OF BROWN UNIVERSITY BY REPEALING SO MUCH THEREOF AS EXEMPTS THE ESTATES, PERSONS, AND FAMILIES OF THE PRESIDENT AND PROFESSORS FROM TAXATION.

WHEREAS, In times of public danger all persons ought to bear their share of the public burdens in proportion to their ability, and this General Assembly have full confidence in the patriotism of the said President and Professors, and in their willingness to bear their proper share of the taxation necessary for the preservation of our Union and Constitution, therefore,

It is enacted by the General Assembly as follows:—

So much of the Act, entitled, "An Act for the establishment of a College or University within this Colony," passed at the February session, A. D., 1764, as exempts the estates, persons, and families of said Institution, now known as Brown University, from taxation, is hereby repealed.

The Act was passed in the Senate, and the Report, entitled, "Right of a Legislature to grant a perpetual exemption from taxation," was ordered to be printed. In the House, however, after a spirited debate, the matter was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions from the chairman, the late Hon. Richard Ward Greene, LL.D., of Warwick, to present the whole subject to the Corporation of the University, of which he himself was a member, at the approaching annual meeting. This he accordingly did, and on the 4th of September, the Corporation referred the subject to a Select Committee of five, with instructions to report at a special meeting to be held on the 21st of January, 1863. This Committee consisted of Doct. Samuel Boyd Tobey, Chancellor; Hon. John Kingsbury, LL.D., Secretary; Hon. William Samuel Patten; Hon. Isaac Davis, LL.D.; and Hon. Benjamin Babcock Thurston. They prepared an elaborate and comprehensive report, which was presented at the special meeting. The Corporation, however, after a lengthy session, adjourned without action, leaving the matter still in the hands of the Committee. Meanwhile the House of Representatives, on the 9th of February, 1863, passed the following Act, emanating, it is understood, from the Select Committee of the Corporation, the Senate, two days afterwards, unanimously concurring in the same:—

AN ACT TO LIMIT THE EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION OF THE ESTATES, PERSONS, AND FAMILIES OF THE PRESIDENT AND PROFESSORS OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

It is enacted by the General Assembly as follows:—

SECTION 1. The Corporation of Brown University in Providence consenting hereto, That the estates, persons, and families of the President and Professors for the time being of said University, and of their successors in office, shall not hereafter be freed or exempted from taxes for more than the amount of ten thousand dollars for each of such officers, his estate, person, and family included.

SEC. 2. The vote of said Corporation, under the seal and certified by the Secretary thereof, declaring that the Corporation being authorized by the President and Professors of said University, does, in behalf of the President and Professors and in behalf of said Corporation, consent to this Act, shall be deemed and taken to be proof of their consent thereunto, when said vote shall have been filed in the office of the Secretary of State.

The Corporation of the University, at a second special meeting, held Wednesday, February 11th, which was largely attended, adopted the following by a unanimous vote:—

WHEREAS, The General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, at its present session on the 11th day of February, 1863, has passed an Act, the principal section of which is in the following words, viz.:—

“SECTION 1. The Corporation of Brown University in Providence, consenting hereto, That the estates, persons, and families of the President and Professors for the time being, and of their successors in office, shall not hereafter be freed and exempted from taxes, for more than the amount of ten thousand dollars for each of such officers, his estate, person, and family included.”

AND WHEREAS, The Institution of Brown University was established by its founders, was incorporated with liberal franchises by the State, has been maintained solely by private benefactions, all uniting for the same noble object, that is, to create and promote a Seminary of religion and learning within this State, whose beneficent influences should be diffused, at home and abroad, through all time.

AND WHEREAS, These influences can and will be most happily diffused and continued by a cordial good will and a harmonious co-operation between the General Assembly and citizens of this State and the University.

AND WHEREAS, The General Assembly by its act aforesaid, has expressed the opinion that the President and Professors should bear a portion of the burdens of taxation from which they are exempted by our Charter, and has made the validity of its said Act to

depend upon the consent of this Corporation thereto, thereby affirming and maintaining the inviolability of said Charter,

Therefore, in order to manifest our cordial compliance with a reasonable wish of the General Assembly, as expressed in said Act,

It is hereby voted and declared by the Corporation of Brown University, that being authorized by the President and Professors of said University, this Corporation does, in behalf of the President and Professors, and in behalf of said Corporation, consent to the said Act, passed by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island at its present session, as aforesaid; and the Secretary of this Corporation is hereby instructed to file a copy of this vote, under the seal of the Corporation, and certified by himself, in the office of the Secretary of State, as proof of the consent of this Corporation thereto.

Thus a vexed and difficult question was, for the time being, happily settled, and the Charter itself was preserved intact. The removal, in consequence, of long existing prejudices, arising in part no doubt from the misuse of what was intended as an eleemosynary provision for the encouragement of learning, rather than a basis for the exemption from taxation of large estates, was an auspicious omen for the future.¹ That

¹ The question of taxation has recently come up in a new form. The Assessors of taxes of the city of Providence, assuming that the Corporation of Brown University ought not to be exempt from taxation on its business investments, levied in 1895 a tax on the Lyman estate adjoining the McNeil building on Westminster Street, which, at the regular city rate for that year, amounted to two thousand four hundred and ninety-one dollars. A petition for the remission of this tax was considered by the City Council Committee on Claims, and the petitioners, representing the Corporation of the University, were given leave to withdraw. The Lyman estate was again taxed in 1896. The Corporation having paid the said tax under protest, thereupon brought action against the city, and the case was heard before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on Monday, Nov. 16, 1896. Mr. Arnold Green appeared for the Corporation, and the City Solicitor, Mr. Francis Colwell, appeared in behalf of the city. Mr. Green stated that the property was purchased some six years ago as an investment, and that it had never since been taxed until in 1895. He claimed that if the city had a right to tax the building in question, it had a right to tax all the University property;—which right, if enforced, would imperil the usefulness, if not the very existence of the Institution, which was unable with its present funds to meet current expenses without help. The endowment fund, he claimed, was simply a fund for running the University, and could be expended in investment as well as in erecting further College buildings. City Solicitor Colwell was not ready to submit his brief, but stated that within twenty days he would attempt to prove that the building in question was not a part of the "College Estate." Leave was given him to prepare and submit his brief at his convenience. This he did early in January, in the form of a printed quarto pamphlet of nineteen pages. The defendant contends that it is illegal to exempt the Lyman estate property from taxation in view of Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution of Rhode Island, adopted November 5, 1842, which provides that "the burdens of the State ought to be fairly distributed among its citizens." He further contends that the exemption

the University may keep on the even tenor of her way, diffusing throughout the State and land religion and sound learning, and that the citizens without distinction of party or sect, may continue to honor and cherish her as "their own," is a consummation most earnestly to be desired by all her graduates and friends.

The following list of the names of the members of the Corporation at the time of the removal of the College to Providence, classified according to the religious denominations which they represented, as specified in the Charter, and also the names and residences of the present members, may fitly close this Chapter:—

TRUSTEES, 1770.

BAPTISTS.

Hon. Samuel Ward, Westerly.
 Judge Daniel Jenckes, Esq., Providence.
 Nicholas Brown, Esq., Providence.
 Rev. Gardner Thurston, Newport.
 Rev. John Maxson, Newport.
 Rev. John Gano, New York.
 Rev. Samuel Winsor, Johnston.
 Hon. Josias Lyndon, Newport.
 Simon Pease, Esq., Newport.
 Rev. Joshua Clarke, Hopkinton.
 Col. Job Bennet, Newport.
 Peleg Barker, Esq., Newport.
 Rev. Russell Mason, Swansea.
 Rev. Isaac Backus, Middleborough.
 Col. Sylvester Child, Warren.
 John Tanner, Esq., Newport.
 Joseph Brown, Esq., Providence.
 Nathan Spear, Esq., Boston.
 Capt. John Warren, Newport.
 William Brown, Esq., Swansea.

John Tillinghast, Esq., Newport.
 Hon. Nicholas Cooke,¹ Providence.

¹NOTE. Mr. Cooke, as has already been stated in a previous Chapter, was elected as a Baptist trustee, although a member of Mr. Snow's church. Upon his death in 1783, the Hon. Welcome Arnold, a prominent member of the Charitable Baptist Society, was elected in his place.

FRIENDS.

Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Providence.
 John G. Wanton, Esq., Newport.
 Nicholas Easton, Esq., Middletown.
 Edward Thurston, Jr., Newport.
 Thomas Greene, Esq., Providence.

EPISCOPALIANS.

Gov. Joseph Wanton, Newport.
 Hon. James Honeyman, Newport.
 George Hazard, Esq., Newport.
 Joseph Russell, Esq., Providence.
 (One vacancy.)

in the College Charter should be construed strictly, and should not be held to include anything beyond the estate on which the University is located. He submits that the exemptions contained in the Charter, while harmless if held to be repealable, constitute, if unrepealable, an abrogation of the powers of government which should be held to be void, or certainly voidable by subsequent act of the General Assembly, or of the sovereign people. The final decision of the Court at the present writing has not been announced.

CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Ephraim Bowen, M. D., Providence.
 Hon. Darius Sessions, Providence.
 Hon. James Helme, Esq., South Kingstown.

(One vacancy.)

Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Chancellor.
 Thomas Eyres, M. D., Secretary.
 Col. Job Bennet, Treasurer.

TRUSTEES, 1897.

BAPTISTS.

Marshall Woods, A. M., Providence.
 Hon. William Sprague, A. M., Narragansett Pier.
 Rev. James B. Simmons, D. D., New York City.
 Rev. Edward Judson, D. D., New York City.
 Hon. Joseph H. Walker, LL. D., Worcester, Mass.
 John Carter Brown Woods, A. M., LL. B., Providence.
 Hon. Andrew J. Jennings, LL. B., Fall River, Mass.
 Rev. Hemán L. Wayland, D. D., Philadelphia.
 Hon. Judge Francis A. Gaskill, A. B., Worcester.
 Joseph P. Earle, B. P., New York City.
 Hon. James L. Howard, A. M., Hartford, Ct.
 Arnold Green, LL. D., Providence.
 Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D. D., Portland, Me.
 Rev. Moses H. Bixby, D. D., Providence.
 Hon. James G. Batterson, A. M., Hartford, Ct.
 Colgate Hoyt, Esq., New York City.
 William V. Kellen, Ph. D., Boston.
 Andrew Comstock, Esq., Providence.
 Rev. William H. P. Faunce, D. D., New York City.

Edgar O. Silver, A. M., Boston.
 Gardner Colby, A. M., Orange, N. J.
 (One vacancy.)

FRIENDS.

Hon. Albert K. Smiley, A. M., Mohonk Lake, N. Y.
 Arnold B. Chace, D. Sc., Valley Falls.
 Richard M. Atwater, A. M., Syracuse, N. Y.
 Hon. Jonathan Chace, A. M., Valley Falls.
 George L. Collins, M. D., Providence.

EPISCOPALIANS.

Col. William Goddard, A. M., Providence.
 Robert I. Gammell, A. M., Providence.
 Hon. Oscar Lapham, A. M., Providence.
 Cornelius S. Sweetland, A. M., Providence.

(One vacancy.)

CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Hon. Elijah B. Stoddard, A. M., Worcester, Mass.
 Charles B. Goff, Ph. D., Providence.
 Rowland G. Hazard, A. M., Peacedale.
 Eugene W. Mason, A. B., Providence.
 Col. William Goddard, A. M., Chancellor.
 Rev. Thomas D. Anderson, D. D., Secretary.
 Arnold B. Chace, D. Sc., Treasurer.

FELLOWS, 1770.

BAPTISTS.

Rev. James Manning, A. M., President.
 Rev. Morgan Edwards, A. M., Philadelphia.
 Rev. Edward Upham, A. M., Newport.
 Rev. Hezekiah Smith, A. M., Haverhill.

Rev. Samuel Stillman, A. M., Boston.
 Rev. John Davis, A. M., Boston.
 Joshua Babcock, M. D., Westerly.
 Thomas Eyres, M. D., Newport.

FRIEND.

Jonathan Easton, M. D., Newport.

EPISCOPALIAN.

Rev. Marmaduke Browne, Newport.

CONGREGATIONALIST.

Hon. Jabez Bowen, A. M., Providence.

NOTE.—Henry Ward, Esq., brother of the Honorable Samuel Ward, was also a Fellow in 1770. This was evidently a mistake on the part of the Corporation. In 1771, as appears from the records, he resigned, being a Baptist, and was appointed a Trustee in place of Robert Strettle Jones, of Philadelphia.

FELLOWS, 1897.

BAPTISTS.

Rev. Elisha B. Andrews, D. D., LL. D.,
 President.

Rev. Alvah Hovey, D. D., LL. D., New-
 ton Centre, Mass.

Hon. Francis Wayland, LL. D., New
 Haven, Ct.

Hon. Thomas Durfee, LL. D., Provi-
 dence.

Rev. Samuel W. Duncan, D. D., Brook-
 line, Mass.

Rev. Thomas D. Anderson, D. D., Provi-
 dence.

William W. Keen, M. D., LL. D., Phila-
 delphia.

Rev. George E. Horr, D. D., Boston.

EPISCOPALIAN.

Robert H. I. Goddard, A. M., Provi-
 dence.

CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Hon. Rowland Hazard, A. M., Peacedale.

Hon. Richard Olney, LL. D., Boston, Mass.

NOTE.—The Rev. Dr. Edwards A. Park, the oldest member of the Board of Fellows, tendered his resignation in June, 1896. He had been a Fellow (Congregationalist) thirty-three years, or since 1863. His resignation was accepted, so read the records, "with deep regret."

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THE END.

OPINION OF THE SUPREME COURT RELATIVE TO THE TAXATION OF
COLLEGE PROPERTY.

The final decision of the Supreme Court in the case referred to on pages 548 and 549, comes to hand just as these last sheets are passing through the press. The opinion of the Court was written by the Hon. Judge Tillinghast. Our readers will be glad to see it transferred to the pages of this work where it can be available for future reference. It belongs to the history of the Charter.

BROWN UNIVERSITY
v.
DANIEL L. D. GRANGER, CITY TREASURER. } DEM. NO. 136.

OPINION.

TILLINGHAST, J. The main question raised by the pleadings in this case is whether a certain parcel of real estate, situate on Westminster Street, in the City of Providence, which the plaintiff owns and holds for its corporate purposes, is liable to taxation. Said real estate constitutes a part of the endowment of the plaintiff Corporation.

In the year 1895, the assessors of taxes of said city assessed a tax on said real estate amounting to \$2,491.20, which sum, together with interest and expenses of levy, was paid by the plaintiff under protest, and this action is brought to recover the same, on the ground that the tax was illegal.

The Charter of the plaintiff was granted in February, 1764. It provides that the corporators shall be a "body corporate and politic," "to have, take, possess, purchase, acquire, or otherwise receive and hold lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, or other estates, of all which they may and shall stand and be seized, notwithstanding any misnomer of the College or the Corporation hereof."

"And with the monies, estates, and revenues, of which they shall from time to time become legally seized as aforesaid, to endow the same and erect the necessary buildings and edifices thereof on such place within this Colony as they shall think convenient. And generally to regulate, order, and govern the same, appoint officers and make laws as hereinafter prescribed, and hold, use, and enjoy all the liberties, privileges, exemptions, dignities, and immunities enjoyed by any college or university whatever."

"And furthermore for the greater encouragement of this seminary of learning, and that the same may be amply endowed and enfranchised with the same privileges, digni-

ties, and immunities enjoyed by the American colleges and European universities, we do grant, enact, ordain, and declare, and it is hereby granted, enacted, ordained, and declared, that the College estate, the estates, persons, and families of the president and professors for the time being lying and being within the Colony, with the persons of the tutors and students during their residence at the College, shall be freed and exempted from all taxes, serving on jurors and menial services, and that the persons aforesaid shall be exempted from bearing arms, impress and military services except in case of invasion."

"And lastly, we the governor and company aforesaid do for ourselves and our successors forever hereby enact, grant, and confirm unto the said Trustees and Fellows, and to their successors, that this Charter of incorporation and every part thereof shall be good and available in all things in the law according to our true intent and meaning, and shall be construed, reputed, and adjudged in all cases most favorable on the behalf and for the best benefit and behoof of the said Trustees and Fellows and their successors so as most effectually to answer the valuable ends of this useful Institution."

In view of the provisions of the Charter above set out, the first question which logically presents itself is, whether the exemption clause thereof is broad enough to include the land in question. It is very clear from the language used in the Charter, taken as a whole, that the General Assembly intended to foster and promote the interests and welfare of the College as far as possible. The preamble is couched in language of unmistakable import in this regard. It is as follows:

"Whereas institutions for liberal education are highly beneficial to society, by forming the rising generation to virtue, knowledge and useful literature and thus preserving in the community a succession of men duly qualified for discharging the offices of life with usefulness and reputation, they have therefore justly merited and received the attention and encouragement of every wise and well regulated state: And whereas a public school or seminary erected for that purpose within this Colony, to which the youth may freely resort for education in the vernacular and learned languages and in the liberal arts and sciences, would be for the general advantage and honor of the government: And whereas Mr. Nicholas Brown and others (naming them) with many other persons appear as undertakers in the valuable design," &c.

The General Assembly evidently contemplated that the College would be endowed, and in order that it might be, and that it might be enfranchised, with the same privileges and immunities enjoyed by the American colleges and European universities, they ordained that the College estate should be freed and exempted from all taxes. Nor did they stop here; but, lest their desire to specially favor this valuable institution of learning should be misunderstood, they declared that "the Charter and every part thereof shall be good and available in all things in law, *according to our true intent and meaning, and shall be construed, reputed and adjudged in all cases most favorably on the*

behalf and for the best benefit and behoof of the said Trustees and Fellows and their Successors so as most effectually to answer the valuable ends of this useful Institution."

It is difficult to see how the intention of the General Assembly to exempt all of the property which might be owned by the plaintiff from taxation could have been more clearly and emphatically expressed. The Charter abounds in expressions of almost paternal solicitude for the welfare of the College, and then winds up by providing that it shall be construed most favorably in behalf of the Corporation. To this it might be added, as matter of common knowledge, that substantially the same fostering spirit which dominated the Colonial General Assembly in the passage of this Charter has ever since prevailed amongst all classes of our citizens towards the College, it having always been considered the special pride and honor of the State as an Institution of higher education.

But it is argued by the City Solicitor that the phrase, "the College estate," in the Charter, ought to be given its most limited meaning, and held to include only the College estate proper, *i. e.*, the College buildings and grounds, and not the endowment of the College which might comprise both real and personal property; and in this connection he argues that there is a wide difference between the meaning of the phrases, "the College estate," and "the estate of the College." Perhaps there might be some force in this argument if this phrase stood alone, but, taken as it must be in connection with the entire exemption clause in question, there can be no doubt whatsoever that it was intended to include property held by the plaintiff by way of endowment, as well as the College estate proper; and to place any different construction thereon would be to do violence to the manifest intention of the Legislature.

It is doubtless true that, in the construction of statutes whereby the State has abrogated a part of its sovereignty, the strict rule of interpretation contended for obtains, on the ground that the presumption is against such abrogation of power. And as in England the Crown is not reached by statute except by express words or by necessary implication in any case, where it would be ousted of an existing prerogative or interest, so here the State is not reached in any such case except by the use of express words or by necessary implication. That is to say, it is to be presumed that the Legislature does not intend to deprive the State of any part of its sovereign power unless the intent to do so is clearly expressed or arises by necessary implication from the language employed. See *Endlich on Interpretation of Statutes*, § 161, and cases cited; *Vickburg, etc., R. R. Co. v. Dennis*, 116 U. S. 665; *Yazoo Railroad Co. v. Thomas*, 132 U. S. 174; *Cleveland v. Norton*, 6 Cush. 383-4; *St. Joseph's Church v. Tax Assessors of Providence*, 12 R. I. 20; *In re College Street*, 6 R. I. 484. This doctrine was clearly enunciated in *Providence Bank v. Pitman*, 4 Pet. 561, by Chief Justice Marshall, who, in speaking of the taxing power of the State, said: "It would seem that the relinquishment of such a power is never to be assumed. We will not say that the State may not relinquish it; that a consideration

sufficiently valuable to induce a partial release of it may not exist; but as the whole community is interested in retaining it undiminished, that community has a right to insist that its abandonment ought not to be presumed in a case in which the deliberate purpose of the State to abandon it does not appear."

Then, however, as in the case before us, the statute does contain language which is not only easily capable of the meaning contended for by the plaintiff Corporation, but was evidently intended to have that meaning; and, furthermore, when there is coupled with said language a positive direction as to the rule of construction which shall be applied thereto, the plain and obvious duty of the court is to declare the intention of the law accordingly; and to do otherwise, as the defendant urges us to do in this case, would be to disregard our highest obligation.

But the defendant's counsel further contends that the exemption clause in said Charter was repealed by article 1, section 2, of the State Constitution, adopted in 1842, which provides that "All free governments are instituted for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people. All laws, therefore, should be made for the good of the whole; and the burdens of the State ought to be fairly distributed among its citizens."

Assuming, for the purpose of the argument, that it was competent for the people to repeal that part of the Charter in question, yet we fail to see anything in said constitutional provision which can possibly be construed to have that effect. The language used has no relevancy to, or bearing upon, the Charter in question. It is very general, and was evidently intended as a declaration of certain great and fundamental principles which lie at the foundation of every republican form of government. See *In re Dorrance Street*, 4 R. I. 249; *Cleveland v. Tripp*, 13 R. I. 62. That the last clause of said article relates to, and was intended to control, in a general way at least, the framing of laws relating to taxation, there can be no doubt. It clearly means that taxes are to be fairly distributed; that A ought not to be taxed and B exempted from taxation, they being similarly situated; nor ought the one to be taxed on a different basis from the other. See *McTwiggan v. Hunter*, 18 R. I. 778. But that it seems that the General Assembly has no power to exempt any property whatever from taxation, or that property theretofore exempted by charter was to be affected thereby, is wholly unreasonable. The whole course of State legislation, from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time, conclusively negatives any such intention. Commencing with the Digest of 1844 (see page 431), the statutes of this State have expressly and uniformly exempted from taxation "property specially exempted by charter," together with property invested in houses for public religious worship, houses for schools, and the land on which they stand, etc., and various kinds of property used for charitable purposes. See Revision of 1857, cap. 37, § 2; Gen. Stat. 1872, cap. 38, § 2; Pub. Stat. 1882, cap. 41, § 1; Gen. Laws 1896, cap. 44, § 2. Moreover, the General Assembly has expressly recognized both the validity and the inviolability of the particular exemption in question, by the passage, on Feb. 11, 1863, of Pub. Laws R. I. cap. 451, which is as follows:

“ AN ACT TO LIMIT THE EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION OF THE ESTATES, PERSONS, AND FAMILIES OF THE PRESIDENT AND PROFESSORS OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

It is enacted by the General Assembly as follows :

SECTION 1. The Corporation of Brown University in Providence consenting hereto, that the estates, persons, and families of the President and Professors, for the time being, of said University, and of their successors in office, shall not hereafter be freed and exempted from taxes for more than the amount of ten thousand dollars, for each of such officers, his estates, person, and family included.

SEC. 2. The vote of said Corporation under the seal, and certified by the secretary thereof, declaring that the Corporation, being authorized by the President and Professors of said University, does in behalf of the President and Professors, and in behalf of said Corporation, consent to this act, shall be deemed and taken to be proof of their consent thereto, when said vote shall have been filed in the office of the Secretary of State.”

Still further, from the time when the plaintiff was incorporated to the present time, a period of a century and a third, so far as we are informed, no tax has ever before been assessed upon any property whatsoever owned by it. Such a uniform, long-continued and practical interpretation of the Charter would be entitled to great weight, even in case of doubt as to the proper construction thereof; but when taken in connection with the plain and manifest meaning of the exemption clause in question, it would seem to be about as conclusive as both language and conduct could make it. See *Union Company v. Sprague*, 14 R. I. 452-6; *In re Realty Voters*, 14 R. I. 645; *American Bank v. Mumford*, 4 R. I. 473; *Packard v. Richardson*, 17 Mass. 144.

The City Solicitor has filed an elaborate brief in which he has discussed with much ability the power of the General Assembly to repeal the exemption clause in question, and in which he argues at length that such a repeal would not be a violation of the constitutional provision regarding the impairing of the obligation of contracts. We do not find it necessary, however, to consider this part of his brief. No law has been passed repealing the clause in question, and hence it would be a work of supererogation to determine what its effect would be if passed, even if such a decision would be of any force or validity, which of course it would not. It is enough for us to declare that the provision of the Charter in question is in full force and operation, and hence that the tax assessed upon the property of the plaintiff was wholly illegal and void.

The demurrer is overruled, and case remitted to the Common Pleas Division with direction to enter judgment for the plaintiff.

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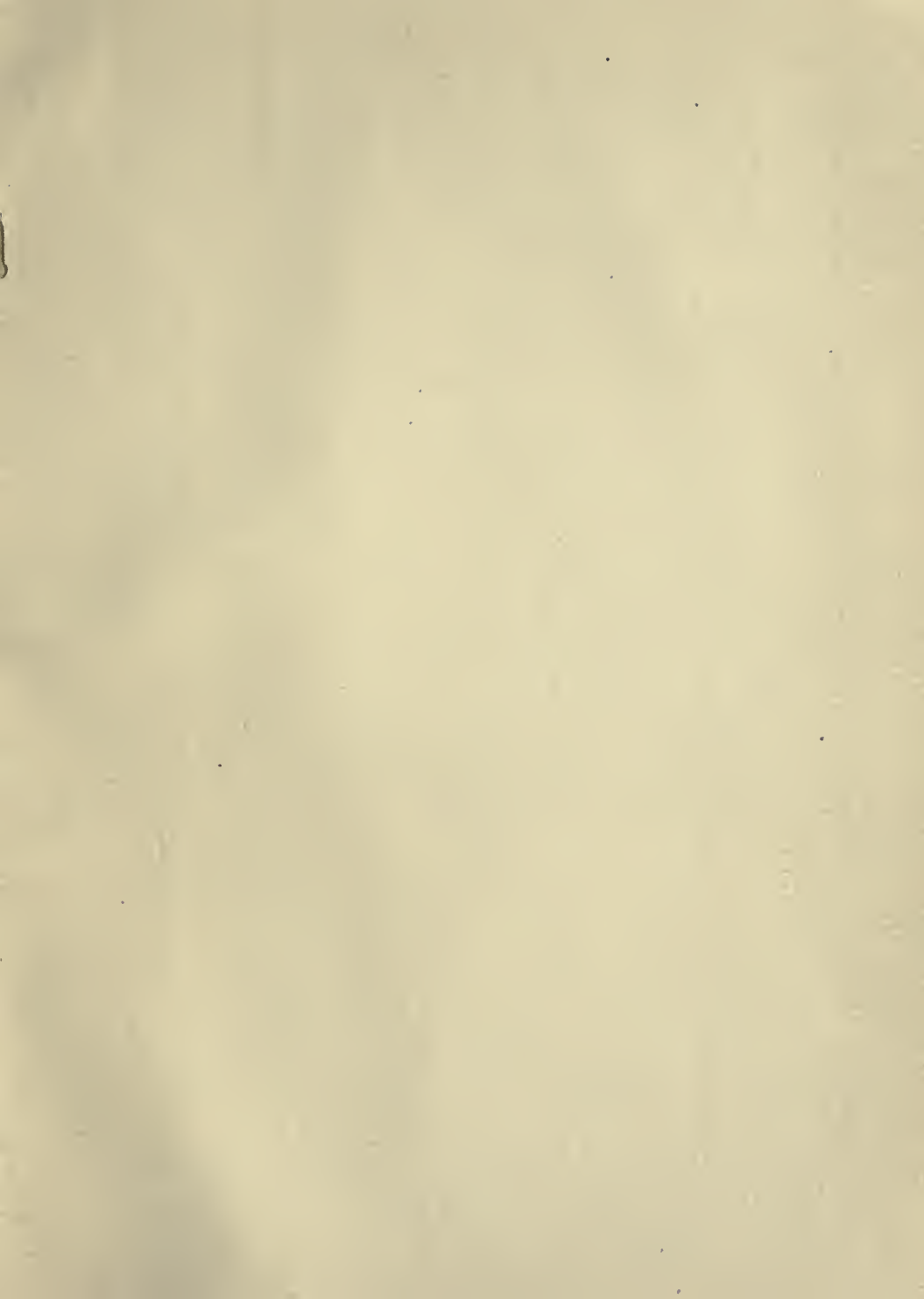
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